THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

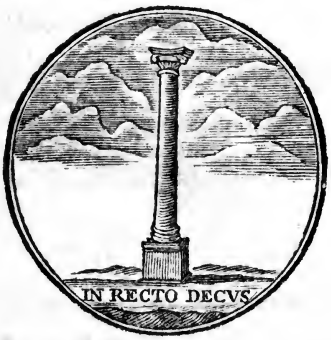
Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

VOL. I.



LONDON,

Printed for C. BATHURST, J. F. and C. RIVINGTON, A. HAMILTON, T. PAYNE, T. LONGMAN, S. CROWDER, B. LAW, T. BECKET, J. ROBSON, F. NEWBERY, G. ROBINSON, T. CADELL, J. and T. BOWLES, S. BLADON, J. MURRAY, and W. FOX.

MDCCLXXX.

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The Publication of the Eighteenth Volume, which concludes the Ancient Part of Universal History, is postponed, in order to prepare a copious Index, &c. &c.

PREFACE

TO THE

FORMER EDITIONS, publiſhed in 1766.

AFTER a long delay, occaſioned by a variety of accidents which could not be foreſeen, the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory now makes its appearance; and the Editors hope it will be found entitled to ſome degree of public approbation.

They are perhaps more ſenſible than the readers can be of its defects, but they plead in alleviation, that the greater part of thoſe defects are ſuch as could not be remedied; nor was it even practicable to finiſh the work according to the letter of the plan on which it was undertaken. We will venture however to affirm, that this Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, with all its imperfections on its head, is by far the completeſt work of the kind that ever was offered to the public in any nation or language.

An author who ſits down with a plentitude of materials for relating paſt events, is apt to applaud himſelf upon his arrangements, and the lights which he is enabled to throw upon particular periods. He is encouraged to hope that he ſhall find the ſame magazines, and the ſame variety of proviſions at every ſtage of his hiſtorical progreſs.—How miſerably he is deceived, our experience can teſtify. Nothing is more accidental than the materials of hiſtory. A great genius often ariſes in a

barbarous age and country, that elucidates facts; and perhaps for three ages after, the Modern Hiſtorian has but the uncertain glimmerings of uncertain events to direct him. A reader is diſſatisfied with his narrative falling off, and dwindling into conjectures, or entirely ceaſing, perhaps, for years. The author foreſees this; he lays aſide his pen that he may employ his induſtry in exploring new ſources, in diſcovering hoards of unnoticed materials, ſome of them poſſibly lurking in the refuſes of printed literature, others concealed amidſt loads of monkiſh lumber, in corners that the human eye never ſurveyed, and more than probably, after the diſcovery is made, the author can make nothing of it till it is tranſcribed by a hand that is acquainted with the writing and the language.

Such are the difficulties of writing hiſtory; happy if we can get over them; but in ſome periods they are unſurmountable. The writers of a Modern Univerſal Hiſtory feel them more than thoſe of a particular ſtate, becauſe they occur in the annals of every kingdom and people; and conſequently their labour to ſupply them muſt be increaſed according to the different heads of their undertaking.

That this complaint is well founded, muſt be admitted by every reader who peruſes this work; but the reaſon of the defects are, perhaps, not ſo obvious. The ignorance of the times treated of is the moſt ſtriking, and yet even that is not always irreparable. How lame was the hiſtory of Italy between the fifth and fourteenth centuries! Writers were not agreed about the parentage and connections even of the famous counteſs Matilda; and the wickedneſs of the Roman

man pontiffs was ſo incredible, that their votaries pleaded that the whole of their hiſtory was a romance. But dark as thoſe ages were, ſome unnoticed men of letters exiſted in cells and convents; the only utility of ſuch retirements. Sometimes ambition, intrigue, or the pleaſure of their ſuperiors, brought them into the world; and after acting their parts on the ſtage of life they were comfortably provided for, and had leiſure to reduce what they had ſeen into writing. Their precious remains have ſaved the hiſtories of ſeveral periods, in various nations from oblivion; but unfortunately for the republic of letters, they often lay dormant for ages, till happy induſtry brought them to light, and at once diſpelled the clouds and glare of fiction that uſurped their room. To enumerate inſtances of this kind would be the ſame as to compile an hiſtorical library; but the truth of our obſervation (to give one inſtance out of a thouſand) is eſtabliſhed by Muratori's collections of the hiſtory of Italy. How long did thoſe valuable remains lie buried from all knowledge of the world; and what lights have they thrown upon hiſtory ſince they were diſcovered! The editors of this work think they can juſtly boaſt that they are the firſt who applied them to the purpoſes of general hiſtory; and their authority is the more unqueſtionable, as the authors publiſhed by Muratori generally lived at the time of the tranſactions they deſcribed. The French and the Germans can boaſt the like publications, reſcued from the jaws of oblivion. An hiſtorian's footing is firm while he reſts upon ſuch authorities; but it requires no little critical diſcernment to ſeparate the real from

the fictitious. This was one of the moſt painful of our labours.

Our firſt duty in ſelecting our authorities, was to examine the authenticity of the materials. In this we were greatly aſſiſted by the editors of the ſeveral pieces they publiſhed, who generally prefixed ſome account of the author, or if that could not be obtained, ſome evidences of the credibility of their publication, and a narrative where and how it was diſcovered. We next examined how far it correſponded, firſt, with other relations; and, ſeſecondly, with probability.

The former was a difficult, and indeed a delicate taſk. When great writers, ſuch as a Mariana in Spain; a Mezeray, or a De Thou in France; an Aretine, or a Guicchiardini in Italy, get once poſſeſſion of the public credit in general, the evidence muſt be very ſtrong that can ſhake it in particular inſtances. When we attempt any thing of that kind in the following work, we have always ſubmitted to our readers our reaſons for differing from former authorities; and we have had the pleaſure of finding all our endeavours of that kind well received. We can attribute our ſucceſs in this only to our attention to facts, which no authority, be it ever ſo well eſtabliſhed, can deſtroy. No hiſtorian ever poſſeſſed more abilities and better intentions than De Thou did; and no writer is more candid than he in relating matters that fell within his own knowledge; but De Thou, and every general hiſtorian, muſt truſt a great deal to information, which he admits or adopts according to the opinion he has of his author's veracity. De Thou, for inſtance, in the affairs of Great Britain, conſulted Camden and Buchanan, the former an honeſt, and

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the latter an elegant writer; but the authority of records and ſtate papers muſt preponderate againſt both. To multiply inſtances of this kind, that occur in the following work, would be improper for a preface.

We muſt now add a word concerning the probability of thoſe auxiliaries to general hiſtory. To ſay the truth, this is far from being an encouraging conſideration, without making great allowances for education, prepoſſeſſion, and prejudices. We ſeldom meet with a Monkiſh writer free from a daſh of the marvellous; but were we to reject the whole for a few improbabilities, where is that hiſtory of antiquity that can ſtand the teſt of examination? We do not venture too much in ſaying, that many of thoſe good fathers thought themſelves obliged to lie, when it could be of ſervice to their foundations, their patrons, or their religion. This is an obſervation not confined to hiſtory; even Cicero, though no hiſtorian, in his invectives againſt Cataline, advanced in the face of all the Roman people, ſome as ſwingeing improbabilities as are to be met with in the moſt credulous times of monkery. Cicero, no doubt, thought that he was thereby ſerving his country, becauſe he heightened the public deteſtation of the parricide. Upon the whole, we dare not reject a narrative that has a general face of authenticity on account of one or two improbabilities, unleſs they ſhould affect eſſentials.

Beſides the labours of individuals, general hiſtory has met with a powerful reſource in the public records of religious houſes; yet even thoſe, though their authenticity is unqueſtionable, are not without the miraculous and marvellous. But though ſuch paſſages are far from deſtroying their credi-

bility, they are to be examined by particular criterions. If the records or annals of two religious houſes in the ſame or different kingdoms, at a good diſtance from each other, correſpond as to dates and facts, they bear the higheſt degree of credibility, and they are the firmeſt vouchers of hiſtory; but an editor muſt be extremely careful in collations of this kind. It was no uncommon thing for the good fathers of one convent to tranſcribe the records of another, and to chriſten them by the name of their own houſe; but this practice was leſs frequent on the continent than in Great Britain. It is greatly to be wiſhed, that the munificence of European princes would enable men of induſtry and learning to bring to light more of thoſe hiſtorical monuments than have hitherto appeared.

Coins and medals, inſcriptions, engravings, ſeals, armorial bearings, paintings, and even tapeſtry, are often of ſervice to general hiſtory. How accurately did the learned Chiflet, from ſuch evidences, deſtroy the boaſted ſanctity of the French ampulla, which a dove brought in her beak with the oil that anointed the firſt Chriſtian king of France; and how irrefragably has he demoliſhed from the like authorities, the romantic original of the lilies in the arms of France! But inſtances of that kind, even in leſs remote times, are endleſs. What improvements might we expect if every nation in Europe were as attentive to the ſtudy of their antiquities, as the French have been to thoſe of their country! how many dates might be fixed, and what a variety of doubtful facts might be aſcertained! How greatly has hiſtory been obliged even to the loweſt of all paſſions, ſuperſtition and curioſity, which ſometimes, at the expence of decency

cency, have inveſtigated and examined even the repoſitories of the dead.

This hiſtory has the very ſingular merit, that thoſe parts of it which formerly were thought to be the moſt doubtful, are here the beſt authenticated. The amazing empire of the califs, till Mr. Ockley's Hiſtory of the Saracens appeared, was thought to have little other foundation than in fiction, and a few facts animated and exaggerated by the Eaſtern ſpirit of romance. But even Mr. Ockley's publication did little more than give an idea how a great ſtate might be founded by enthuſiaſm, but guarded by perſonal virtue, inflexible integrity, reſolution, conſtancy, courage, and induſtry. Our Univerſal Hiſtory has purſued and completed the plan which Mr. Ockley chalked out, by bringing the reader acquainted with a ſeries of princes, ſome of them the greateſt that ever dignified, and others the worſt that ever diſgraced human nature. In this hiſtory, he will ſee by what gradations, induſtry, learning, and all the fine arts, flouriſhed under the califate, when they were extinguiſhed in Europe. What is ſtill more amazing, the Chriſtians of Spain were barbarians when the Saracens in the ſame country were a poliſhed people. He will ſee the cauſes why the califate, the greateſt and perhaps the beſt poliſhed empire that ever exiſted, came to ruin; how the califs degenerated from the original principles of their government, into crimes that rendered it neceſſary for them to be protected by foreign mercenaries in the poſſeſſion of their power; and how thoſe mercenaries, becoming a ſtanding army, gave law to their maſters, till their empire was overthrown by barbarians.

In ſelecting materials, the compilers have not confined themſelves to printed books. Great part of the Arabian hiſtory has been extracted from Oriental records and unpubliſhed manuſcripts. As the Latin verſion of Al Makin by Erpenius, ends with the five hundred and twelfth year of the Moſlem æra, and the epitome of Abul Faraj is very conciſe and jejune, the author of this part of the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, in order to ſupply theſe defects, has, with the aſſiſtance of the learned Dr. Hunt, profeſſor of Hebrew and Arabic in the univerſity of Oxford, inſerted a tranſlation of Ebn Shohnah's Annals, extracted from a manuſcript in the poſſeſſion of that gentleman, the obſcure paſſages of which Annals are illuſtrated by quotations from the unpubliſhed part of the Tarikh al Moſle'mim of Al Makin. He has interwoven into this hiſtory the Cambridge Chronicon Siculum, containing a variety of particulars relating to the Arab affairs in Sicily; and transferred into his performance the ſubſtance of ſome curious manuſcript notes upon Abul Faraj, together with extracts from Mejiro'ddin al Hanbali, author of the Perſic Chronicle. To theſe are added explications of all thoſe earlier Arabic coins found lately near Stegen, on the coaſts of the Baltic, and publiſhed at Leipſic in Saxony.

The hiſtory of Jenghiz Khan, the greateſt conqueror (ſo far as we know) that the world ever beheld, is naturally connected with that of the califs, whoſe empire was overthrown by the Seljukian monarchs. Though this great man was born in what may be called the native country of barbariſm, yet he had a paſſion for fame; and his memory

mory has had the good fortune to be recorded with more precision and certainty than is to be found in many histories of much later date, and in countries where the inhabitants now value themselves upon their politeness. Hence it is that the editors have been enabled to give a clear and well vouched history of the civil policy as well as warlike atchievements of this wonderful man.

The same may be said of the famous Timur Bek, or Tamerlane. A branch of his succession was settled in Indostan. Here we cannot help lamenting the want of records and authentic materials, from which an entire history of these countries might be compiled. All we know of them is gleaned from voyages and travels written by individuals of different nations, who had but a partial and imperfect information, obtained from transitory views, or short visits to some particular parts of the coast. It is true, that since the publication of this work, several papers and histories have appeared, which throw very considerable lights upon many late transactions of great importance there, particularly between our East-India company and the natives; but we are to consider, that the writers and transmitters of those accounts drew them up chiefly as apologies for their own conduct; and therefore they must be made use of with great care and diffidence: nor do the most ample accounts we have met with, reach more than thirty years backwards. It is to be hoped however, that the reader will be particularly pleased with the labour and attention which have been bestowed upon a complete history of the commerce to, and the settlements in the East-Indies by the several European nations; an history which has been carefully compiled from such materials as occur to very few individuals,

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and is indeed the fruit of the moſt elaborate and ſucceſsful reſearches.

Although the origin and progreſs of the Ottoman empire is explained with great fidelity, from the authorities of Saadi Effendi, and Sacdo'ddin Ebn Haſſan, the moſt celebrated of all the Turkiſh writers; yet the difficulty of procuring materials for compiling the later tranſactions of that empire, has obliged the authors to conclude with the peace of Carlowitz. Their intent was to continue the hiſtory of the Turks to the preſent time, in a ſupplementary volume, in which alſo they promiſed a fuller detail of the Egyptian dynaſties, and the more interior parts of Ethiopia and Nubia, with the mountains of the Moon. But the work, notwithſtanding all their endeavours to retrench ſuperfluities, ſwelled under their hands to ſuch a bulk, that out of tenderneſs to the purchaſer, they have omitted this promiſed ſupplement, as leſs uſeful and intereſting. The ſame motives have partly induced them to leave out the Hiſtory of Great Britain and Ireland, which would have added conſiderably to the bulk and expence of the work. This they have ſpared with the leſs reluctance, as there are at preſent ſo many excellent modern hiſtories of our own country in the hands of the Britiſh ſubjects, for whoſe uſe and information this great work was chiefly compiled.

The reader is not to expect to find the ſame accuracy, either of language or compoſition, in every part of this hiſtory. A plan ſo very extenſive, required a great variety of hands as well as length of time to carry it into execution. Sometimes death interpoſed, and an original author left his work unfiniſhed in ſuch a manner, that the plan

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upon which he went was often unintelligible to his ſucceſſor. Sometimes materials proved defective, which left moſt lamentable chaſms in the work, that could be replaced only by painful inveſtigation and elaborate reſearches. We have not, perhaps, one ſtate in Europe, as we have already hinted, that furniſhes materials and evidences for hiſtory, equally through all its periods; but the editors of the Univerſal Hiſtory have reaſon to complain, that the later times are more deſtitute of ſuch evidence than the more early. We know not, for inſtance, an authentic hiſtory of the European tranſactions for forty years paſt. This laid the editors under inexpreſſible diſadvantages. They were obliged to have recourſe to diurnal or periodical publications, and oftentimes they found their information to be the moſt imperfect where the greateſt ſtore of materials might have been expected. The reaſon for this is eaſily accounted for. In France or Spain, for example, a native dares not be ſo explicit to the public as an Engliſhman, and even accounts printed by authority are often very queſtionable. Poſterity will probably be informed much better than the preſent age is of the motives of the expulſion of the Jeſuits out of France, and of the aſſaſſination of his moſt Faithful Majeſty in Portugal. In treating of thoſe and ſimilar tranſactions, an hiſtorian can only collect the facts, and by comparing different narratives, form the beſt judgment he can upon the whole, ſo as to render it the moſt conſonant to probability.

In the courſe of this work it hath often happened, that the editors durſt not truſt to modern authorities, and were obliged to have recourſe to

the evidences nearest the time when they occurred. The necessity of this must be obvious to any reader who reflects upon the prodigious alterations that almost every constitution in Europe has undergone.

The feudal law under which the French government subsisted, varied after the time of Hugh Capet from what it was before; and whoever reads the French history with an unprejudiced eye must perceive, that the people then lived not under a monarchy but an aristocracy; that, in fact, their nobles were their sovereigns, and their kings the only patrons of public liberty, not from principle but interest. A shadow of the prerogative assumed by the Carlovingian race, served to give them a pre-eminence that was still of use in casting the balance in disputes that happened among the great land-holders and hereditary officers of state. Some spirited princes endeavoured to revive the Carlovingian claims, but this served only to unite those great men among themselves; so that the king in reality possessed little more of the office than the name. Even that had a wonderful magic annexed to it. The people, perceiving that their miseries under their nobles were infinitely greater than they could be under any kingly government, were always disposed to take part with the crown; and by a constant opposition to their tyrants, they obtained territorial and commercial franchises, that were, in fact, independent of the feudal laws, and were therefore a perpetual bone of contention between the king who granted them, and the nobles who wanted to destroy them. Thus, for some centuries, the kingdom was in a state of warfare, till about the time of the crusades, when their kings found means, thro' the epidemical distemper of crusading

ſading, which weakened the nobles, to gain ſome aſcendency; and the reader in this hiſtory will ſee how that was improved, though by ſlow degrees.

The eſtates of France, a term now almoſt obſolete, ſtill contained the great conſtitutional power of the kingdom; and the more moderately, the more equitably it was exerciſed, it became the ſtronger; but it ſeldom was appealed to, except when the crown ſtood in need of its aſſiſtance; nor did their kings, till the reign of Lewis XI. attempt to alter the feudal modes of poſſeſſion and inheritance among their great ſubjects. What is now called the parliament of France, had originally no idea of dignity annexed to it; though, excepting the regal, it is almoſt the only power now to be heard of in that kingdom, and in ſome caſes pretends to controul ſovereignty itſelf. The continuators of the following hiſtory probably will have an opportunity to deſcribe the deciſive ſtruggle between the two powers.

The conſtitution of thoſe kingdoms that form the preſent monarchy of Spain, was originally more free than that of France itſelf, and it preſerved itſelf longer, becauſe the deteſtable court of inquiſition was not introduced into that country till the year 1478; nor were the various titles of the princes who governed ſeparate dominions concentrated in one crown till about the year 1492, when Ferdinand found means to ſtrip his grandees of their high offices, particularly thoſe of the grand maſterſhips of the ſeveral orders of knighthood, which were in fact independent upon the crown itſelf. This diminution of the power of the nobles was owing to the ſame cauſes that produced the ſame effects in France. Ferdinand, the moſt artful, politic, prince of his age, and at the ſame time the

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moſt deſpotic, rendered himſelf the patron of his people againſt the intolerable oppreſſions of the great, and they flocked to his ſtandards. He had, however, a diſadvantage to ſtruggle with, unknown to the kings of France. The Moors in Spain were numerous and powerful, and their protection had been always open to the rebel grandees of the Chriſtian princes. Ferdinand ſubdued thoſe Moors, and by driving the chief of them out of Spain, he ſecured his own authority at the expence of his country's depopulation. This, however it has been miſconſtrued into the effects of bigotry and zeal, was the true motive of that ſeemingly impolitic depopulation.

The Cortes of Spain, even after this, when aſſembled, formed a reſpectable body; but they never recovered the blows they received under Charles V. The treaſures of Spain proved a bait to their leaders; ſo that they gave the poſterity of Charles little or no trouble, either as individuals, or a body politic. The acceſſion of the Houſe of Bourbon to the crown of Spain is a memorable period in that hiſtory; but it never could have taken place, had it not been for the weakneſs of the laſt three princes of the Houſe of Auſtria, the inſolence of their miniſters, and the intolerable pride, poverty, and ambition of the Imperialiſts, who took pains to loſe the affections of the Spaniſh nation, by truſting to their intereſt at the court of Madrid. In ſhort, the eſtabliſhment of Philip V. upon the throne of Spain, is one of the moſt amazing events in hiſtory; when we conſider the powerful confederacy formed againſt him, the ſevere checks he received, and the inability of his grandfather to ſupport him; but in fact his rival the archduke

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was ſacrificed to the ſelfiſh views of his brother, and the treachery and cowardice of the Portugueſe, even before the treaty of Utrecht was concluded. With regard to the behaviour of Great Britain at that very critical juncture, it was cenſured with great ſeverity at a time when parties ran high in this iſland; and perhaps the Engliſh miniſtry are indefenſible in ſome part of their conduct, as to the Catalans. But when we conſider and compare circumſtances together, we cannot at this time form an idea of a better plan of conduct than what they followed. To have given the Spaniſh monarchy in the Indies to a prince poſſeſſed of the empire, would have been abſurd beyond all comprehenſion; and though the family compact between the two chief branches of the Houſe of Bourbon is alarming at preſent, yet a compact or a confederacy of a like kind naturally offered itſelf to the heads of thoſe two monarchies, whether of the ſame families or not, at the time that meaſure took place.

The reader of the following pages has an advantage above the readers of the hiſtories of particular ſtates, becauſe he has opportunity at one view to compare their ſeveral intereſts and ſituations, and to trace thoſe movements in the political ſyſtem that are either hid or diſguiſed in more confined accounts. It is general hiſtory alone that can inſtruct us in the prodigious alterations that have happened in the views and maxims of the ſeveral princes of Europe, ſince the commencement of this century. The editors of the latter volumes, ſenſible that the hiſtories of France, Spain, Germany, Portugal, and other countries, had not been carried down near enough to the preſent time,

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ſpared no pains to make them as complete as poſſible. Their hiſtories of the Italian ſtates is a work that never was attempted before in Engliſh, and is ſelected from materials, which, though unqueſtionably authentic, are little known to the public, as will be plain to the inſpection of the enquiring reader. In their hiſtory of the popes they have been enabled to ſhew, that the Holy See owed its temporal greatneſs chiefly to the ambition and tyranny of the German emperors and their governors. The popes took the part of the oppreſſed, whom miſery had made credulous, and deſpair furniſhed with arms. The little Italian ſtates and families, who for centuries had not heard of an emperor of Rome, were aſtoniſhed when the ſucceſſes of Charles the Great erected and claimed a paramount power over all Italy, and treated as rebels all who reſiſted him. The popes and their party, who were called Guelphs, at firſt ſtood up or general liberty; and though they never could aboliſh the Imperial claims, yet they divided and weakened their influence, by obliging the emperors to parcel out their Italian territories into great fiefs, the proprietors of which ſoon found it convenient to maintain their poſſeſſion of them by joining with the popes.

The conqueſt of Sicily by the Guiſcards, who introduced into Italy the feudal law and conſtitutions in their moſt improved perfection, was another event that contributed to the greatneſs of the Roman ſee. Thoſe princes and the popes found it for their mutual advantage to ſupport each other; and the latter, by making to the invariable rule of their conduct in oppoſe the Imperial claims, rendered themſelves the heads of that oppoſition in Italy, though the Holy See was generally

rally filled by men who were the disgraces of human nature, and who had no talents for government, but what arose from pride, arrogance, and obstinacy. Their success was the more wonderful as they were hated, despised, and sometimes expelled by the Romans, who equally detested them and the emperors. But those holy fathers were venerated by distant people, who had fewer opportunities of being the witnesses of their crimes and enormities; and every faction, either civil or ecclesiastical, which rebelled against the lawful sovereign, whatever the pretext might be, still found it their interest to have a pope for its patron and protector.

The histories of the Northern countries, during the early ages, are confessedly built on tradition, but the editors have been careful in distinguishing between true and fictitious events. We think proper in this place, to observe in general, that though traditionary histories are always to be distrusted, yet they are not always to be disbelieved. It is certain, that before the introduction of letters, or rather characters of writing, into Northern countries, an order of men, under the names of Bards, Schenachies, and other denominations, were set apart for preserving the memory of persons and actions, and who repeated their rude compositions on solemn occasions before their princes, prelates, nobility, and people. Their collections formed the basis of the histories of the early ages; and indeed it is greatly to be suspected, that the high antiquities of Greece and Rome, which have long passed unquestioned among the learned, have no better (if so good) a foundation. It is true the fictitious, is blended with real, history; but the

characters of the former are ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed, that they can be ſeparated from the latter by the moſt ignorant reader. The editors think they have a claim to the patronage of the public, on account of the hiſtory of America contained in the follow-lowing work. It is the firſt general hiſtory of that extenſive country, which now forms ſo conſiderable a part of the Britiſh empire, that has ever appeared in the Engliſh language. The hiſtories of the vaſt regions of Canada, Louiſiana, and Florida, that have been ceded to Great Britain, are new to an Engliſh reader, and were compiled from the beſt authorities, thoſe of writers who were under no temptation of impoſing on the public, and whoſe labours came abroad entirely for the information of their own countrymen and government, who then had no notion of the countries they deſcribed being ceded to Great Britain.

We ſhall here finiſh this addreſs to the public, by obſerving, that the authorities upon which the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory is founded, are the beſt the republic of literature can furniſh; for the truth of which we venture to appeal to the candour of the reader. The work is illuſtrated by the moſt complete ſet of maps that modern geography furniſhes: and nothing now remains for the Editors but to return their thanks to the Public for the very great patience with which they waited for the completion of a work, which, however irreprehenſible it has hitherto been among men of genius and letters, has become far more bulky and extenſive than either the authors or proprietors could foreſee when it was firſt undertaken.

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TO THE

PRESENT EDITION.

TO this great Work, in conformity to the opinion of the beſt judges, is now added, compiled from the moſt approved authorities, the Hiſtories of England, Scotland, and Ireland; the firſt contained in two volumes, and the others in one volume each.

This, however, is not the only circumſtance in which the preſent edition of the Univerſal Hiſtory will be found to excel all the former. The whole Work has now undergone a laborious and attentive examination. The plan has been methodized; ſuperfluities have been retrenched; parts which had been left imperfect are rendered complete; inaccuracies are corrected; and the ſtyle, which, on account of the number of writers, was in many places unequal, is melted down into a more uniform maſs of regular compoſition.

Upon the whole, the Work has now acquired ſuch extent, in point of ſubject, and ſuch eſſential improvements, in regard to execution, as will, it may be fairly preſumed, not only obtain the approbation, but ſecure the encouragement of the public to an undertaking which has been accompanied with almoſt unprecedented expence.

THE

MODERN PART

OF

Universal History.

CHAP. I.

The Life of Mohammed.

NO person celebrated in history has been considered in more different lights than Mohammed, the legislator of the Arabs, and the founder of the Moslem power. Some Christian writers have represented him as an impostor, contemptible for his defects both of body and mind, and a man of the most dissolute morals. Others have not scrupled to pronounce him one of the most eminent legislators that ever appeared in the world, adorned with fine intellectual endowments, rendered more amiable by the practice of every social virtue, and famous for his capacity, and the excellency of his institutions.

Characters given of Mohammed by different writers.

But as it ought not to be denied, that Mohammed had considerable talents, and an intermixture of good and bad qualities, like many other men; so it must be allowed, that, by pretending to revelations, and conferences with God himself, all which were absolutely false, he indubitably proved himself an impostor.

Tenets of the Koran much inferior to the truths of the Gospel.

Mohammed, according to the eastern writers, descended in a direct line from Ishmael, the son of Abraham, and consequently from the patriarch Abraham himself. Kedar, or, as the Arabs call him, Kidâr, after his father Ishmael's death, seems to have communicated his name to the greater

Mohammed descended from Ishmael.

part of Arabia Petræa, as may be inferred from Scripture. Kidâr was ſucceeded in his poſſeſſions and authority by his ſon Hamal, as Hamal was by Nabet, or Nabt, and Nabet by Salâmân. After Salâmân came Al Homeiſa, and then Al Yaſâ, whoſe ſon Odad begat Odd, the father of Adnân. This ſeries of deſcents, which contains nine generations, carries with it a greater air of probability than that ſuggeſted by Mohammed's wife Omm Salma, who pretended that her huſband counted only three perſons in a lineal ſucceſſion between Iſhmael and Adnân; viz. Berâ or Nabet, Zeid or Al Homeiſa, and Odad. However, that it cannot be conſidered as ſtrictly agreeable to truth, appears from the remote age of Abraham, compared with the ſmall number of generations comprehended by the interval between Adnân and Mohammed. Nor do the Arab writers agree among themſelves in this particular. They are ſo defective in point of chronology, and knew ſo little of any remarkable events coeval with the patriarch Abraham, that ſuch a diſagreement to perſons even moderately verſed in oriental literature will not be matter of great wonder or ſurprize.

Ten generations between Adnân and Fehr.

The ſecond ſeries of deſcents in Iſhmael's family, or rather that of Mohammed, commenced at Adnân, and ended in the perſon of Fehr, ſurnamed Koreiſh. It conſiſted of ten generations, as appears from Mohammed's progenitors, in continual ſucceſſion between Adnân and Fehr. Moad, or Maad, the ſon of Adnân, has been repreſented by the Arabs as a celebrated warrior, and a declared enemy to the Jews. Sohari mentions a tradition received from Ali Ebn Moghaïra, according to which, Moſes was contemporary with Moad, and had the birth of Mohammed revealed to him. It is likewiſe pretended by the Arabs, that Bokht-Naſr, or Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, lived at the ſame time; which muſt be allowed a freſh proof of their great accuracy and ſkill in chronology. Moad begat Nazâr, another famous ſoldier, whoſe ſtandard is ſaid to be ſtill preſerved in the temple of Mecca; which, from thoſe very times, has always been eſteemed the principal ſanctuary of Arabia. He ſurpaſſed moſt of his countrymen in beauty and vivacity, and had his face adorned with the prophetic light. Nazar became father to Modar, or Modr, whoſe ſon Al Yâs begat Modrecah, the father of Khozaimah, from whom ſprung Kenânah, the father of Al Nadr, whoſe ſon Malec was the immediate progenitor of Fehr. From Fehr, who went among the Arabs by the ſurname of Koreiſh, the whole tribe of Koreiſh deduced their name.

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In the time of Adnân, the Arabs fixed the rule to be obſerved for the conſervation of their genealogies, in order to preſerve the diſtinction of their tribes and families. It is not ſurpriſing, therefore, that they ſhould ſeldom trace their genealogies higher than Adnân, whom they acknowlege as the father of their tribes, the deſcents from him downwards being pretty certain and uncontroverted [a].

Fehr the root of the politeſt tribe of the Arabs.

Fehr ſeems to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſome glorious actions, ſince the Arabs ſuppoſe him to have been denominated Koreiſh from his undaunted bravery and reſolution. He may be conſidered as the root of the politeſt and moſt celebrated tribe of the Arabs. He had three ſons, Gâleb, Mohâreb, and Al Hâreth. From Mohâreb the Banu Mohâreb, denominated likewiſe Sheibân, deduced their origin; from Al Hâreth, the Banu Al Kholoj; and from Gâleb in a direct line, the impoſtor Mahommed. A modern author takes Gâleb to have been a conſiderable proficient in the ſpagiric art; but this does not by any means appear. Gâleb was the father of Lowa, and he of Caab, whoſe ſon Morrah had, for his immediate deſcendant, Kelâb, the father of Koſa. From Kelâb's ſon Zahrah iſſued the Banu Zahrah, of which tribe Saad, the ſon of Abu Wakkâs, was a member; as was alſo Amena, the mother of Mohammed. Caab, according to the Arabs, changed Arubah, the ancient name of the ſixth day of the week, which we call Friday, into Jama'a. The former of thoſe words ſignifies *the day of pleaſure*, *jollity*, or *public diverſions*; the latter, *the day of the aſſembly*, or *congregation*. From whence it appears, that, in the opinion of the Arabs, he firſt ſet Friday apart for divine ſervice. Kelâb's true name was Hakim, and Koſa's Zeïd. The latter of theſe rendered himſelf famous by an exploit, of which we ſhall give our readers a ſhort and and ſuccinct relation [b]

Koſa poſſeſſes himſelf of the guardianſhip of the Caaba.

The guardianſhip of the Caaba was firſt poſſeſſed by the family of Iſhmael, but afterwards tranſlated to the houſe of Jorham. Here it continued for ſeveral ages; after the expiration of which, it was wreſted out of the hands of the Jorhamites by the tribe of Khozâa. This poſt gave its poſſeſſors no ſmall influence and authority, as the temple of Mecca was held in exceſſive veneration by all the Arabs in general, if we only except the tribes of Tay and Khathâam, and ſome of the poſterity of Al Hareth Ebn Caab,

[a] Iſm. Abuldfed. de Vit. Mohammed, cap. 11. p. 6—8. Poc. not. in Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 45—51. Gagn. la Vie de Mahom. tom, prem. p. 25—46. [b] Abulfed. ubi ſupra. Poc. & Gagn. ubi ſupra. Boullainvil. la Vie de Mahom. liv. ſec.

who used not to go in pilgrimage to that place. Kosa, therefore, in order to aggrandize the Koreish, and gain reputation to his family, meditated the acquisition of this important charge; imagining that so honourable a station would make him revered through the whole peninsula of the Arabs. The execution of this design he facilitated, by marrying the daughter of Halil, who then governed Mecca, and kept the keys of the Caaba. Having had by her three sons, Abd'al Dâr, Abd Menâf, and Abd'al Uzza, and his affairs being in a very flourishing situation, whilst those of Halil went greatly to decay, he found it not difficult to engage the Koreish to support him in the enterprize he had formed. Having, therefore, privately assembled a body of troops, he posted them about Mozdalifa, between mount Arafat and Mina, on the day when the ceremony of throwing the stones in the valley of Mina was performed. At the head of these he rushed out of his ambuscade, whilst the pilgrims were employed in that exercise, and fell upon the Khozâïtes with such fury, that he put a great number to the sword, and forced the rest to beg for quarter. After this blow, Halil and Kosa referring their differences to arbitration, Ya'amer Ebn Awf, who was chosen umpire by both parties, adjudged the sovereignty of Mecca, and the custody of the Caaba, to Kosa; who immediately assumed the title of king, and took an oath of allegance from his new subjects. He then divided the town into four parts, and gave houses in the centre of it to those who had distinguished themselves in the late expedition [c].

Abd Menaf. Abd Menaf, the second son of Kosa, was declared prince of the Koreish in his father's life-time, and his subjects then took an oath of allegiance to him. The prophetic light, which, as the Moslems pretend, manifested itself in his face, gave him the right of primogeniture. His proper name was Al Moghaïrah, or Moghirah, and one of his surnames Al Kamar, or *the Moon*, which he received on account of his transcendent beauty. He is said to be a religious prince, and a great encourager of piety and devotion. Abd Menâf died at Mecca, and was buried at a little hill called Al Hajun; which, in after-ages, became a common place of interment. Abd'al Dâr was

[c] Al Jannab. Abulfed. Poc. not. in Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 42. 50. 342, & alibi. Mohammed. in Al Kor. sur. cvi. Abr. Ecchellens, Hist. Arab. p. i. cap. 3. Fortalit. Fidei, lib. iv. confid. 1. Golii Notæ ad Alfragnum, p. 4. Prid. Life of Mahom. 2. 3. Gagn. la Vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 51—54.

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the father of the Banu Shibah, who were porters of the temple of Mecca. From Abd'al Dâr likewise descended Al Nodar, the son of Al Hâreth, one of Mohammed's most implacable enemies, who was put to death by his order after the battle of Bedr. From Abd'al Uzza, Kosa's youngest son, sprung Al Zobaïr, the son of Al Awâm, one of the ten martyrs; as also Khadijah, the first wife of Mohammed, and Waraka Ebn Nawfal. The name Abd'al Uzza signifies the *servant* or *worshipper of Al Uzza*, an idol of the Meccans, mentioned in the Koran; it having been a common practice among the pagan Arabs to assume such names as these, in order to shew how profound a veneration they entertained for their false deities[d].

Hâshem. Hâshem succeeded his father Abd Menâf in the principality of the Koreish, and consequently in the government of Mecca, and custody of the Caab. His proper name was Amru, with the surname of Al Ola, or the *Sublime*, on account of his high dignity. Hâshem, his other surname, denoted *one that broke bread*; and was given him on account of his liberality during a famine at Mecca, when he supplied all the inhabitants of that city with bread. Having amassed large sums of money, he took a journey into Syria, according to some of the Arab writers, where he purchased a great quantity of meal, and made cakes of it, which he broke with his own hands, and divided amongst the people of Mecca, upon his arrival there. He likewise killed a prodigious number of camels, with which he fed the Meccans, and thereby effectually relieved them in the time of their great distress. And, as the soil about Mecca was so very barren as to produce no fruits but what are common in the deserts, and consequently no corn or grain, which the Meccans were obliged to fetch from other places, Hâsham took care to remedy this defect: he appointed two caravans to set out early for that purpose, the one in summer, and the other in winter; by means of which he amply supplied them with all sorts of provisions. The provisions brought by them were distributed twice a year, viz. in the month of Râjeb, and at the arrival of the pilgrims. In fine Hâshem, by his prudent conduct, raised the glory of his people to the highest pitch; insomuch that all the neighbouring heads of tribes, and great men, made their court to him. According to some Mohammedan writers, the emperor Heraclius sought for

[d] Abulfed. ubi supra. Poc. Not. in Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 50, 51. Gagn. ubi supra. 54.

an alliance with him. However, this will not be admitted by the learned; ſince the firſt year of the Hejra coincides with the twelfth of that emperor's reign. The Moſlem hiſtorians are ſuch chronologers, that we ought not to be ſurpriſed at meeting in their works with blunders of this kind; though they clearly demonſtrate their great ignorance, falſhood, and partiality. Hâſhem died at Gâza in Syria, or Shâm, about twenty, or twenty-five, years before the war of the Elephant [e].

Hâſhem had three brothers, whoſe deſcendents made a very conſiderable figure amongſt the Arabs. Abd Shems, the firſt of them, begot Ommîyah, from whom deſcended the Ommîyahan khalifs. Amongſt theſe may be ranked Othmân Ebn Affân, Moawiyah Ebn Abu Sofian, Yezid Ebn Moawiyah, Moawiyah Ebn Yezid, and Merwân Ebn Al Hakem, as will hereafter more fully appear. From Al Motâlleb ſprung the Motâlebites; amongſt whom the Imâm Mohammed Ebn Edris Ebn Al Abbâs, Ebn Othmân Ebn Shâfeï commonly Al Shâfeï, was of principal note. Nawfal has always been conſidered by the Arabs as the progenitor of the Nawfalites; to which tribe belonged Waraka Ebn Nawfal, who left idols, and acknowleged but one God, before the miſſion of Mohammed. The memory of Hâſhem is held in ſuch high veneration by the Moſlems, that, from him, the kindred of Mohammed amongſt them are called Hâſhemites; and he who preſides over Mecca and Medina, who muſt always be of the race of Mohammed, has the Arabic title of Al Imâm Al Hâſhem, that is, *the prince* or *chief, of the Hâſhemites*, even to this day.

Abd'al Motâlleb. Abd'al Motalleb, the ſon of Hâſhem, had the name of Shaiba Al Hamd, that is, *venerable old age*, becauſe he came grey-headed into the world. The Meccans furnamed him Abd'al Motalleb, or *the ſervant of Al Motalleb*; becauſe, having loſt his father in his infancy, he was brought up by his uncle Al Motalleb. In the beginning of the month of Ramadan, he entertained the poor upon the flat roof of his houſe, and afterwards ſupplied the fowls of the air, and wild beaſts of the field, with proviſions of various kinds, which he ordered his ſervants to leave upon the ſummits of the neighbouring mountains. The Arabs repreſent him as extremely affable, and eaſy of acceſs. From

[e] Poc. Not. in Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 51. Iſm. Abulfed. de Vit. Mohammed. cap. 2 ſub init. Al Zamakhſhar. Jallal. Al Beidawi. Abr. Ecchellens, Hiſt. Arab. par. i. cap. 3. Al Shareſtan. lib. de Generat. & Nutritur. Mahomet. Gabr. Sionit. in Append. ad Sharif Al Edriſi, cap. 7.

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what has been just observed, he likewise appears to have been a person of a most generous and excellent disposition.

We are told by the Mohammedans, that God discovered to Abd'al Motalleb, in a supernatural manner, the well Zemzem, about five hundred years after it had been filled up by Amru, the son of Al Hâreth, prince of the Jorhamites, a little before he abandoned the territory of Mecca, and fled with his people into Yaman. During the aforesaid interval, the spot this famous well had formerly occupied was entirely unknown. The Koreish at first gave Abd'al Motâlleb, and his son Al Hâreth, some obstruction in the execution of their design; but at last Abd'al Motâlleb, having got twelve sons to support him, carried his point with a high hand, and, in obedience to the divine command, opened the well Zemzem. The Mohammedans are persuaded, that Zemzem is the very spring which gushed out for the relief of Ishmael, when Hagar, his mother, wandered with him in the desert; and some pretend, that it was so named from her calling to him, when she spied it, in the Egyptian tongue, *zem, zem*, that is, *stay, stay*; though it seems rather to have had the name from the murmuring of its waters. Others deduce it from the verb *zem*, which signifies *to issue out of the earth*. The water of this well, which is on the east side of the Caaba, and covered with a small building and cupola, is reckoned holy, and highly reverenced; being not only drank with particular devotion by the pilgrims, but also sent in bottles, as a great rarity, to most parts of the Mohammedan dominions. Abd'allah, surnamed Al Hâfedh, from his great memory, particularly as to the traditions of Mohammed, pretended, that he acquired that faculty by drinking large draughts of Zemzem water. The citizens of Mecca had, for a long time, no other water than that with which they were supplied by this well; but the great concourse of pilgrims, and caravans, in after-ages, rendering a more copious supply of water necessary, an aqueduct, that had been begun from a spring at a considerable distance some time before, was, after several years labour, finished by the Khalif Al Moktader [f].

Abd'allah.

Abd'allah, Mohammed's father, was a younger son of Abd'al Motâlleb, and the most beautiful person of the tribe

[f] Aut. lib. Sairat Mogholtai, Ebn Hesham, Gab. Sionit. & J. Hesr. de Nonnull. Urb. Orient. p. 19. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 5. Gagn. ubi supra, p. 60, 61, 62. Sharif Al. Edrisi, apud Pocockium, in Not. ad Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 124. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 99.

of Koreiſh. However, he cannot be ſuppoſed to have been his father's youngeſt ſon, as M. de Boulainvilliers aſſerts; ſince Hamza and Al Abbâs were both younger than Abd'allah. Abd'al Motâlleb is ſaid to have had twelve ſons beſides Abd'allah, whoſe names have been given us in the following order by Abulfeda: Hamza, Al Abbâs, Abu Tâleb, Abu Lâheb, Al Ghidâk, Al Hâreth, Jehel, Al Mokawwam, Derâr, Al Zobeir, Kethâm, and Abd'al Caaba. From Al Abbâs deſcended the Abbâſidæ; of which family were ſeveral khalifs. Abu Tâleb was the father of the famous Ali, the fourth khalif, and ſucceſſor of Mohammed. As for Abd'allah, the ladies of his own tribe fell ſo deſperately in love with him, that ſome of them are ſaid to have made the ſame attempt upon him that Potiphar's wife did upon Joſeph. He married Amena, the daughter of Wâheb, the ſon of Abd'al Menâf, in the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth year of his age, if we will believe Abulfeda; though Ahmed Ebn Yuſef makes him to have been near ten years younger when this event happened. Be that as it may, the Moſlems repreſent Amena as the moſt beautiful, prudent, and virtuous lady of her tribe, and conſequently the moſt worthy of ſo extraordinary a perſon as Abd'allah [g].

Abd'allah dying young, and in his father's life-time, left his widow, and infant ſon, in very mean circumſtances; his whole ſubſtance conſiſting but of five camels and one Ethiopian ſhe-ſlave. Abd'al Motâlleb was therefore obliged to take care of his grandchild Mohammed; which he not only did during his life, but at his death enjoined his eldeſt ſon Abu Tâleb, who was brother to Abd'allah by the ſame mother, to provide for him. Soon after which Abd'al Motâlleb expired, being, according to Ebn Amid, a hundred and ten years old at his death: that he was prince, or chief, of the Koreiſh, during the war of the Elephant, we learn from Abulfeda; and, from Al Juzi, that Abd'allah, being ſent by his father to reconnoitre the enemy, brought the firſt advice of their ſupernatural defeat [h].

From what has been ſaid it appears, that Mohammed was not of ſuch mean extraction as ſome authors pretend; ſince his family had, for ſeveral deſcents, preſided over the Koreiſh, the moſt noble tribe amongſt all the Arabians,

[g] Al Zamakhſhari, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Al Jannabi, Abulfed. in Genealog. Koreiſhitar. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi ſupra. Al Kodai, Poc. Not. in Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 51. [h] Abulfed. de Vit. Moham. p. 2. Ebn Amid. Al Juzi, Gagn. la Vie de Mahom. p. 67, 68. Al Kor. Mohammed. ſur. 105.

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However, it is not to be wondered at that Mohammed, in the beginning of his life, ſhould have been in a very poor and deſpicable condition: for his father dying before he was two years old, and whilſt his grandfather Abd'al Motâlleb was living, all the power and wealth of his family ſeem to have been diſtributed amongſt his uncles. Of theſe, Abu Tâleb, who, after his father's death, bore the chief ſway in Mecca, made the moſt conſiderable figure. He arrived at an old age, and was extremely kind to his nephew Mohammed; inſtructing him in the buſineſs of a merchant. To this end he took the young prophet, to uſe the ſtyle of the Moſlems, with him into Syria, when he was but thirteen, and afterwards recommended him to Khadijah, a noble and rich widow, for her factor; in whoſe ſervice he behaved himſelf ſo well, that, by making him her huſband, ſhe ſoon raiſed him to an equality with the richeſt in Mecca [1].

The Arab hiſtorians little verſed in chronology.

From the preceding account it appears, that the firſt ſeries of deſcents in the genealogical line of Mohammed does not correſpond with the courſe of nature. It contains only nine generations, a number apparently too ſmall for the interval between Abraham and Adnân. Unleſs we allow this, it muſt be maintained, that the whole ſpace between Abraham and Mohammed, including near two thouſand ſix hundred years, contained only thirty generations; which no rational perſon, moderately verſed in hiſtory and chronology, will be diſpoſed to admit. Thoſe authors, therefore, who enumerate between Iſhmael and Adnân forty generations, approach much nearer the truth than either Al Beihaki, Al Jarra, or the tradition derived from Omm Salma: but even that number is too ſmall, as it will not make the whole genealogical ſeries between Abraham and Mohammed to conſiſt of above ſixty deſcents; whereas that vaſt interval muſt at leaſt have comprehended ſixty-ſeven or ſixty-eight generations, even though we ſhould make the greateſt allowance that can be deſired for the ſuperior extent of human life during the ages preceding David. We cannot, therefore, but diſſent from Abulfeda, though a writer in good repute amongſt the learned, when he gives the preference to Al Jarra's ſentiments in the point before us; ſince that author places only eight generations between Iſhmael and Adnân; whereas other

[1] Abulfed. Abunazar, Abu'l-Faraj. Hiſt. Compendioſ. Dynaſt. p. 161, 162. Elmacin. lib. i. cap. 1. Hottinger. Hiſt. Oriental. lib. ii. cap. 1. Guadagnol. Tract. ii. cap. 10. Prid. Life of Mahom. p. 4. Gagn. la Vie de Mahom. liv. prem.

Arab

Arab chronologers enumerate about forty defcents between them. Befides, Abulfeda makes the creation of the world to have preceded the Hejra 6216 years, and has placed the age of Ifhmael at as great a diftance from that of Mohammed as the patrons either of the Hebrew, Samaritan, or Septuagint chronology; and confequently ought to have affigned as large a number of generations to the interval between thofe ages as any Chriftian hiftorian. However, as accuracy in chronological matters is not to be expected from the beft of the Moflem hiftorians, we are not furprifed to find Abulfeda fo deviating from the courfe of nature, and confequently from truth, in the particular here touched upon; but we cannot fo eafily excufe Mr. Gagnier and Mr. Sale, who have both implicitly followed Abulfeda on this occafion, and confequently decided in favour of Al Jarra; though, to all perfons moderately acquainted with the firft principles of hiftory and chronology, nothing can appear more abfurd than fuch a decifion [k].

Birth of Mohammed.

Mohammed, the legiflator of the Arabs, and founder of the Moflem power, honoured by his followers with the glorious title of the Apoftle of God, was born at Mecca, in the year of Chrift 578, foon after the commencement of the æra of the Elephant. The principal epochs of the ancient world preceded this famous event, according to Abulfeda, the following number of years:

The creation of the world, - -	6163.
The univerfal deluge, - -	3921.
The confufion of languages, - -	3251.
The birth of Abraham, - -	2840.
The building of the Caaba, - -	2740.
The death of Mofes, - -	2295.
The building of the temple at Jerufalem, -	1749.
The commencement of the æra of Nabonaffar,	1316.
The deftruction of the temple at Jerufalem, -	1297.
The conquefl of the Perfian empire by Alexander the Great - - -	881.
The victory at Actium, - -	599.
The commencement of the Chriftian æra, -	578.
The deftruction of the temple of Jerufalem by Titus,	505.
The firft year of the emperor Hadrian, -	454.

[k] Al Beihaki, Al Jarra, & Omm. Salma apud Ifm. Abulfed. de Vit. Moham. cap. ii. ut & ipfe Abulfed. ibid. & cap. xxiii. p. 47—50. Gagn. la Vie de Mahom. Introduct. p. ii. Sale's Genealogic. Tab. in Prelim. Difc. p. 8. See alfo Differtat. on the Chronology of the Septuagint, Lond. 1741.

The

The insurrection of Ardeshir, the son of Bâbek, 369.
The beginning of the reign of Diocleſian, - 286.

The pretended prophet firſt ſaw the light on Monday the twelfth day of the month called by the Arabs the former Rabî, preciſely at the ſixth hour of the day; or, according to our manner of computing, about noon. This anſwered to the ſame hour of the twenty-ſecond day of the Syriac month Niſan, correſponding with our April; the ſun being then in the tenth degree of Aries, as has been particularly remarked by ſome of the Moſlem hiſtorians[1].

Prodigies at Mohammed's birth.

The Mohammedan writers pretend, that the moment their prophet iſſued from his mother's womb, there ruſhed out with him a luminous appearance, that enlightened, in an extraordinary manner, all the cities, towns, villages, caſtles, and public places of Syria. They add, that, at the ſame inſtant, he fell upon his knees, and, lifting up his face towards heaven, in a devout manner, pronounced, with an audible and diſtinct voice, the words Allah Achbar, &c. that is to ſay, "God is great; there is only one God, and I am his prophet." They likewiſe affirm, that he was born circumciſed, and with his umbilical veſſels cut, to the great aſtoniſhment of all who were preſent at his birth.

Some of theſe writers have alſo handed down to us a long detail of the prodigies that attended his birth, as they were related by his mother Amena. Our curious readers will not be diſpleaſed to meet with a few of the moſt remarkable of them here; as they will ſerve to give them a tolerable idea of the Arab genius, and clearly demonſtrate how eaſily and groſly the Mohammedans may be impoſed upon.

1. All the demons, or evil ſpirits, that had poſted themſelves in the conſtellations and ſigns of the Zodiac, to pry into the actions, and overhear the diſcourſes, of the inhabitants of heaven, as alſo to tempt them, were diſlodged from thence: nor could they ever after animate idols, or deliver oracles upon earth; their influence there, in that reſpect, being totally deſtroyed.

2. The ſacred fire of the Perſians, which had remained burning, without intermiſſion, above a thouſand years, ever ſince the time of Zoroaſter, or Zerduſht, immediately after the delivery of Amena, was totally extinguiſhed.

[1] Abulfed. ubi ſup. cap. i. p. 2. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 5, 6. Vide etiam lib. Perſ. Mu'gjizat Pharſi apud Cl. Hyd. in Præfat. ad Hiſt. Relig. Vet. Perſ. fol. penult. init. & Gagn. Not. ad Abulfed. ubi ſup. p. 2.

3. The

3. The waters of the lake of Sawa, belonging to the Banu Hamdân, were so entirely dried up, that a city was built on the bottom of it, which still preserves the name of Sawia.

4. Part of the king of Persia's palace was overthrown by an earthquake; fourteen of its towers having been demolished by the violence of the shock. This event so terrified Khosrû, that he immediately sent for the Mûbadân, or Magian pontiff, to learn of him what such a disaster might portend. The Mûbadân, or Mûbedhân, instead of satisfying the king directly, told his majesty, that he had lately seen in a dream a fierce and strong camel vanquished by a beautiful Arabian horse; and that the Tigris seemed to him to overflow its banks, and lay all the neighbouring country under water; circumstances which, said he, imports, that we shall receive some bad news from the side of Arabia. Khosrû dispatched an express to Al Nooman, the son of Al Mondar, an Arab prince, who held his residence at Hira, a city seated on the frontiers of Syria and Persia, one of his vassals, commanding him to come to court, and bring with him an Arabian interpreter of dreams and prodigies. Al Nooman, in obedience to this order, soon after presented to the king Abd'al Massih, the Ghassanite, to whom Khosrû imparted a particular account of the preceding prodigies, and desired an interpretation of them. Abd'al Massih replied, that he should easily satisfy his majesty, if he might have leave to consult his uncle Satih, a celebrated diviner, who resided in the eastern part of Syria. Which having obtained, he received for answer, that the fall of the fourteen towers, with the drying up of the lake of Sawa, the Mûbedân's dream, and the extinction of the sacred fire of the Persians, denoted the failure of the royal family of the Sassanidæ, and the subjugation of the Persians, after the reigns of fourteen kings and queens; which accordingly happened. We are farther told, that Satih, being extremely affected with Abd'al Massih's relation of the foregoing prodigies, ordered himself to be carried to Mecca, where Mohammed was lately born. Here he met with Abu Tâleb, Mohammed's uncle, and Abd'allah, his father, to whom he foretold the future advancement of the child; and, amongst other things, said, "His name is known both in the Law and the Gospel; his name in heaven is Ahmed, on earth Mohammed, and, in paradise, Abu'l Kâsem [m]."

[m] Al Hafedh, Abulfed. Makhzum, Marracc. ubi supra. Al Jannabi, Rustem Al Maulavi, Al Bokhari.

We

We need not inform our intelligent readers, that these extravagant fictions have been coined by the Mohammedans, in order to represent the birth of their pretended prophet as similar to that of our Saviour; or, in other words, to draw a sort of parallel between those two events. From whence it clearly appears, that the Mohammedan writers imitated the sacred penmen, in the point before us; though the relations of the latter are as different from those of the former, as reality is from fiction, religion from superstition, sacred and divine truth from diabolical error and delusion.

The Moslem's imitate the evangelists.

Abd'al Motalleb, Mohammed's grandfather, the seventh day after his birth, made a great entertainment, to which he invited the principal men of the Koreish; who, after the repast, desired him to give the infant, he had invited them to see, a name. Abd'al Motalleb immediately replied, "I name this child Mohammed." The Koreish grandees, astonished at this answer, asked him again, whether he would not choose to call his grandson by a name that had belonged to some one of his family. He answered, "May the Most High glorify in heaven him whom he has created on earth!" in which expression he seemed to allude to the name Mohammed, signifying *praised*, or *glorified* [n].

Abd'al Motalleb calls his grandson Mohammed.

Mohammed lost his father Abd'allah, when he was about two months old, according to Abulfeda; though others believe, that his father died before he was born. Abd'allah departed this life at Yathreb, which was the ancient and proper name of Medina, or of the territory whereon it stands. Some suppose the town was so named from its founder, Yathreb, the son of Kâbiya, the son of Mahlayel, the son of Aram, the son of Shem, the son of Noah; though others tell us it was built by the Amalekites. However Yathreb was never called Medina, or Medinato'l-Nabi, i. e. *the city of the prophet*, till either Mohammed's retreat thither, or his interment there, in a magnificent building, covered with a cupola, and adjoining to the east side of the great temple, which is built in the midst of the city.

Mohammed lost his father very young.

The first nurse that suckled Mohammed, after his mother, was Thawiba, his uncle Abu Laheb's servant. She at the same time suckled her own son Masruh, Hamza, another of the prophet's uncles, and Abu Salama, the son of

Mohammed's nurses, &c.

[n] Al Hafedh, Abu Becr. Ahmed Al Baihek. Al Shaf. apud Ism. Abulfed. ubi supra, ut & ipse Abulfed. ibid.

Abd'al

Abd'al Asad, the Makhzumite. He was also nursed by Halima, at his mother Amena's request, the daughter of Aba Dowaib, the son of Al Hâreth, of the Banu Saad, who took him into the desert inhabited by her tribe, and, after some time, brought him again to Mecca. We are told by Abulfeda, that Halima, whilst Mohammed was under her care, and her husband Al Hâreth, the son of Abd'al Uzza, one day found the young prophet strangely disordered; and were greatly surprised, when he informed them, that he had been thrown down upon the ground by two men, who had opened his belly. This declaration induced Halima to think, that he had been either attacked by some hypochondriac disorder, or been frightened by some diabolical illusion; and therefore she immediately brought him home to his mother Amena. At this period, he was attacked by some malady, which is supposed to have been the epilepsy; though none of the Moslem writers are explicit on this subject. Halima brought up with Mohammed, Abd'allah, Anisa, and Hadâma, or Al Shîma; and, being afterwards reduced to great poverty, had forty sheep given her, at Mohammed's request, by his wife Khadîjah. Halima, and her husband Al Hâreth, were some of the first that embraced Islamism, or the Mohammedan religion.

Amena dies;

Mohammed lived three years with his mother Amena, after he had been obliged to leave Halima, and her husband Al Hâreth, by the foregoing indisposition; at the end of which, she departed this life, her son being then about six years of age, at a town called Al Abwa, situated between Mecca and Medina. This town stood to the north of Al Johfa, from whence it was distant about eight parasangs. Amena had been visiting her uncles of the Banu Ada, and died on the road, in her return home. After this sad event, his grandfather Abd'al Motalleb took the young prophet under his protection; and, in many respects, preferred him to his own sons; to whom he frequently said, "We must take particular care of this young infant °."

as does Abd'al Motalleb.

Two years after the death of Amena, Abd'al Motâlleb likewise departed this life; but before he expired, he enjoined his eldest son, Abu Tâleb, who was brother to Abd'allah, Mohammed's father, by the same mother, to provide for his grandchild Mohammed; which he very af-

° Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 10 & in Geogr. p. 13. Al Jannabi, Greg. Abu'l Faraj. Hist. Dynast. p. 161, 162.

fectionately

fectionately did, and instructed him in the business of a merchant. This event happened towards the beginning of the reign of Khosrû Hormûz, the son of Khosrû Anushirwan, king of Persia; in which year, according to some of the eastern writers, Abu Becr was born [p].

Mohammed's first journey into Syria.

Abu Taleb, in order to perfect his nephew in the employment he had chosen for him, took him with him into Syria, whither he found himself obliged to go on affairs of commerce; Mohammed being then about twelve or thirteen years of age. He no sooner arrived at Bosra, an ancient city of Syria Damascena, than he visited a monastery where he found a Nestorian monk, named Felix, the son of Jonas, the son of Abd'al Salibi, and surnamed Boheira; who advanced towards them, treated them with great marks of distinction, and gave them a grand entertainment [q]. We are told by Abu'l Hasan Ali Al Masudi, that this monk was called by the Christians Sergius, and belonged to the monastery of Abd'al Kais. From whence we may justly infer, as hath been observed by Dr. Prideaux, that he was the Sergius of Vincentius Bellovacensis, so frequently mentioned by other Latin writers. The word *boheira* seems to be equivalent to the Latin *marinus*, *of* or *belonging to the sea* or *marine*; though Dr. Prideaux assigns it another interpretation. Of this extraordinary person we shall have occasion farther to speak in the sequel of this history [r].

He is entertained by Boheira.

Upon Mohammed's first approach to Boheira, the monk observed a sort of luminous or transparent cloud round his head, that preserved him from the solar rays; as also that the dry trees, on which he sat, were every where covered instantly with green leaves, that served him for a shade: certain signs that the prophetic dignity resided in him. He likewise discovered the seal of prophecy impressed between his shoulders, whilst he kissed the hinder part of his garment. Turning then to Abu Taleb, "Depart (said he), with this child, and take great care that he does not fall into the hands of the Jews; for your nephew will one day become a very extraordinary person." Abu Taleb hereupon immediately returned to Mecca, and gave an account to the Koreish of the discoveries that had been made. In the mean time Mohammed, as he advanced

p Abulfed. ubi supra. Al Montek. apud Al Jannab. Al Tabar. apud Elmacin. &c. Greg. Abu'l-Farj. ubi supra. q Al Kodai, Ahmed Ebn. Yusef, Abu'l-Faraj. Hist. Dynast. Vide etiam Poc. Not. in Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 170. & Gentii Not. ad Musladin. Sad. p. 536. r Abu'l Hasan Ali Al Masud.

towards

towards the years of puberty, grew extremely popular. He was remarkable for his amiable qualities, and ſhining accompliſhments, both of body and mind. He was the moſt handſome and the beſt made man of all the Arabs of his time; and likewiſe ſurpaſſed them all in ſagacity and good ſenſe. He was judicious in his anſwers, juſt in his expreſſions, ſincere both in his words and actions, and ſtudiouſly avoided every thing that had but the leaſt appearance of indecency and diſhoneſty; inſomuch that he went among his countrymen by the name of Al Amin, or *the Faithful.* In fine, he was bleſſed with all the moral and intellectual endowments that can adorn a great and good man. This is the fine portrait given us of Mohammed, at the age of fourteen years, by ſome of the Moſlem hiſtorians [s]. But the Chriſtian writers, on the contrary, have placed both the character of this impoſtor, and his doctrines, in a very different light [t].

Mohammed's firſt campaign, &c.

Mohammed made his firſt campaign when he was fourteen, according to Abulfeda, or twenty, as the other eaſtern hiſtorians will have it, under his uncle Abu Taleb, who commanded the Koreiſh againſt the tribes of Kenan and Hawazan. What gave occaſion to this war, we are no where told; but as it was carried on with great violence and fury through the courſe of the four ſacred months Al Moharram, Rajeb, Dhu'lkaada, and Dhu'lhajja, it was termed the impious war. It may not be improper to remind our readers that, during theſe months, it was held unlawful amongſt the Arabs to wage war; they then taking off the heads from their ſpears, and ceaſing from incurſions, and other hoſtilities. Whoever was in fear of his enemy, lived then in full ſecurity; ſo that if a man met the murderer of his father, or his brother, he durſt not attack him, or even offer him any manner of violence. The tribes of Tay and Khathâam, and ſome of the deſcendents of Al Hareth Ebn Caab, who diſtinguiſhed no time or place as ſacred, were the only Arabs that ſlighted this inſtitution. We muſt not omit obſerving, that the Koreiſh, under the conduct of Abu Taleb and young Mohammed, in this war, were victorious; which could not fail of rendering the people of their tribe ſtill more devoted to them [u].

[s] Abulfed. ubi ſupra. Al Jannabi, Al Kodai, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef. Abu'l-Farj. Hiſt. Dynaſt. Abu'l-Haſan Ali Al Maſud. [t] Zonar. Hotting. Hiſt Orient. &c. Vide etiam Ludovicum Marraccium. in Prodr. & Refut. Al Koran. Patavii, 1698. [u] Abulfed. ubi ſupra, p. 11. Al Firauzabadi, Al Kodai, Al Jawhar. Al Shahreſtan. Al Kazwin. Al Mogholtai. Vide etiam Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 4, 5, & Poc. Not. in Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 174. &c.

It

It is pretended by Aljuzi, that Mohammed, about this time, though ſo young, gave a ſignal proof of his profound ſagacity on a very particular occaſion. The Koreiſh, according to this author, having found that the Caaba, or the ſquare ſtone building of the temple of Mecca, was too ſmall and too low, formed a deſign of demoliſhing it, and erecting a larger and higher edifice in its room. But when the new building was raiſed to its intended height, continues the ſame writer, where the black ſtone was to be placed, the tribes could not agree amongſt themſelves about the perſon who was to have the honour of placing it. However, they came at laſt to a reſolution to refer the deciſion of this diſpute to the perſon who ſhould next approach the holy place, called by the Arabs Al Haram; which happened to be young Mohammed. At his direction, the ſtone was raiſed on a piece of tapeſtry, by one man of every tribe, to its intended height, and then taken from them, and fixed in its proper place by the prophet himſelf. The Cabaa was then covered with tapeſtry of various colours, and rebuilt by the Koreiſh on the old foundation. It was afterwards repaired by Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir, the khalif of Mecca, and at length again rebuilt by Yuſef, ſurnamed Al Hejâj, with ſome alterations, and covered with tapeſtry of ſilk, in the ſeventy-fourth year of the Hejra.

He diſcovers great ſagacity.

We hear little farther of Mohammed till he was twenty-five years of age, when he married Khadîjah, a noble and rich widow, to whom his uncle Abu Tâleb firſt recommended him as a factor; after he had ſufficiently inſtructed him in mercantile affairs. Khadîjah was the daughter of Khowailed, the ſon of Aſad, the ſon of Abd' al Uzza, the ſon of Koſa, the ſon of Kelâb, of the tribe of Koreiſh. Mohammed undertook a ſecond journey into Syria, after he had entered into her ſervice, attended by her ſervant Maïſara; and acquitted himſelf ſo much to her ſatisfaction, that ſoon after his return to Mecca ſhe made him her huſband. Theophanes and Cedrenus were therefore undoubtedly miſtaken, when they aſſerted Mohammed to have ſerved Khadîjah in ſo mean and low a capacity as that of keeper of her camels, at the time that ſhe thought proper to beſtow both her perſon and fortune upon him. This event was owing, if Abulfeda may be credited, to the high opinion ſhe entertained of Mohammed's integrity, which was greatly heightened by Maïſara, who ſcrupled not to affirm, that ſhe had ſeen two angels ſhade her factor with their wings from the ſcorching beams of the ſun. If this be true,

Mohammed marries Khadîjah.

Mohammed began to act the part of an impostor pretty early, and discovered himself to be a person of some capacity, even at that time, by finding means to influence Maïsara in his favour. Be that as it may, the prophet's first wife Khadîjah was forty years old when she married him. The Moslems pretend, that she was the first convert to Islamism; and that Mohammed loved her so well, though she was much elder than himself, that he never had the least familiarity with any other woman during her life. We learn from Ahmed Ebn Yusef, that she had two husbands before Mohammed; the second of which was Abu Hâlat, a confederate of the Banu Abd' al Dari, and the other Atîk, the Makhzumite. The commentators upon the Koran introduce a saying of their prophet, that among men there had been many perfect, but no more than four of the other sex had attained perfection; namely, Asia the wife of Pharaoh, Mary the daughter of Imrân, Khadîjah the daughter of Khowailed, and Fâtema the daughter of Mohammed. Khadîjah, according to Abulfeda, lived with her husband Mohammed ten years after the commencement of his mission, and died three years before the Hejra [w].

Mohammed made two journies into Syria.

The generality of the Arab historians, both Christian and Mohammedan, are clearly of opinion, that Mohammed made two journies into Syria. The first time Mohammed and Abu Tâleb entered Syria, they were attended by Abu Becr. and Belâl, to whom, or Abu Tâleb, Boheira delivered the above mentioned predictions; advising all of him, at the same time, to retire as soon as possible, and by all means to avoid the Jews, whom he called the People of the Book. The second time he visited the merchants of Bosra, or Bostra, he had also an interview with Boheira; and was, according to an author of credit, then instructed by him in the principles of the Christian Faith; so that, upon his return to Mecca, he could not forbear communicating to the Koreish the sentiments he had received; and from this period he seems to have meditated a reformation among the Arabs; which, if we admit, it cannot seem so improbable, as Mr. Sale would insinuate, that this Nestorian monk, with whom Mohammed had some conference in his younger

[w] Ism. Abulfed. de Vit. Mohammed. cap. v. p. 11—13. Ahmed Ebn Yusef, in Hist. sect. i. cap. 40. Al Jannabi, Al Kodai, &c. Abu'l Faraj. ubi supra. Vide etiam Theophan. Chronograph. p. 277, 278. Parisis, 1655. Georg. Cedren. Historiar. Compend. p. 421, 422. Par. 1647. Ludovicum Marraccium, in Vit. Moham. cap. p. 15. Ebn. Hamdun. apud Pocockium, in not. ad Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 171. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid.

years,

years, ſhould aſſiſt him in the contrivance and compoſition of his Koran. Nor is it neceſſary, as that learned author ſuppoſes, that Boheira ſhould quit his monaſtery, and go with the Moſlem prophet into Arabia, in order to enable him the more effectually to accompliſh ſuch a deſign, as he might either have aſſiſted him in the formation of his plan, as well as the execution of it, when they conferred together at Boſra, or have afterwards, at various times, ſupplied him with materials for that purpoſe; for it can ſcarce be doubted that there was an eaſy canal of intelligence between Arabia, and particularly Mecca as well as Medina, and Syria Damaſcena, where Boheira reſided, by means of the caravans of merchants, which were continually paſſing and repaſſing between thoſe countries.

Mohammed was a merchant after he married Khadijah.

Khadijah, having raiſed her huſband Mohammed to an equality with the richeſt in Mecca, he was enabled to live at his eaſe for the next fifteen years; though it is probable he ſtill followed the occupation of a merchant: for his countrymen, the tribe of Koreiſh, were much addicted to commerce, as the deſcendents of Iſhmael, whom they conſtantly imitated, had been, in almoſt the earlieſt ages. They, like thoſe ancient Arabs, from whom indeed they were deſcended, carried on a trade with the Syrians, Perſians, and Egyptians, furniſhing thoſe nations with ſuch commodities, which they carried on the backs of camels, as came to them from India, Ethiopia, and other ſouthern parts. To this employment they were chiefly prompted by the ſterility of the ſoil about Mecca, which ſcarcely produced any fruits but what were common in the deſerts, and the commodious port of Jodda, on the Red Sea, which, for ſuch a branch of trade, had a moſt convenient ſituation.

Mohammed forms a deſign to introduce a new religion among the Arabs.

But however our pretended prophet might have been employed, during the aforeſaid interval, he probably never loſt ſight of his grand deſign, though no proper opportunity, till after the expiration of this term, did offer itſelf, of carrying it into execution. The diſpoſition of the Arabs would not permit him ſooner to effectuate the ſcheme he had formed of eſtabliſhing a new religion; or, as he expreſſed it, of replanting the only true and ancient religion, profeſſed by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moſes, Jeſus, and all the prophets. This he propoſed to do by deſtroying the groſs idolatry into which the generality of his countrymen had fallen, and weeding out the corruptions and ſuperſtitions which the latter Jews and Chriſtians had, as he pretended, introduced into their religion, and reducing it

to its originial purity, which consisted chiefly, according to him, in the worship of the one only God.

It can scarce be doubted but that, by the course of trade, which he carried on in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, he became acquainted with the tenets of the Jews, as well as those of the different sects into which the Christians of the East were then divided; the effects of which discover themselves in the Koran. Observing with what an implacable fury the Jews, and all these several sects of Christians, persecuted one another, he from thence concluded, that the most effectual way for him to aggrandize himself, would be to introduce a new religion, formed upon such a plan, that the most abandoned part of the Jews, as well as Christians, of all denominations, and even Pagans, might be tempted to become proselytes to it. Accordingly we find that Islamism is entirely adapted to the taste of a sensualist; and that the belief of the unity of God, as also of the apostleship of Mohammed, the heterodox notions, borrowed from various heretical sects, who yet styled themselves Christians, together with some injunctions pressing an observance of the moral duties therein specified, besides the retention of certain Jewish and Heathenish rites, make up the whole of that religion [x].

How Islamism made so rapid a progress.

As Islamism, therefore, seems to have been calculated to sooth and indulge mens vicious appetites in general, and the sensual depraved taste of the Pagan Arabs in particular, it is no wonder that, in so short a time, it should have made such an amazing progress. Men are naturally prone to believe what they wish may be true; and considering the weakness of the human intellect, especially in the generality of mankind, and how incapable they for the most part are of listening to the dictates of reason and truth, or of meditating upon their last and most permanent stage of being, with any attention, it cannot appear strange, that by mere dint of delusion they should so frequently bring themselves to such a belief.

Some of the Arabs infected with Zendicism.

Notwithstanding the wickedness and absurdity of some of his tenets, several circumstances concurred to render Mohammed powerful, and to forward the propagation of his imposture. The Koreish, his countrymen, were infected with Zendicism; an error supposed to have very

[x] Al Kor. Mohammed. pass. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 14, 15. Lond. 1718. Sale's Prelim. Disc. and Notes on the Kor. pass. Vide etiam Ludovic. Marraccii. Refut. Alcor. pass. Patavii, 1698.

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near affinity with that of the Sadducees among the Jews, who denied the existence of angels and spirits. Since, therefore, these Arabs rejected an over-ruling Providence, the resurrection, and a future state, they had, in reality, no religion at all; and therefore, as the learned Dr. Prideaux observes, were prepared to receive any impressions of God and his worship that Mohammed should think fit to communicate to them.

Dissensions and corruptions in the Christian church.

The dissensions also in the western church, as well as the corruptions and superstitions that deformed the eastern, greatly contributed to the establishment and extension of Mohammedism. At the time of Mohammed's appearance the contests amongst Christians, especially in the western church, ran so high, that, in consequence of them, several violences, and even frequent murders were committed. The eastern church likewise, after the Nicene council, was engaged in perpetual controversies, and torn to pieces by the disputes of the Arians, Sabellians, Nestorians, Eutychians, &c. on which a most fatal corruption of doctrine and morals in the princes and clergy ensued, which was necessarily followed by an almost general depravity of the people [y].

The Roman and Persian monarchies in a declining condition.

If the distracted state of religion favoured the designs of Mohammed on one side, the weakness of the Roman and Persian monarchies might flatter him with no less hopes of succeeding in them on the other. Had not these once formidable empires, either of which in their vigour must have crushed Mohammedanism in its birth, been strangely reduced, neither Mohammed, nor any of his followers, would have dared to make an attempt upon the least province of either: but the Arabs having met with uncommon success in their enterprizes against those powers, they failed not to attribute it to their new religion, and the great interest the author of it had at the court of heaven. This belief inspired them with a resolution to propagate it by the most violent and unjustifiable means, even by fire and sword, as, indeed, by their pretended prophet, they had been strictly enjoined to do; which method of conversion has been most religiously observed, and made use of, by all their followers and descendants.

[y] Vide Simon. Hist. Crit. de la Creance. &c. des Nations du Levant. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxi. xxvii. &c. Euseb Hist. Eccles. lib. viii. cap. 1. Soz. lib. i. cap. 14, &c. Hilar. & Sulpic. Sever. in Hist. Sacr. p. 112, &c. Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 239, &c.

What made the Roman empire weak at this time.

The Roman empire declined apace after Conſtantine, whoſe ſucceſſors, for the generality, bore but very indifferent characters. By Mohammed's time, the weſtern half of it was over-ran by the Goths, and the eaſtern ſo reduced by the Hunns on the one ſide, and the Perſians on the other, that it was not in a capacity of ſtemming the violence of a powerful invaſion. The emperor Maurice paid tribute to the khagân, or king of the Hunns, who was a very potent prince; and after Phocas had uſurped the throne, ſuch havock was made among the ſoldiers, that, within the ſpace of ſeven years, almoſt all the veterans were deſtroyed, and ſcarce any regular troops left for the defence of the empire. And though Heraclius, who was a prince of admirable courage and conduct, reſtored the diſcipline of the army, and had great ſucceſs againſt the Perſians, yet ſtill the very vitals of the empire ſeemed to have received a mortal wound. So that no time could have been more favourable to the deſigns of Mohammed, than that wherein he found means to impoſe his new religion, or rather his infamous impoſture, upon the Arabs.

The Perſians almoſt ruined by their inteſtine diſſenſions.

The Perſians had alſo been in a declining condition for ſome time before Mohammed, occaſioned chiefly by their inteſtine broils and diſſenſions; great part of which aroſe from the doctrines of Manes and Mazdak. The opinions of the former are very well known; and thoſe of the latter, who lived in the reign of Khoſrû Kobâd, have been already expatiated upon in our ancient hiſtory of the Arabs and Perſians. Theſe ſects would have certainly proved the immediate ruin of the Perſian empire, had not Khoſrû Anuſhirwân, or Nuſhirwân, as he is called by Mirkhond and Khondemir, the Perſian hiſtorians, as ſoon as he ſucceeded his father Khoſrû Kobâd, put Mazdak to death, with all his followers. However, Anuſhirwân, as the Arabs named him, though he was an excellent prince, and deſervedly ſurnamed the Juſt, could not put the affairs of Perſia in a flouriſhing ſituation. He joined the provinces of Cableſtân and Zableſtân to his hereditary dominions, and formed, by the conqueſts he had made, a moſt puiſſant empire, that extended from the city and territory of Fergâna to the borders of Arabia and Egypt, and from the maritime cities of Syria to the river Indus; notwithſtanding which, the interior part of his government was not ſettled upon a laſting foundation.

After the death of Khoſrû Anuſhirwân, the laſt king of Perſia who deſerved the crown, his ſon Khoſrû Hormûz, or, as the Perſians ſometimes call him, Hormozd, (from whence

whence came the Hormisdas of the Greeks) ascended the throne. He behaved at first with great prudence and moderation, which gained him the love and esteem of all his subjects; but afterwards he discovered a most cruel disposition, insomuch, that according to some historians, he caused thirteen thousand of his grandees to be put to death; an instance of barbarity which rendered him extremely odious to his people. This encouraged the khagân to invade his dominions with an army of three hundred thousand men; but his son, Shabeh Shah, having passed the Gihon at the head of those troops, was attacked on his march, and entirely defeated, by a body of twelve thousand Persians only, under the command of Baharâm Tchubîn, the best general then in Persia. However, Hormûz, having lost the love of his subjects by his excessive cruelty, had his eyes put out by his wife's brothers, and was obliged to resign the crown to his son Khosrû Parvîz, who, at the instigation of Baharâm, had rebelled against him, and was afterwards strangled. Parvîz was soon obliged to quit the throne to Baharâm; but obtaining succours of the Greek emperor Mauritius, he recovered the crown: yet, towards the latter end of a long reign, he grew so tyrannical and hateful to his subjects, that they held private correspondence with the Arabs; insomuch that he was at length deposed, imprisoned and slain by his son Shirûyeh. He is said to have made himself master of a great part of Arabia, Syria, Egypt, Nubia, and some of the islands of the Mediterranean; also to have reduced Chalcedon, and penetrated almost to Constantinople itself. And yet he left his kingdom in a very declining condition[z].

Shiruyeh, called by the Greek writers Siroes, succeeded his father Khosrû Parvîz, whom he caused to be put to death. He had a very short and unhappy reign. The kingdom of Persia being afflicted with a famine and pestilence at once, and his subjects generally disaffected to him, he abandoned himself to melancholy. This brought upon him a fever, which, with the plague, soon put a period to his life. Nor did his successor Ardshîr long enjoy the high dignity to which he was advanced; Sheberiar having cut him off, and all the nobility who were strictly attached to him, almost immediately after his accession. This massacre put that usurper in possession of the crown, which yet, according to Mirkhond, he did not wear above

[z] Mirkhond. sect. 25. Khondemir, ubi supra. Lebtarickh, D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. art. Hormouz. Sale, ubi supra, p. 37.

fifty days. Touran Dockt, one of the princeſſes of the blood, who next aſcended the throne, diſappointed the Arabs in a vigorous effort they made to conquer Perſia; but is ſuppoſed to have died a martyr to that love which he had ſhewn for the people: on her deceaſe, the public affairs fell into the greateſt confuſion. Gihan Shedah, who ſucceeded, was depoſed in a few days. Azurmi Dockt, the youngeſt daughter of Khoſrû Parvîz, being ſeated on the throne, after a ſhort reign, was aſſaſſinated by one of her ſubjects: nor did her nephew and ſucceſſor Ferokhzad, who was poiſoned by one of his ſlaves, long ſurvive her. Jezdegerd, or Yezdegerd, the laſt king, was overthrown in battle by the khalif Omar, who annexed the moſt conſiderable part of the Perſian territories to his own dominions. In fine, the domeſtic broils of the Perſians effectually brought ruin upon them; for though they did, rather by the weakneſs of the Greeks than their own force, ravage Syria, ſack Jeruſalem and Damaſcus, under Khoſrû Parvîz, and, while the Arabs were divided and independent, had ſome power in the province of Yaman, where they ſet up the four laſt kings before Mohammed; yet, when attacked by the Greeks under Heraclius, they not only loſt their new conqueſts, but part of their own dominions; and no ſooner were the Arabs united by Mohammediſm, than they defeated them in every battle, and in a few years totally ſubdued them [a].

The Arabs now ſtrong and flouriſhing.

As the Greeks and the Perſians were in a weak and declining ſituation, ſo the Arabs were ſtrong and flouriſhing. Their country had been peopled at the expence of the Grecian empire, whence the violent proceedings of the domineering ſects forced many to ſeek refuge in Arabia, where they, who could not enjoy tranquility and their conſcience at home, found a ſecure retreat. The Arabs were not only a populous nation, but unacquainted with the luxury and delicacies of the Greeks and Perſians, and inured to hardſhips of all ſorts. They lived in a parſimonious manner, ſeldom eating any fleſh, and never drinking wine: nor would the barren region they inhabited, and particular manner of life to which they were confined, permit them to taſte thoſe gratifications and amuſements ſo common in politer parts of the world. Their political govern-

[a] Lebtarikh, Khondemir, Mirkhond, ſect. 37, 38, 40, 43, 45, &c. Schikard. Tarikh. p. 165, 199, 170, &c. Greg. Abu'l Faraj. Hiſt. Dynaſt. Dyn. ix. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. art. Schirouieh, Ardſhir Ben Schirouieh, Scheheriar, Touran Dockt, &c. Teixeira Relaciones de los Reyes de Perſia, p. 195, &c.

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ment was alſo ſuch as favoured the ambitious deſigns of Mohammed; for the diviſion and independency of their tribes were ſo neceſſary to the firſt propagation of his religion, and the foundation of his power, that it would have been ſcarce poſſible for him to have effected either, had the Arabs been united in one ſociety: but when they had embraced his religion, the conſequent union of their tribes was no leſs neceſſary and conducive to their future conqueſts and grandeur [b].

Such was the poſture of public affairs in the eaſtern world, both as to its religious and political ſtate, when Mohammed formed his deſign of ſubverting the Greek and Perſian empires, and introducing a new ſyſtem of religion amongſt the Arabs. He had ſufficient opportunities of informing himſelf in all particulars relating to the genius and diſpoſition of both theſe nations, and even, in ſome reſpects, of the interior of their reſpective governments, during his travels as a merchant in his younger years. Nor can it well be doubted, but that the intelligence he then received enabled him to form his plan; eſpecially as he was a man of extraordinary parts and addreſs, and knew how to make the beſt of every incident, at leaſt if we will believe the Moſlem writers, and his great admirers the count de Boulainvilliers and Mr. Sale.

Mohammed's miſſion.

But to return to our hiſtory: Mohammed pretending, that his grand article of faith, the unity of the Divine Nature, was violated by all the reſt of the world; not only by idolaters, but by Chriſtians of all denominations, and the Jews alſo, who are accuſed in the Koran of taking Ezra for the ſon of God; he reſolved to make an attempt to reſcue the world from the ignorance and ſuperſtition that prevailed in it: but, as a previous ſtep, he rightly judged, that it would be neceſſary for him to convert his own houſhold. Having therefore retired with his family to a cave in Mount Hara, near Mecca, he there opened the ſecret of his miſſion to his wife Khadijah; and acquainted her, that the angel Gabriel had juſt before appeared to him, and told him, that he was appointed the apoſtle of God. He alſo repeated to her a paſſage, which he pretended had been revealed to him by the miniſtry of the angel, with thoſe other circumſtances of his firſt appearance which are related by the Mohammedan writers. Our prophet was about forty years of age when he entered

[b] Boulainvilliers la Vie de Moham. paſſ. Sale, ubi ſupra, p. 38. Poc. Not. in Spec. Hiſt. Arab. paſſ.

upon

upon his office; for which he prepared himſelf by his uſual reſidence in the cave, in the month Ramadân. Here he continued till the night in which, as he pretended, the angel Gabriel was firſt ſent to him. This night, which fell between the 23d and 24th of the month Ramadân, is called in the Koran the night of Al Kadr, or *the divine decree*; becauſe in it the Korân firſt deſcended entire from heaven; that book being afterwards vouchſafed the Moſlems from the ſame place only in parts, and this during the ſpace of twenty-three years. It is obſerved by Jallalo'ddîn, that the angel Gabriel appeared at firſt, on this occaſion, to Mohammed at a diſtance, and in his proper form; which was ſo glorious, that Mohammed fainted away at the firſt ſight of him: upon which he aſſumed a human ſhape, and drew nearer to the prophet. According to Abulfeda, Mohammed, immediately after his firſt interview with Gabriel, advanced to the middle of the mountain, where he heard a voice coming from heaven, and ſaying, "O Mohammed, thou art the apoſtle of God, and I am Gabriel." Immediately after which ſalutation, the angel again diſcovered himſelf, and Mohammed fixed his eyes upon him till he retired. Then returning to Mecca, he communicated to Khadîjah a more particular account of this revelation, which ſhe received with great joy; declaring herſelf quite charmed with ſuch agreeable news, and ſwearing, by him in whoſe hands her ſoul was, that ſhe was convinced he would be the prophet of the Arabian nation. Being in a ſort of extaſy, ſhe immediately imparted what ſhe had heard to her couſin Waraka Ebn Nawfal, who, being a Chriſtian, could write in the Hebrew character, and was tolerably well verſed in the Scriptures both of the Old and New Teſtament. He very readily came into her opinion, concerning the certainty and reality of Mohammed's miſſion; ſwearing by him in whoſe hands was the ſoul of Waraka, that what ſhe ſaid was true; and that Mohammed was the great prophet foretold in the law by Moſes the ſon of Amran. This was ſoon after told by her to Mohammed; who thereupon repaired to the Caaba, walked ſeven times round that ſacred place, and after he had performed his devotions there, retired to his own houſe. It is pretended by the Moſlem writers, that when Gabriel firſt appeared to Mohammed, he ſaid to him, "Read;" and that when the prophet anſwered he could not read, being perfectly illiterate, he replied, that God, who had inſpired man with the art of writing, would graciouſly remedy that defect in him: and with this perfectly correſ-

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pond those words of the Koran, "Read, in the name of thy Lord, who hath created all things; who hath created man of congealed blood. Read, by thy most beneficent Lord, who taught the use of the pen; who teacheth man that which he knoweth not." From what has been already observed, it may be inferred, that Mohammed had in view the beginning of St. Luke's gospel, when he framed the narrative of his first pretended revelation. As he began to set up for a reformer, at the age above mentioned, the fortieth year of his age is usually called the year of his mission. Many more particulars relative to this remarkable event, we are supplied with by Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Al Jannabi, and others; which savour so strongly of the Arab, or rather Moslem, genius, that our readers will not expect an insertion of them in this place [c].

Mohammed's first steps successful.

This first step meeting with the approbation of so considerable a person as Waraka Ebn Nawfal Ebn Asad Ebn Abd'al Uzza Ebn Kosa, Khadîjah's uncle, Mohammed entertained great hopes of succeeding in the accomplishment of his design. Encouraged by so good a beginning, he resolved to proceed, and try for some time, what he could do by private persuasion; not daring to hazard the whole affair, by exposing it too suddenly to the public. He soon made proselytes of those under his own roof, viz. his wife Khadîjah, who was indisputably the first of those converts, his servant Zeid Ebn Hâretha (to whom he gave his freedom on that occasion, which afterwards became a rule to his followers) and his cousin and pupil Ali, the son of Abu Tâleb, though then not above nine or ten years of age, according to the greatest part of the Moslem doctors: but this last, making no account of the other two, used to style himself the first of believers. The next person Mohammed applied himself to with success, was Abdallah Ebn Abu Kohâfa surnamed Abu Becr, and Al Seddik, or *the faithful witness*, a man of a very considerable authority among the Koreish, and one whose interest, he well knew, would be of great service to him. Nor was he at all disappointed in his views; for Abu Becr, being gained over, prevailed also on Othmân Ebn Affân, Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf, Saad Ebn Abi Wakkas, Al Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm, and Telha Ebn Obeid'allah, all principal

[c] Al Kor. Mohammed. s. ii. & alibi. Sale, ubi supra, p. 39, 42, &c. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 162. Ism Abulfed. de Vit. Mohammed. p. 14—17. Al Tabar. apud Elmacin. ut & ipse Elmacin. ibid. Al Kodai in cap. de Numer. Prophetar. & Legator. Jallalo'ddin, Al Zamakhshari, &c.

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men in Mecca, to follow his example. Afterwards Abu Obeida, whose name was Amer Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Al Gjerrah, Obeida Ebn Al Hâreth, Said Al Ebn Zeid Ebn Amru Ebn Nofail Ebn Abd'al Uzza, Abd'allah Ebn Masûd, and Amar Ebn Yâser, at the solicitation of the preceding converts, embraced Islamism, and openly declared their intention to support Mohammed; so that the surprising success he now met with, was, in a great measure, if not solely, owing to the influence of Abu Becr, who, after the death of the prophet, was saluted khalfa, or khalif, that is, *successor* or *vicegerent*, in exclusion of Ali, to whom that title, and the power annexed to it, of right belonged. We are informed by Al Kodai, that Abu Becr's name, in the time of ignorance, that is, before the introduction of Islamism, was Abd'al Caaba, or *the servant of the Caaba*; and that afterwards he was named by the prophet Abd'allah, *the servant of God*. He was the son of Abu Kohâfa, or Othmân Ebn Amer, who was of the posterity of Taïm Ebn Morra. He was surnamed Abu Becr, that is, *the father of the girl*, or *the virgin*, to wit, Ayesha, who was a girl, or virgin, when Mohammed married her; all his other wives having had husbands before they were admitted to his bed.

He makes his mission no longer a secret.

Abu Becr having thus, by his example and authority, gained Mohammed a considerable number of proselytes, the prophet gave him the surname of Al Seddik, which imports *the faithful witness*. He did not only engage for his veracity, in every thing he related concerning the revelation vouchsafed him in the night of Al Kadr, and his nocturnal journey afterwards to heaven, but likewise greatly exerted himself to increase the number of his followers. Mohammed likewise complimented him with the appellation of Atik, or *preserved*, that is, *one saved from hell-fire*; intimating thereby, that this zealous Moslem was most certainly one of the elect. For the space of three years, during which term he pretended to have received frequent revelations, the apostle only instructed his votaries in private; being under some apprehensions of the resentment of the Koreish, the bulk of which tribe did by no means at first favour his undertaking. However, Abu Becr persisted in his fidelity, and having, as he supposed, formed a sufficient party to support him, Mohammed made his mission no longer a secret; but, at the end of the above mentioned period, declared that God had commanded him to admonish his near relations. In order to do this with more convenience, and a better prospect of success, he

he directed Ali, whom he had from his infancy taken under his protection, to prepare an entertainment, and invite the ſons and deſcendants of Abd'al Motalleb, intending then to open his mind unto them. This was done, and about forty of them came; amongſt whom were Hamza and Al Abbâs: but Abu Laheb, one of Mohammed's uncles, making the company break up before the prophet had an opportunity of ſpeaking, he could not forbear expreſſing his uneaſineſs on that account to Ali, who thereupon found himſelf obliged to give them a ſecond invitation the next day; and when they were come, Mohammed made them the following ſpeech:—"I know no man in the whole peninſula of the Arabs, who can propoſe to his relations any thing more excellent than what I now do to you: I offer you the felicity both of this world and of that which is to come. God Almighty hath commanded me to call you unto him; who therefore among you will be my wazîr, or aſſiſtant, and alſo become my brother, and my vicegerent?" All of them heſitating, and declining the matter, Ali at length roſe up, and declared that he would aſſiſt him; and vehemently threatened thoſe who ſhould oppoſe him: "I," ſaid he, "O prophet of God, will be thy (A) wazîr; I myſelf will beat out the teeth, pull out the eyes, rip open the bellies, and cut off the legs, of all who ſhall dare to oppoſe thee." Mohammed, upon this declaration, embraced Ali with great demonſtrations of affection, and deſired all who were preſent to hearken to, and obey him, as his deputy, "This," ſaid he, "is my brother, my deputy, and my ſucceſſor, or vicar (B); therefore ſhew yourſelves ſubmiſſive and obedient to him." At which the whole company broke out into laughter, telling Abu Tâleb, that he muſt now pay obedience and ſubmiſſion to his own ſon [d].

[d] Abulfed. ubi ſupra, p. 18—20. Al Kodai, Al Cor. Mohammed ſect. lxxiv. Elmacin. & Sionit. ubi ſupra. Al Beidawi, Al Zamakaſhari, Jallalod. Elmachin. & Sionit. ubi ſupra. Gagn. not. ad Abulfed. ubi ſupra. Sale's tranſlat. of the Kor. ſect. lxxiv. p. 472, 473.

(A) The word *wazîr*, or *viſir*, uſed here, properly denotes a *porter*, or *carrier of burdens*; but, in a more noble ſenſe, it is taken for a privy counſellor, or rather prime miniſter, who is the perſon that bears the whole burden of the adminiſtration.

(B) It ought here to be remarked, that the original word made uſe of by Abulfeda, which we have tranſlated *ſucceſſor*, or *vicar*, is *kalîfa*; which title, after the death of Mohammed, was common to all his ſucceſſors.

Mohammed

The Koreish oppose him.

Mohammed, notwithſtanding the repulſe he had received, was ſo far from being diſcouraged, that he began to preach in public to the people; who heard him with ſome patience, till he came to upbraid them with the idolatry, obſtinacy, and perverſeneſs of themſelves and their fathers; which ſo highly provoked them, that they openly declared themſelves his enemies; ſome few only excepted, who were converted to Iſlamiſm. Nor could he have eſcaped their reſentment, had he not been protected by Abu Tâleb, his uncle, who was very active in his favour. However, the chief of the Koreiſh warmly ſolicited this perſon to deſert his nephew; making frequent remonſtrances againſt the innovations he was attempting: but all their pacific endeavours proving ineffectual, they at length threatened Abu Tâleb with an open rupture, if he did not prevail on Mohammed to deſiſt. At this denunciation, Abu Tâleb was ſo far moved, that he earneſtly diſſuaded his nephew from purſuing the affair any farther; repreſenting the great danger he and his friends muſt otherwiſe run: but Mohammed was not to be intimidated; telling his uncle plainly, that if they ſet the ſun againſt him on his right hand, and the moon on his left, he would not leave his enterprize. Abu Tâleb finding him ſo firmly reſolved to proceed, uſed no farther arguments, but promiſed to ſupport him againſt all his enemies: ſo that, notwithſtanding the people of his tribe came to a determination to expel both him and his followers, he found a powerful ſupport in his uncle againſt all their machinations [e].

A ſhort digreſſion.

It muſt be remembered that, during the three years in which Mohammed confined himſelf to private admonitions, he was, as his votaries pretend, honoured with frequent revelations. The firſt, which happened on the night of Al Kadr, was preceded, according to Al Jannabi, by ſeveral extraordinary communications of the divine will to the prophet, that, for the ſpace of ſix months before this memorable event, in dreams, were vouchſafed him. The ſame author alſo informs us, that, for ſome time before Mohammed appeared in public as a reformer, a ſtop was put to his revelations; which ſo greatly afflicted him, that, one day as he was walking upon Mount Hara, he found himſelf in ſo melancholy a diſpoſition, that he was upon the point of throwing himſelf down headlong from the top of the mountain: but, to his great ſurprize, as he was

[e] Iſm. Abulfed. ubi ſupra, p. 20, 21. Greg. Abu'l Faraj. ubi ſupra, p. 162. Sale's Prelim. Diſcourſ. p. 44. Vite etiam Elmacin. lib. i. cap. 1. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 10. Lond. 1718.

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advancing towards the ſummit for that purpoſe, he heard a voice from heaven, ſaying unto him, "O Mohammed, thou art the apoſtle of God!" Upon which, lifting up his eyes on high, he ſaw the angel Gabriel deſcending towards him, clothed in red, and ſeated on a throne, which was ſuſpended between heaven and earth. At this ſight being much terrified, he ran to his relations, and particularly to Khadijah, whom he commanded to cover him; and then the following words of the Koran immediately deſcended from heaven: "O thou covered, ariſe and preach, and magnify thy Lord: and cleanſe thy garments: and fly every abomination: and be not liberal, in hopes, &c." Some pretend, that the angel Gabriel himſelf addreſſed the new apoſtle in theſe words, which form the beginning of the ſeventy-fourth chapter of the Koran; and, from hence, think this chapter to have been the firſt which was revealed: but the more received opinion is, that it was the ninty-ſixth.

Mohammed preaches, exhorts, &c. publicly.

The revelations being thus re-commenced, Mohammed continued to diſcharge his apoſtolic function with uncommon diligence and application. Till this period, he had contented himſelf with calling and inviting men to the knowlege of the truth; but now finding himſelf, as he pretended, inveſted with full powers, and commiſſioned in form to undertake the office of a reformer, he preached, he exhorted publicly, he rendered his vocation manifeſt to all; and, in conſequence of the character he had aſſumed, he propagated Iſlamiſm, with all his power, where ever his authority prevailed [f].

Hamza and Omar are converted.

Abu Tâleb remained inviolably attached to the intereſts of Mohammed, notwithſtanding the repeated efforts of the Koreiſh to obſtruct the progreſs of the new religion. The tribe had come to a reſolution to proſcribe all who had embraced it. Finding they could neither ſilence the new converts by fair words nor menaces, they were determined to try what could be done by force and ill-treatment. They therefore uſed Mohammed's followers ſo very injuriouſly, that it was not ſafe for them to continue any longer at Mecca; Mohammed himſelf was inſulted on Mount Al Safâ by Abu Jahl Ebn Heſhâm, a principal man among the Koreiſh, and one of his moſt inveterate enemies; which proved a great diſcouragement to ſome of

[f] Al Jannab. ubi ſupra. Abulfed. ubi ſupra, p. 18. Gagn. la Vie de Mahomet, tom. prem. p. 113. &c. Greg Abu'l Faraj ubi ſupra. Elmacin. lib. i. cap. 1. See alſo Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 10. Lond. 1718.

his

his adherents; however, it had ſuch an effect upon his uncle Hamza, who was not yet converted, that, upon his being acquainted with it by Abd'allah Ebn Jodhân's maid, he expoſtulated with Abu Jahl, ſtruck him with his bow, and, after having grievouſly wounded him, profeſſed himſelf a proſelyte to Iſlamiſm. This outrage induced the family of Makhzûm, to which Abu Jahl belonged, to take up arms againſt Hamza, and the Hâſhemites, in ſupport of their relation; but not being able to carry their point, the Hâſhemites at laſt prevailed. Mohammed had alſo the pleaſure to ſee his party conſiderably ſtrengthened ſoon after, by the converſion of Omar Ebn Al Khattâb, a perſon highly eſteemed, and, before this remarkable event, a violent oppoſer of the prophet. The Moſlems pretend, that Mohammed prayed for the converſion either of Omar or Abu Jahl, whom he took to be the moſt dangerous of his enemies; and that Omar was almoſt miraculouſly converted, by reading the twentieth chapter of the Koran: upon which he retired immediately to Mount Al Safâ, where he found Mohammed and about forty of his followers; the principal of which were Hamza, Abu Becr Al Seddik, and Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb, aſſembled together; to whom he declared himſelf a Moſlem. Al Jannabi relates, that Omar, at the requeſt of the Koreiſh, had an intention to aſſaſſinate Mohammed, but was diverted from his bloody deſign by Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs; though Abulfeda ſays, that he was perſuaded to deſiſt from ſo wicked an attempt by Naim Ebn Abd'allah Alkhâm. The Mohammedan writers aſſert him to have been ſurnamed Al Farûk, or *the Divider*; becauſe, when a certain Moſlem was condemned by Mohammed for his iniquitous treatment of a Jew, and appealed afterwards from the ſentence of the prophet to Omar, he cut him in two with his ſcymitar, for not acquieſcing in the deciſion of ſo upright a judge; which circumſtance, when Mohammed heard, he gave him the ſurname of Al Farûk, or *the Divider*; becauſe, by this action, he had ſhewn himſelf capable of perfectly diſtinguiſhing between truth and falſhood. Al Kodai aſſirms, that thirty-nine of Omar's adherents followed his example the ſame day he profeſſed himſelf a votary of Mohammed. The converſion of Hamza and Omar Ebn Al Khatâb happened in the year preceding the firſt flight of the Moſlems into Ethiopia, or the fourth year of Mohammed's miſſion, according to Abulfeda [g].

[g] Iſm. Abulfed. ubi ſupra, p. 21, 22, 23. Ebn. Shohnah. Al Jannab. p. 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, &c. Al Kodai, in Vit. Omar. Al Tabar. Ebn. Shehab apud Al Kodaium, ubi ſupra.

Not-

Notwithstanding these first instances of success, the Koreish raised such a persecution against the Moslems, that some of them, and particularly Othmân Ebn Affân, his wife Rakîah, the daughter of Mohammed, Othmân Ebn Matûn, Abd'allah Ebn Masûd, and Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf, found themselves obliged to fly for refuge into Ethiopia. This was the first flight; but afterwards several others followed them, retiring one after another, to the number of eighty-three men and eighteen women, besides children. These refugees, the first of whom were only twelve men and four women, met with a kind reception at the court of the najâshi or king of Ethiopia; who refused to deliver them up to those whom the Koreish sent to demand them. The Arab writers unanimously attest, that this prince even professed the Mohammedan religion; but as the whole has manifestly the air of a fiction, and not the least traces of it are to be met with in any of the Christian historians who have touched upon the origin and progress of Mohammedism, nor even any of the ancient monuments of the Ethiopians, our more intelligent readers will probably allow it to have been deservedly exploded both by Ludolfus and Marracci [h].

The Koreish persecute his followers.

Abd'allah Ebn Abu Rabia and Amru Ebn Al As, whom the Koreish sent with presents, consisting of rich furs, to the najâshi, to demand the fugitives, returned to Mecca, without having been able to succeed in their commission. That prince was determined to take them, and all their brethren, who should think proper to retire into Ethiopia, under his protection. This conduct so incensed the Koreish, that they came to a resolution to suppress effectually, if possible, the new religion, that had now made so considerable a progress among the Arab tribes. They entered into a solemn league, or covenant, against the Hâshemites (for so Mohammed's followers were called), and the family of Abd'al Motalleb; engaging themselves to contract no marriages with any of them, and to have no communication with them. To give this the greater sanction, they reduced it into writing, and laid it up in the Caaba. Upon this the tribe became divided into two factions; and all the family of Hâshem, both Moslems and

They send to demand the Moslem fugitives of the najâshi in vain.

[h] Isin. Abulfed. ubi supra, cap. 11. p. 23—27. Elmacin. & Joannes Andreas, ubi supra. Kamus, Ebn Shonnah, Al Jannabi, ubi supra. Ebn Al Athir, Al Kopai, Mohammed Ebn Abd'al Baki, in lib. de Excellent. Habessinor. par. i. cap. 2. Job Ludolf. in Comment. ad Hist. Æthiop. p. 284, & alibi. Lodovic. Marracc. in Prodrom. par. i. cap. 2. p. 45.

unbelievers, repaired to Abu Tâleb, as their head; except only Abd'al Uzza, furnamed Abulaheb, the fon of Abd'al Motalleb, who, out of his inveterate hatred to his nephew, and his doctrine, went over to the oppofite party.

Some of them return to Arabia.

In the mean time the Arab refugees, who had taken fanctuary in Ethiopia, received advice, that the citizens of Mecca had embraced Mohammedifm. This induced thirty of them to return home; but, upon their arrival in the neighbourhood of Mecca, they found that idolatry ftill reigned in that city: wherefore only three of them, viz. Othmân Ebn Affân, Al Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm, and Othmân Ebn Matûn, had the courage to vifit their friends and relations there.

The Koreifh troublefome to Mohammed and his followers.

We are told by Al Jannabi, that, foon after the arrival of the Moflems in Ethiopia, the fifty-third chapter of the Koran, intitled, The Star, came down from heaven, by the miniftry of the angel Gabriel; and that, after the firft reading of it, Mohammed proftrated himfelf, in a fenfe of the divine goodnefs; which being obferved by fome idolaters, who were prefent, they all did the like. The news of this event, according to the fame author, being brought into Ethiopia, the Moflems there concluded that Iflamifm was eftablifhed in Mecca; a belief which induced fome of them to crofs the fea, and advance into the neighbourhood of that city. During the refidence of thofe Arabs there, Mohammed was protected by his uncle Abu Tâleb, though he found it extremely difficult to fcreen him from the fury and violence of the Koreifh, who made frequent attempts upon him; fometimes endeavouring to deftroy him by open force, and at others by fecret wiles and machinations: and, if that writer may be credited, in order to compafs their end, they had recourfe to the magic art, to enchantments, and diabolical illufions; they raifed demons to harafs him, and oblige him to defift at laft from his undertaking: in fine, they gave him fo much trouble, that he was obliged to change his habitation, and feek an afylum for himfelf, and his new companions. This he found in the houfe of one Orkam, which had, on the hill of Safâ, an advantageous fituation. Here he brought over to Iflamifm all the members of Orkam's family. The houfe he then dwelt in was afterwards held in high veneration among the Moflems. Orkam, the poffeffor of it at that time, made a prefent of it to his fon, when he married an Arab lady. Al Manfûr, the fecond khalif of the houfe of Abbâs, purchafed it of the heirs of Orkam for a large fum of money, and gave it to his fon and fucceffor Al Mohdi, furnamed

ſurnamed Al Khaizorân; that is to ſay, *the cane*, or *reed*; from whom, ſays Al Jannabit, it retains the appellation of *the houſe of the reed* to this very day [1].

The Koreiſh reſcind their former decree.

The factions into which the tribe of the Koreiſh was divided, ſubſiſted for five years; but, in the tenth year of his miſſion, Mohammed told his uncle Abu Tâleb, that God had manifeſtly ſhewed his diſapprobation of the covenant entered into by the Koreiſh againſt them, by ſending a worm to eat out every word of the inſtrument, except the name of God. Of this accident Mohammed, ſays Mr. Sale, had probably ſome private notice; for Abu Tâleb went immediately to the Koreiſh, and acquainted them with it; offering, if it proved falſe, to deliver his nephew up to them; but in caſe it were true, he inſiſted, that they ought to lay aſide their animoſity, and annul the league they had made againſt the Hâſhemites. In theſe terms they acquieſced, and going to inſpect the writing, to their great aſtoniſhment, found it to be as Abu Tâleb had ſaid; and the league was thereupon declared void. The form, in which the name of God was written, according to Abu Zeid Abd'al Rahmân, was this, "In thy name, O God;" which words, as the ſame author affirms, only remained untouched. He alſo adds, that the hand of Manſûr Ebn Akrema, the notary who drew up the writing, was dried up as ſoon as he had finiſhed it. The Moſlem writers, however, do not entirely agree amongſt themſelves in their relations of this pretended miracle; for Ahmed Ebn Abd'al Rahîm, as he is cited by Marracci, aſſerts, that all the names of God only were eaten out of the inſtrument, every other part of it being perfectly viſible: upon which, continues that author, Abu Tâleb, addreſſing himſelf to the Koreiſh, obſerved, that as God had been averſe to the drawing up of the inſtrument then before them, he had taken care that every thing relating to him in it ſhould be defaced, and that every thing that was the effect of their wickedneſs ſhould remain. Be this, however, as it will, upon ſo remarkable an event, according to Abulfeda, the reſciſſion of the inſtrument immediately enſued. Our readers will here take notice, that this extraordinary affair, which proved of ſuch ſignal ſervice to Mohammed, was probably, even according to Mr. Sale himſelf, the effect of colluſion; ſince the perſon who, as he inſinuates, gave the impoſtor private notice of the

[1] Al Jannab. Mohammed Ebn Abd'al Baki, in lib. de Excellentiis Habeſſinor. Vide etiam Joan Gagn. ubi ſupra.

deſtruction of ſo many words in the inſtrument, did, in all likelihood, by his directions, eraſe them. They will alſo remark, that what has been advanced here by Abulfeda, Abu Zeid Seid Abd'al Rahmân, and Ahmed Ebn Abd'al Rahîm, amounts to a good proof, that the Arabs had letters in uſe amongſt them, when Mohammed made his firſt appearance upon the theatre of the world [k].

Mohammed loſes his uncle Abu Tâleb, and his wife.

After this memorable event, Mohammed remained with his uncle Abu Tâleb; who died the ſame year, according to Abulfeda. The prophet had before been ſhut up, or rather cloſely beſieged, in one of Abu Tâleb's caſtles, if we will believe Al Jannabi. The two parties, that is, the Hâſhemites, and the oppoſite faction of the Koreiſh, were ſo exaſperated againſt each other, that there was no intercourſe or communication kept up between them; at leaſt before the reſciſſion of the late decree. They never ſaw one another, except at the public ſolemnities of the pilgrimage, and then no kind of civilities or ſalutations paſſed between them. Abu Tâleb departed this life in the month of Shawâl, and the tenth year of Mohammed's miſſion; ſo that he did not long ſurvive the late accommodation. At his death, he was above eighty years of age; and died, according to the general opinion, an unbeliever; though ſome pretend that he profeſſed himſelf a Moſlem juſt before he expired. Abulfeda relates, that, as his death approached, Mohammed preſſed him to declare his aſſent to the two fundamental articles, "There is only one God, and Mohammed is his Prophet;" but that he excuſed himſelf from making ſuch a declaration, becauſe the Koreiſh would, as he ſaid, impute it to his being intimidated at that juncture, and conſequently pretend, that the fear of death had extorted it from him. However, continues the ſame author, Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbâs, who attended him in his laſt illneſs, Mohammed's couſin-german, aſſerted, that, with his laſt breath, he acknowleged his belief of thoſe articles. Be that as it may, Mohammed ſuſtained a great loſs by the death of his uncle, who had ſupported him with ſucceſs againſt all the efforts of his moſt powerful and inveterate enemies. It muſt be remembered here, that thoſe who aſſert Abu Tâleb to have embraced Mohammediſm, when he was at the point of death,

k Iſm. Abulfed. de Vit. Mohammed. cap. 12. p. 27. Abu Zeid Seid Abd'al Rahman in lib. de Sign. ſeu Mirac. Prophet. Ahmed. Ebn Abd'al Rahim apud Ludovic. Marraccium, in Prodr. par. ii. p. 36. Patavii, 1698. Vide etiam Joan. Gagn. Not. ad Iſm. Abulfed. ubi ſupra, & Sale's Prelim. Diſc. p. 42.

produce

produce ſome paſſages out of his poetical compoſitions, to confirm their aſſertion; and that he lived only eight months and twenty-one days after all acts of hoſtility ceaſed between his friends and the Koreiſh, according to Al Jannabi. About a month, or, as ſome write, three days after the death of this great benefactor and patron, Mohammed had the additional mortification to loſe his wife Khadîjah, who had ſo generouſly made his fortune. She died in the ſixty-fifth year of her age, and not in the forty-ninth, as we find aſſerted by Marracci. Mohammed had all his children by her, except one called Ibraham, if we will give credit to Al Kodai. Two ſuch unfortunate events could not but prove extremely prejudicial to the prophet's affairs. For which reaſon, this year is called by the Mohammedans the year of mourning [l].

A miracle wrought by Mohammed.

Before the expiration of the tenth year of the prophet's miſſion, a miracle was wrought by Mohammed, if we may depend upon Al Jannabi, for the conviction of unbelievers. The beginning of the fifty-fourth chapter of the Koran, according to ſome, refers to this famous miracle, ſuppoſed to have been performed by Mohammed: for it is ſaid, that, on the infidels demanding a ſign of him, the moon appeared cloven in two, one part vaniſhing, and the other remaining; and Ebn Maſûd affirmed, that he ſaw Mount Hara interpoſe between the two ſections. The words of the Koran, hinted at in the chapter above mentioned, intitled, the Moon, are to the following effect: "The hour approacheth; and the moon hath been ſplit in ſunder: but if they ſee a ſign, they turn aſide, ſaying this is a powerful charm. And they accuſe of impoſture, and follow their own luſts: but every thing will be immutably fixed." Al Jannabi alſo relates, that Moſlems, as well as unbelievers, and the people of the book, that is, both Jews and Chriſtians, who were both favoured with Scriptures of divine original, ſaw this ſtupendous prodigy [m].

The Koreiſh more troubleſome than ever to Mohammed.

Nevertheleſs, after the death of Abu Tâleb and Khadîjah, the Koreiſh began to be more troubleſome than ever to

[l] Al Jannab. ubi ſupra, p. 47. Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbas apud Iſm. Abulfed. ubi ſupra, cap. xiii. p. 28. ut & ipſe Abulfed. ibid. Vide etiam Carm. Abu Taleb apud Abulfed. ubi ſupra, & Gagn. la Vie de Moham. tom. prem. p. 132, 133. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef in Hiſt. ſect. i. cap. 40. Al Kodai de Uxorib. Mohammed. Ludovici Marraccii Vit. Mohammed. cap. i. p. 15, &c. [m] Al Kor. Moham. ſect. liv. ver. 2, 3. Al Zamakſhar. Beidawi, Gagn. ubi ſup. p. 134, 135, 136. Vide etiam lib. Al Sahib. & Lud. Maracc. Refutat. Alcoran, cap. xxx. p. 541, 542. Patavii, 1698.

their prophet, and especially some who had formerly been his intimate friends. The principal of these were Abu Laheb Ebn Abd'allah, Al Hakam Ebn Al As, and Okba Ebn Abi Moait Ebn Ommeya, who persecuted him with great rancour and fury; insomuch that he found himself obliged to seek for shelter elsewhere, and first pitched upon Tâef, about sixty miles east from Mecca, for the place of his retreat. Thither, therefore, he went, accompanied by his servant Zeid, and applied himself to Masûd and Habîb, two of the chief of the tribe of Thakîf, who were the inhabitants of that place; but they received him very coldly, and even treated him with contempt: however, he staid with them a month, and made some converts amongst them; some of the more considerate and better sort of the citizens shewing him a little respect. At last, the slaves, and inferior people rose against him, and bringing him to the wall of the city, obliged him to depart, and return to Mecca. This he did the twenty-third day of the month Dhu'lkaada, in the tenth year of his mission, according to Al Jannabi, and put himself under the protection of Al Motâam Ebn Adi [n].

The reason of Mohammed's retreat to Tâyef.

The reason assigned by Golius for Mohammed's retreat to Tâef, in preference to all other places, is, because his uncle Abbâs lived for the most part in that city: hence the Turks, at this day, give the district or territory belonging to it the name of Abbas Beladi; that is, *the country of Abbas*; and under that appellation it has chiefly gone even from the age of Mohammed to the present. To this place, therefore, he seems to have repaired, in order to secure to himself the protection of Abbâs; and afterwards, if a favourable opportunity offered, to subjugate the inhabitants of it: but he found himself disappointed in both those views, as sufficiently appears from what has been already observed. Tâyef is situated upon the back of Mount Ghazwân, the coldest spot in Hejâz; insomuch that it pretty frequently freezes upon the top of this mountain: for which reason, it abounds with variety of fruits, great quantities of which are continually sent to Mecca, and enjoys a most salubrious air. Hence the poet Temîris, when he celebrates the praises of Zeinab, sister to the prince of Hejâz, says, that she spent the winter at Mecca, and the summer at Tâyef. Its first name was Veja, which it derived from its founder. Ghazwân is commonly called by the Arabs Aswân, and

[n] Isin. Abulfed. ubi supra, cap. 15. p. 29. Ebn. Shohnah, Elmacin. lib. 1. cap. 1. Al Jannab.

looked

looked upon to be famous, amongſt them, for the excellent raiſins it produces °.

This laſt repulſe greatly diſcouraged the new converts; as they perceived from hence that their countrymen were more than ever incenſed againſt them. However, Mohammed continued boldly to preach at the public aſſemblies of the pilgrims, who reſorted to Mecca from all parts of Arabia, againſt idolatry, and particularly againſt the worſhip of Allât and Al Uzza, to which the tribes, eſpecially the women of that Thakîf, were much addicted; though he expoſed his perſon to inſults and affronts, and his life itſelf to no ſmall danger. Here he gained ſeveral proſelytes, and amongſt them ſix of the inhabitants of Yathreb, of the Jewiſh tribe of Khazraj; who, on their return home, failed not to ſpeak much in commendation of their new religion, and exhorted their fellow-citizens to embrace it. We are told, that this tribe, and that of Al Aws, were reconciled immediately after their converſion to Mohammediſm, though they had before been at variance a hundred and twenty years. The city of Yathreb was inhabited by thoſe two tribes, who were deſcended from Azd, the ſon of Cahlan, the ſon of Saba, the ſon of Yaſhhab, the ſon of Yaarab, the ſon of Kahtân, the ſon of Eber. Theſe converts of the tribe of Khazraj are called by the Arab writers Al Anſâr, Al Anſarii, or Anſârs; that is, *aſſiſtants*, *favourers*, *ſupporters*, becauſe they aſſiſted and ſupported the prophet, when he was purſued to the brink of deſtruction by the malice and contumelious rage of his enemies. They firſt met Mohammed upon the hill called Al Akaba, a little out of Mecca, where a temple ſtood, in which, according to Al Jûzi, or Al Juzius, theſe Anſârs firſt took an oath to exert themſelves in ſupport of their new apoſtle, and his religion. An uninterrupted friendſhip and harmony long reigned amongſt the members of the Jewiſh tribes of Khazraj, Koreidha, and Nadîr, whoſe great progenitor, ſay the Arabs, was Harûn Ebn Amrân. Mohammed, therefore, inſinuating himſelf into the good graces and affections of the Anſârs, they very readily embraced Iſlamiſm, and gladly received from him that part of the Korân which had been revealed.

Who the Al Anſâr or Anſârs were.

The next remarkable event we find related of Mohammed by Abulfeda, is the night-journey he made from Mecca to Jeruſalem, and from thence to heaven. Dr. Prideaux

Mohammed's night journey to heaven.

° Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 100. Temiris Poet. Arab. apud Golium, ibid.

thinks he invented it either to anſwer the expectations of thoſe who demanded ſome miracle as a proof of his miſſion; or elſe, by pretending to have converſed with God, to eſtabliſh the authority of whatever he ſhould think fit to leave behind him by way of oral tradition, and make his ſayings ſerve the ſame purpoſe as the oral law of the Jews.

He arrives at Jeruſalem;

Mohammed lying in the open air between the mountains of Al Safâ and Merwâ, in the neighbourhood of Mecca, according to the tradition of Abu Horreira, was one night accoſted by the angel Gabriel, and another heavenly ſpirit. Gabriel opened Mohammed's heart, wrung out the black drop, or ſeed of original ſin, waſhed and cleanſed it, filled it with wiſdom and faith, and then put it into its proper place, out of which he had taken it for the more expeditious and convenient performance of that operation. Afterwards Gabriel, with ſeventy pair of wings expanded from his ſides, brought to our apoſtle the beaſt Al Borâk, which, ſay the Mohammedans, was the beaſt the prophets uſed to ride, when they were carried from one place to another, upon the execution of any divine command. Mohammed deſcribes this animal to have been as white as milk, to have reſembled an aſs as well as a mule, and to have been of a ſize ſomething leſs than the latter, but larger than the former. According to the tradition of Abu Horeira, the face of Al Borâk was like that of a man, and his jaws like thoſe of a horſe. His eyes ſhone with as great a luſtre as the ſtars would do, were they enlightened by the ſolar rays, and he had two wings reſembling thoſe of an eagle. The Moſlems alſo pretend that he was endued with a rational ſoul; ſo that he could hear, reaſon, and underſtand, though he was deſtitute naturally of the faculty of ſpeech. He could move with ſuch ſurpriſing velocity, that he was able to paſs from one place to another as quick as lightning; from whence he received the name of Al Borâk, which denotes *lightning*, or rather *the author of lightning*, *the thunderer*, in the Arabic tongue. At Mohammed's approach, he kicked with great force, and would not ſuffer the prophet to mount him. Upon which, Gabriel immediately interpoſed, and addreſſed himſelf to the beaſt in the following terms: "Stand ſtill, (ſaid he,) O Borâk, and be obedient to Mohammed, for a greater favourite of God than he is never got upon thy back." To which Al Borâk replied, "Did not Ibrahim, O Gabriel, the friend of God, ride upon me, when he went to pay a viſit to his ſon Iſmael? Perhaps, Gabriel, this is the mediator, interceſſor, and the author of the new religion, whoſe fundamental article is,

THERE

THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD." To this Gabriel answered—"Stand ſtill, O Borâk, ſtand ſtill; this is Mohammed, the ſon of Abd'allah, the chief of the ſons of Adam, the firſt amongſt the prophets and ambaſſadors, and the ſeal of them all; his tribe is ſettled in Yaman, and his religion orthodox; all men, through his interceſſion, hope to enter paradiſe; at his right-hand is paradiſe, and at his left hell-fire; whoever profeſſes his word to be true will enter paradiſe, but whoever accuſes him of a lie will be thruſt into hell." To this declaration Al Borâk returned, (for God had enabled him to ſpeak on this occaſion,) "O Gabriel, I adjure thee, by the friendſhip and alliance between thee and Mohammed, to prevail upon him to admit me into paradiſe, by his interceſſion, in the day of the reſurrection." The prophet hearing this adjuration, ſaid to him;—"Stand ſtill, Borâk, through my interceſſion thou ſhalt be with me in paradiſe." Upon which the beaſt preſently came to him, took him on his back, and carried him through the air to Jeruſalem in the twinkling of an eye [p].

and afterwards at the firſt heaven;

He no ſooner arrived at that city, than he went to the temple, where he found Ibrahim, Muſa, and Iſa, that is, Abraham, Moſes, and Jeſus, with a great number of the prophets and ſaints, who all ſaluted him, and immediately went to prayers with him. After which, Gabriel and he aſcended a ladder of light, which they found ready fixed for them, and left Al Borâk upon the ſacred ſpot till their return. Then they proceeded directly to the firſt heaven, where, upon their arrival, Gabriel knocked at the gate, and having informed the porter who he was, as alſo that he had brought Mohammed, the friend of God, with him, by the divine command, it was inſtantly opened. This gate he deſcribes to be of a prodigious ſize. The firſt heaven, he likewiſe tells us, conſiſted entirely of pure ſilver, and that he there ſaw the ſtars hanging from it by chains of gold as large as Mount Noho, near Mecca in Arabia; and that in theſe ſtars the angels keep guard, to hinder the devils from approaching too near, or prying into

[p] Al Bokhari, Abulfed. ubi ſupra, cap. xix. p. 33. Al Jarud apud Abulfed. ibid. Aut. lib. Agar. Al Kor. Mohammed. ſ. xvii. & xciv. v. 1. Moſlem, Al Beidawi, Ahmed Ebn Yahya, Abu Horeira. Roderic. Toletan. cap. 5. Joan. Andream, cap. 8. Richardi Confutat. Legis Saracenicæ, cap. 1, 27. Cantacuzeni Orat. 4. Bochart. Hierozoic. par. ii. lib. vi. cap. 13. Joan. Gagn. Not. ad Abulfed. ubi ſupra, p. 8, 9, 33, 34. & la Vie de Mahom. tom. prem. liv. ii. p. 195—207. Sale's Prelimin. Diſcourſ. p. 46. & Tranſlat. & Not. on the Kor. ſ. xvii. xciv, &c.

the

the actions, and overhearing the discourse, of the inhabitants of heaven, in order to tempt them. When Mohammed first entered this heaven, he saw an old decrepid man, according to the same tradition, who called him the best of sons, and the best of prophets. This venerable person, as he learned from Gabriel, was our first father Adam, who then, say certain of the Moslems, recommended himself to his prayers. He also saw, as some pretend, an infinite number of angels of all manner of shapes; and amongst those who appeared in the forms of birds, a cock as white as snow, of so prodigious a size, that with his head he touched the second heaven, though this was five hundred years journey distant from the first, according to the usual computation of travellers in the East. Some affirm, that the head of this (C) cock reached up, through all the seven heavens, as far as the throne of God, which is above seven times higher. His wings are represented as adorned with carbuncles and pearls, and as extended, when he pleases, towards the east and west, at a distance proportionable to his height. The angels appearing in the shapes of animals, as Gabriel informed the prophet, intercede with God for all those living creatures on earth that they resemble; those in the form of men for men, those in the form of beasts for beasts, and those in a shape similar to that of birds for birds. The angel above mentioned, according to Mohammed, is the representative of the cocks, and every

(C) This fable of the cock Mohammed has been supplied with by the Talmudists, as has been rightly observed by Dr. Prideaux. The Babylonish Talmud mentions a bird called Ziz, that standeth with his feet upon the earth, reacheth up unto the heavens with his head, and with the expansion of his wings totally obscures the solar orb. The Chaldee paraphrast on the Psalms likewise describes this bird as a cock of the same immense size, and tells us that he crows before the Lord. He also in his paraphrase on the book of Job informs us, that he crows every morning before the Lord, and that God gives him wisdom for this purpose. Al Termedi relates, that this cock's wings are adorned with an infinite number of emeralds, carbuncles, and pearls, of inestimable value; and that, at the approach of the day of judgement, he will pronounce the words PRAISE, SANCTITY, &c. with a very loud and sonorous voice (1).

(1) Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, in voce ציץ. Chald. Paraphrast. ad Psal. l. 11. & lxxx. 14. & ad Job. iii. 7. xxxviii. 36. xxxix. 16, &c. Abu Horeir. in Major. Tradit. Ascension. Al Termed. in lib. de Vit. Animal. Prid. Life of Mahom. p. 32, 33, 34.

morning

morning joins with God in ſinging a holy hymn by his crowing, which is ſo loud that all the inhabitants of heaven and earth, except men and fairies, can hear it, and then all the other cocks, both material and immaterial, crow alſo. We likewiſe learn from Al Termedi, that, at the approach of the day of judgement, the great white cock in the firſt heaven ſhall be commanded to draw in his wings, and ceaſe crowing, which ſhall be a ſign that that day is at hand, to all beings, but men and fairies, who having been before deaf to his crowing, ſhall not then be ſenſible of his ſilence. The Mohammedans believe, that there are three voices which God always hears; the voice of him that is conſtant in reading the Koran, the voice of him that prayeth early every morning for the pardon of his ſins, and the voice of this great cock, which they think is ever moſt acceptable to him. Some pretend, that, according to a tradition derived originally from Mohammed, the firſt heaven conſiſts of a thin ſubtle vapour, called the firmament, and that the celeſtial ſpace occupied by this vapour, throughout the vaſt extent of it, is full of angels and ſuperior intelligent beings, ſome of whom profoundly inclined themſelves, and others proſtrated themſelves, by way of adoration, before Mohammed. The chief of theſe were Michael and Aſmael, who treated Gabriel and Mohammed with the higheſt marks of diſtinction [q].

From the firſt heaven they advanced to the ſecond, into which they were admitted, and met with the ſame ſalutation as before. We are not informed of what happened to them during the courſe of their aſcent; but only that this heaven is about five hundred years journey diſtant from the former, according to the celerity and method of travelling here on earth. The ſecond heaven conſiſts of a ſort of iron, ſays the tradition, called Maun. Here Mohammed is ſaid firſt to have met with Noah, who rejoiced much at the ſight of him, recommended himſelf to his prayers, and afterwards with Iſa and Yahya, that is Jeſus and John, who both welcomed him to that place, and ſtyled him the beſt of men, and the beſt of prophets: but the author of the book called Agar differs from the tradition, or narration, of Abu Horeira, in the point before us; he places John in the ſixth heaven, and Jeſus in the ſeventh, or the higheſt of all. Here Ibrahim, or Abra-

then at the ſecond;

q Abu Horeira, Al Bokhar. apud Abulfed. ubi ſupra, ut & ipſe Abulfed. ibid. p. 34, 35. Lib. Agar. Prid. & Guadagnol. ubi ſup. Al Termed. in lib. de Vit. Animal. Al Kor. Mohammed. ſ. xv. Al Beidawi, Gagn. ubi ſupra, p. 207—210.

ham,

ham, has by the ſame author a place likewiſe aſſigned him. It may not be improper to obſerve, that this writer, though a Moſlem, ſeems to intimate, that Mohammed acknowleged himſelf to be inferior to Chriſt; which he did, as Mr. Gagnier juſtly remarks, in order to flatter the Chriſtians; for the true, or orthodox, Moſlems, conſider our Saviour as a creature, and Mohammed at the ſame time as ſcarce inferior to God himſelf, and derive the word Mohammed from the divine Mahmud. Some authors relate, that the ſubſtance of the ſecond heaven was pure gold; and that the prophet ſaw twice as many angels there as in the firſt, and, amongſt them, one of ſo prodigious a ſize that his head reached even to the third heaven. Al Bokhâri agrees with Abu Horeira in aſſigning Jeſus and John a place in the ſecond heaven, and Abraham one in the ſeventh [r].

afterwards at the third;

Gabriel and Mohammed being arrived at the third heaven, met the with ſame reception as before. This heaven, ſay ſome of the Mohammedan writers, was almoſt entirely formed of precious ſtones; though others ſay it conſiſted of a ſort of iron called Zaitun. Amongſt the wonderful creatures of God that Mohammed ſaw here, there was a great angel called the Faithful of God, who had a hundred thouſand other angels under his command. Some pretend that this angel was of ſo prodigious a ſize, that the diſtance between his eyes was equal to ſeventy thouſand days journey, according to the rate of travelling on earth. But here, as Dr. Prideaux obſerves, Mohammed was inconſiſtent with himſelf, ſince the diſtance between a man's eyes is in proportion to his height, as one to ſeventy-two; ſo that, according to this computation, the angel's height muſt have been near fourteen thouſand years journey, which is almoſt four times as much as the diſtance between the higheſt heaven and the earth: wherefore this angel could not have ſtood within any one of the heavens. He had a large table before him, in which he was continually writing ſome words, and blotting out others. Beſides the former appellation, as Mohammed learned from Gabriel, he had another, viz. the angel of Death. On the table here mentioned he is conſtantly employed, according to Gabriel, in writing the names of all that are to be born, computing the days of their lives, and blotting out thoſe names, as he finds the perſons to whom they belong have completed their allotted number of days. Then Mohammed

[r] Al Bokhari & Abulfed. ubi ſup. Lib. Agar. Guadag. & Prid. ubi ſup. Abu Horeira. Gagn. Not. ad Abulfed. ubi ſup. p. 35, 36. Vide etiam Gagn. la Vie de Mahom. tom. prem. cap. iii. p. 210, 211.

and

and his guide were ſaluted in a moſt friendly manner, by David and Solomon. At laſt having performed their devotions among the angels, after the manner of Abraham, the well-beloved of God, with two inclinations, they retired, and without delay ſet out for the fourth heaven. It muſt be remembered here, that the third heaven is about five hundred years journey from the ſecond; as alſo that Gabriel and Mohammed traverſed this immenſe quantity of ſpace in about an hour's time [s].

then he reaches the fourth.

Upon their arrival at the fourth heaven, they were admitted and received as before. Here Gabriel introduced Mohammed to Edris, or Enoch, according to Abulfeda; or as others will have it, to Joſeph, the ſon of Jacob. This perſon congratulated the two travellers upon their entrance. The fourth heaven was made of fine ſilver, called Zohari; or, as others ſay, of emeralds. In this heaven he ſaw a much larger number of angels than in the former, and amongſt them, one ſo very tall that he reached from the third heaven to the fourth, which was alſo five hundred years journey. This angel, as the apoſtle learned from Gabriel, ſpent his time in weeping, and making great lamentations; occaſioned by the ſins of men, and the deſtruction which they thereby voluntarily bring upon themſelves. Mohammed ſaw here another angel, ſeated on a throne of light, with a great number of inferior ſpirits attending him on his right hand and on his left, and always ready to execute his orders. His head reached to the ſeventh heaven, and his feet to the ſeventh earth; for the Mohammedans believe, that the number of earths correſponds with that of the heavens. After having performed their devotions with the number of inclinations uſed by Abraham, Gabriel and Mohammed took their leave, and made the proper diſpoſitions for proceeding on their journey to the fifth heaven.

From whence he proceeds to the fifth.

Here they were admitted, as ſoon as they made themſelves known to the porter; and, after their admiſſion met with Aaron, according to Abulfeda, who congratulated them on their arrival. This heaven alſo is about five hundred years journey diſtant from the preceding, and conſiſts, as the tradition ſays, of an extremely pure ſort of gold, called from its fineneſs and purity, Al Safia; or, as others will have it, of adamant. Some pretend, that Moſes found Mahommed here, and recommended himſelf to his prayers; as alſo Edris, or Enoch, who paid him uncommon

[s] Iidem. ibid. & alibi.

honours.

honours. They alſo relate, that the fire of God's wrath is reſerved for obdurate offenders, and particularly the wicked Arabs, in this place; and mention other particulars relating to it, that merit not the leaſt attention [t].

and afterwards to the ſixth,

In the ſixth heaven Mohammed met with Moſes, who called him his brother, but wept at ſight of him. The reaſon he gave for this expreſſion of ſorrow was, becauſe a boy, as he ſaid, was ſent after him, that would be inſtrumental in bringing more individuals of the nation to which he belonged to paradiſe, than there were Iſraelites or Jews in that happy region. This the Arabs interpret of their prophet and themſelves. Some aſſert that Gabriel and Mohammed found John the Baptiſt in the ſixth heaven; and that he recommended himſelf to the prayers of the Arab prophet. We are alſo told, that this prophet ſaw many more angels in the ſixth heaven than in the fifth, and in the fifth than the fourth. The matter of the ſixth heaven, according to Mohammed's deſcription of it, was a precious ſtone, called *al hâſala*, that is, *the clear* and *tranſparent*. It ought to be remarked, that Al Bokhâri agrees with Abu Horeira in his relation of ſome of the circumſtances attending the interview betwen Moſes and Mohammed [u].

then to the ſeventh.

From the ſixth heaven Gabriel, and the pretended apoſtle of the Arabs, aſcended into the ſeventh, which, ſay ſome of the Moſlem traditions, was compoſed entirely of divine light, or, as others aſſert, of a red hyacinth, called Al La'ama. Some affirm, that Mohammed obſerved here an angel, that was the largeſt of all God's creatures, and had ſeventy thouſand heads, every one of which had ſeventy thouſand faces, every one of which had ſeventy thouſand mouths, every one of which had ſeventy thouſand tongues, every one of which ſpoke ſeventy thouſand languages, with all which he was continually celebrating the praiſes of the Almighty. Here Mohammed had an interview, according to Al Bokhâri, and ſome traditions of great authority amongſt the Moſlems, with a venerable old man, ſeated on a throne of light, fixed to the houſe of Al Ma'mûr, who, as Gabriel informed him, was Abraham, the father of the faithful, and the friend of God. Abraham treated him with the ſame reſpect that he had met with in every one of the inferior heavens; after which he was elevated to the lote-tree, beyond which there was no paſſing. This tree, ſay the commentators, ſtands in the ſeventh heaven, on the

[t] Iidem ibid. [u] Iidem ibid.

right-

right-hand of the throne of God, and is the utmoſt limit, beyond which the angels themſelves muſt not paſs; or, as ſome rather imagine, beyond which no creature's knowlege can extend. The Khorân ſeems to intimate, that what was under this tree, when Mohammed ſaw it, exceeded all number and deſcription. Some ſuppoſe the whole hoſt of angels worſhipping beneath it, and others the birds ſitting on its branches, to be intended in the paſſage of that book here referred to. This tree, called by the Arabs Sedra, or Sedrat, as Abulfeda, from the narration of Al Bokhâri, relates, bears fruits that reſemble the water-pots of Hadjr, and leaves like the ears of elephants. The fruits are ſweeter than either milk or honey, and one of them, according to the tradition of Ebn Abbâs, who received it from Mohammed himſelf, is ſufficient to ſuſtain all God's creatures, if they were aſſembled in the ſeventh heaven. Here the pretended apoſtle ſaw four rivers, ſays Al Bokhâri; the two interior of which run in paradiſe with great rapidity, and the two exterior are the Nile and the Euphrates. The ſource of theſe, or the fountain from whence they ſpring, is under the tree Sedrat, and named in the Khorân Salſabîl. At this fountain the angel Gabriel left Mohammed, and was ſucceeded in his poſt of guide to the apoſtle by another angel, who went under the name of Iſrafîl, and informed the Arab prophet, that the four rivers here mentioned were called Al Cawthar, the Nile of Egypt, Sihân, and Jihân, and that they all ran from the aforeſaid fountain, ſituated under the throne of God. With regard to the houſe of Ma'mour, or Ma'mûr, that is, *viſited*, it was viſited daily, ſays the foregoing tradition, by ſeventy thouſand angels; from which circumſtance it ſeems to have received its name. The form of it was in all reſpects ſimilar to the Al Harâm, or ſacred temple at Mecca; and ſhould it at any time fall from the ſeventh heaven, it would, as ſome of the Moſlems believe, fall perpendicularly upon this temple. Mohammed related, that it was built of red hyacinths, and adorned with an innumerable company of lamps, that were continually burning [w].

We muſt not omit obſerving here, that the ſixth heaven, according to the book of Agar, was five hundred years journey diſtant from the fifth; as the ſeventh heaven was

[w] Al Bokhâri, Abulfed. ubi ſupra. Al Juzi in lib. de Rit. Peregrinat. Meccan. cap. 77. Abd'allah Ebn Al Abbas apud Abû Horeir. Al Kor. Mohammed. ſect. liii. ver. 14. La Vie de Mahom. tom. prem. p. 223—234.

from

from the ſixth. The author of that book likewiſe informs us, that Mohammed in the ſeventh heaven found Jeſus Chriſt, and recommended himſelf to his prayers; which amounts to a clear acknowlegement in the Arab prophet of our Saviour's ſuperiority. After the apoſtle had been elevated to the houſe of Al Ma'mûr, Gabriel brought to him three cups, one full of wine, another of milk, and the third of honey; upon which he took the milk and drank it, as the moſt proper of the three; and the angel approved of his choice: but, according to another tradition, he had only two cups offered him, one filled with milk and the other with wine; and that, upon his preferring the former to the latter, he heard a voice, ſaying, "Thou haſt made a lucky choice, Mohammed; ſince, hadſt thou drank of the wine, thy nation would have deviated from the right path, and conſequently in their enterprizes have proved unſucceſsful."

What happened after he approached the throne of God.

The angel Gabriel, not being permitted to advance any farther than the houſe of Al Ma'mûr, and the lote-tree above mentioned, there took his leave of Mohammed, who by his direction, or that of the angel Iſrafîl, aſcended up the reſt of the way to the throne of God by himſelf. Before he reached that glorious throne he paſſed two ſeas of light, and one of a black colour, of an immenſe extent; he paſſed alſo through an infinity of angels, called Al Sâjedun, or *adorers proſtrating themſelves*, Mohalelun, or *thoſe who praiſe God*, Carubun, or *cherubim*, and Rohanun, or *ſpirituals*. Some of the Mohammedans pretend, that he did not meet with Iſrafîl, who ſupported the throne of God, till he approached that throne; though others believe that this angel took Mohammed under his care as ſoon as Gabriel left him. We are told, that Iſrafîl has a million of heads, every one of which has a million of mouths, to every one of which there is a million of tongues, and that every one of theſe tongues ſpeaks a million of different languages, in which this angel is day and night inceſſantly praiſing God. At laſt Mohammed, after having traverſed almoſt infinite tracts of ſpace, approached the immediate preſence of God himſelf, when he heard a voice ſaying unto him, "O Mohammed, advance, and approach the glorious and powerful God;" upon which, aſcending higher, he ſaw a luminous appearance of a moſt tranſcendent brightneſs; and, at the divine command, drew ſo near to the Almighty, that he was ſcarce two bows length diſtant from him. On the right ſide of the throne, the names of God and Mohammed were written in the following

lowing Arabic words; *La Allah illa Allah, Wa-Mohammed rasoul Allah*; *i. e. There is no God but God, and Mahommed is his apostle:* which words, containing the two fundamental articles of faith among the Moslems, he also pretends to have found inscribed on all the gates of the seven heavens through which he passed. Being thus introduced into the divine presence, he saw God sitting on his throne, who, as a mark of his favour, put one of his hands upon the prophet's breast, and the other upon his shoulder, the coldness of which was so intense that it pierced every part, though immediately afterwards an ineffable sweetness and complacency, flowing from the divine presence, diffused itself over his soul, and filled him with the most perfect pleasure. He had a long and familiar conference with God, who revealed many hidden mysteries to him, and instructed him in the knowlege of his law, gave him some rules for the better regulation of his conduct, and the more effectual communication of this knowlege to the people over whom he was to preside, and conferred many singular privileges upon him. Some of these were, that he should be the most perfect of all creatures; that he should be honoured and advanced above the rest of mankind; that he should be the redeemer of all believing in him; that he should be able to speak all languages; and that the spoils of all he conquered in war should belong to him alone. Lastly, he received a command from God to enjoin his followers to pray fifty times a day; but afterwards meeting with Moses, who represented to him the impossibility of performing so tedious and fatiguing a duty, at his persuasion he returned to the immediate presence of God, and prevailed upon him to oblige the Moslems to pray only five times in every twenty-four hours, and that at certain stated times. These, which seem to have been left to the determination of Mohammed and his successors, were the following: first, the prayer in the morning before sun-rise; secondly, the prayer after noon, when the sun begins to decline from the meridian; thirdly, that in the afternoon, before sun-set; fourthly, that in the evening, after sun-set, and before day be shut in; and fifthly, that after the day is shut in, and before the first watch of the night: to which some add a sixth, not as a prayer enjoined, but as a work of supererogation, called the Singular Prayer, which begins at the first watch of the night, and continues till day-break, or rather may be performed in any part of that space. As Mohammed, therefore, pretended to have received the divine command for this institution, from the

throne of God himſelf, the obſervance of the ſtated times of prayer is frequently inſiſted on in the Korân, though they be not therein particularly preſcribed [x].

He returns to Mecca.

The prophet having thus received full inſtructions immediately from the Almighty himſelf, thought now of deſcending into the lower regions, and viſiting once more his friends upon earth. At a proper place, therefore, Gabriel met him again, and conducted him through various deſcents, and the ſeven heavens, to Jeruſalem, where Al Borâk waited for them. In their paſſage they met with great numbers of angels all the way, who ſaluted them with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, and the moſt friendly felicitations. When they drew near to the earth, it was ſtill extremely dark; but, deſcending a little lower, they had juſt light enough to diſcover part of the kingdom of Armenia, and the province of Aderbijan, which appeared to them like two ſmall green garden-ſpots under them. At Jeruſalem the prophet mounted Al Borâk, and was attended by the angel Gabriel all the way to Mecca. Upon his arrival there, he ſaid to Gabriel, "My people will, I apprehend, accuſe me of telling them lyes, and refuſe to believe me, if I communicate to them the particulars of my night-journey to heaven." To which obſervation Gabriel replied, "Abu Becr, O Mohammed, the faithful witneſs, in that caſe, will ſufficiently juſtify all the particulars of that wonderful event [y]."

Thus have we given a circumſtantial relation of Mohammed's night journey to heaven, extracted from Abulfeda, Al Bokhâri, and the tradition aſcribed to Abu Horeira, entitled the Hiſtory of the Aſcenſion; a manuſcript copy of which was preſented by archbiſhop Marſh, formerly lord primate of Ireland, to the Bodleian library at Oxford. As this hiſtory is a part of the Sonna, which contains not only all the juridical and ceremonial laws, ſuppoſed to have been derived from their prophet, in force amongſt the Mohammedans, but alſo the hiſtories and narrations attributed to Mohammed, which are either wholly omitted, or but juſt touched upon, in the Koran, though looked upon to be of equal authority with that book, it is plain, that all the Son-

[x] Lib. Agar. & Abu Horeira, ubi ſupra. Al Kor. Mohammed. ubi ſup. & ſect. liii. ver. 9. Hadrian. Reland de Relig. de Mohammed. cap. 8. 9. p. 86. &c. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 36, 37. Sale's Prelimin. Diſc ſect. iv. Vide etiam Gagn. Not. in Abulfed. ubi ſupra. [y] Abu Horeir. ubi ſupra. Lib. Agar. & Guadagnol. ubi ſupra. Prid. Life of Mahomet, p. 37. Lond. 1718. Gagn. la Vie de Mahom. tom. prem. cap. xii. p. 249—251.

nites,

nites, or orthodox Mohammedans, hold their prophet's nocturnal journey to heaven to have been a real event. Since, therefore, this journey was one of the most eminent of Mohammed's miracles, as has been rightly observed by Mr. Gagnier, and the traditional account of it believed to be true, even as true as the Koran, by all the Moslems, who receive the Sonna, or *Book of Traditions* of their prophet, as of canonical authority; we may fairly infer from thence, that Mohammed, in the opinion of the greatest part of his followers, at least, did not disclaim the power of performing miracles, or, which is the same thing, did not deny several extraordinary interpositions of the Supreme Being in his favour.

The Moslems believe that journey was performed corporally.

It is a dispute amongst the Mohammedan divines, whether their prophet's night-journey was really performed by him corporally, or whether it was only a dream or vision. Some think that the whole was no more than a vision; and allege an express tradition of Moâwiyah, one of Mohammed's successors, to that purpose. Others suppose he was carried bodily to Jerusalem, but no farther; and that he ascended thence to heaven in spirit only: but the received opinion is, that it was no vision, but that he was actually transported in the body to his journey's end; and if any impossibility be objected, they think it a sufficient answer to say, that it might easily be effected by an omnipotent agent. And that he was disposed to persuade them, that his body was actually conveyed to Jerusalem, at least, is a notion strongly countenanced, if not absolutely confirmed, by the authority of the Koran. But were the history of this memorable transaction only a part of the Sonna, or the collection of authentic traditions attested by Ayesha, the daughter of Abu Becr, whom Mohammed married after the death of Khadîjah, and who survived her husband about fifty years, Abu Horeira, the prophet's friend and most intimate companion, Ebn Abbâs, Ebn Omar, Jâber Ebn Abd'allah, and Anas Ebn Mâlec, it would amount to the same thing, as being of equal validity. The last of these handed down those traditions, and the relation of Mohammed's nocturnal journey amongst the rest, to Al Shâfeï and Kottada, who delivered them to Ahmed Ebn Hanbal. Al Zohari first began to collect and commit them to writing in the year of the Hejra 124. After him, Al Bokhâri, the famous author, or rather compiler, of the Sonna, reduced all those traditions to one complete and entire body of pandects, in a book styled Al Sahih, that is, *the Sincere*, because in it the author has distinguished the

genuine from the ſpurious traditions, in the year of the Hejra 224. As to the night in which Mohammed's journey to heaven was performed, the Moſlem doctors are not agreed: ſome make it the night of the ſeventeenth day of the month Ramadân; others place it in the Former Rabîa; and others in the month of Rajeb. Which laſt ſeems to be the moſt prevailing opinion; for the Turks, at this day, celebrate the twentieth night of Rajeb as a grand feſtival, in commemoration of Mohammed's nocturnal journey to heaven.

Abu Becr vouches for his veracity.

When Mohammed firſt told this ſtory to his uncle Al Abbâs, and Om Hâna, the daughter of Abu Tâleb, it ſeemed ſo abſurd and incredible to both, that they endeavoured to diſſuade him from communicating it to the Koreiſh. But being reſolved to puſh the point in view, he was imprudent enough to relate the whole affair to Abu Jahl, one of the moſt active and inveterate of his enemies, who ridiculed him for it, and placed his relation in ſo ridiculous a light to the Koreiſh, that they were upon the point of inſulting him; inſomuch that ſeveral of his followers deſerted him: it would have probably ruined the whole deſign, had not Abu Becr vouched for his veracity, and declared, that if Mohammed affirmed it to be true, he verily believed the whole. This happy incident not only retrieved the prophet's credit, but increaſed it to ſuch a degree, that he was ſecure of being able to make his diſciples ſwallow whatever he pleaſed to impoſe on them for the future [z].

Many disbelieved Mohammed's relation.

Abu Becr's fidelity and ſignal ſervice to Mohammed, ſo raiſed his character with that impoſtor, that, according to Al Kodai, he had the title of the Faithful Witneſs conferred upon him, though ſome believe he had before been diſtinguiſhed by that appellation. Mohammed found himſelf ſtill obliged to combat ſeveral difficulties, before he could gain from his countrymen an entire aſſent to the preceding relation; and hence it is that, in order to ſupport the credit of it, he introduces God himſelf, in two paſſages of the Koran, to atteſt it. In one of which God is made to ſwear that, in the whole ſtory, Mohammed related nothing but what he had ſeen, and conſequently nothing but what he knew to be ſtrictly true. Nor has the ſtory of Mohammed's night-journey to heaven, taken in the literal ſenſe, failed proving a ſtumbling-block to many Moſlems

[z] Abu Horeira, Al Kor. Mohammed. c. xvii. Hotting. Hiſt. Orient. lib. ii. cap. 6. Gagn. la Vie de Mahom. cap. xiii. Sale's Prelim. Diſc. p. 47.

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in every age, ſince that famous journey is ſuppoſed to have happened; though it muſt be owned, that the generality of them have always firmly believed the truth of it. From their adherence to ſuch traditions, they have derived the name of Sonnites, or Traditioniſts; becauſe they acknowlege the authority of the Sonna, or the collection of moral traditions of the ſayings and actions of their prophet; which is a ſort of ſupplement to the Koran, directing the obſervance of ſeveral things omitted in that book, and in name, as well as deſign, anſwering to the Miſhna of the Jews.

The Moſlem doctors are not quite agreed, as to the manner in which their prophet ſaw God. Some maintain, that he ſaw his Creator with his natural eyes; and others, that he viewed him with the eyes of the mind. The former notion is eſpouſed upon the authority of Ata and Abu Horeira; but the latter is the moſt prevailing opinion, as we learn from Al Jannâbi. In ſome ſenſe or other, however, Mohammed's journey to heaven muſt be acknowleged by every orthodox Moſlem; it being reputed by all the doctors of the law as heinous a crime, and as damnable an error, to deny the traditional hiſtory of that famous event, as to diſbelieve any point inſiſted on in the Koran. On this occaſion, it may not be improper to produce the words of the khalif Omar, as they have been preſerved by Al Jannâbi, on this ſubject. Being one day preaching in a moſque, and impelled by his zeal, he cried aloud, "To deny the aſcenſion of the prophet into heaven, is to open a gate to incredulity, and to deny the reality of one of the greateſt miracles and the moſt wonderful works of the Almighty [a]."

Twelve men of Medina take an oath to Mohammed.

In this year, the twelfth of Mohammed's miſſion, called by the Moſlems the Accepted Year, twelve men of Yathreb, or Medina, of whom ten were of the tribe of Khazraj, and the other two of that of Aws, came to Mecca, and took an oath of fidelity to Mohammed at Al Akaba, a hill on the north of that city. Six of thoſe of the tribe of Khazraj, according to Ebn Iſhâk, had before reſorted to Mohammed at the ſame place, on a ſimilar occaſion. This oath was called the women's oath; not that any women were preſent at this time, but becauſe a man was not thereby obliged to take up arms in defence of Mohammed, or his religion; it being the ſame oath that was afterwards

[a] Ata, Abu Horeira, Al Jannab. p. 54. 56. Gagn. ubi ſupra, cap. xiv. p. 263, 264.

exacted of the women, the form of which we have in the Koran, and is to this effect: that they ſhould renounce all idolatry; that they ſhould not ſteal, nor commit fornication, nor kill their children (as the Pagan Arabs uſed to do, when they apprehended they ſhould not be able to maintain them), nor forge calumnies; and that they ſhould obey the prophet in all things that were reaſonable. As a reward for the obſervance of this oath, he promiſed them paradiſe; but on failure of ſuch obſervance, he doomed them to eternal miſery on the day of the reſurrection. "In the mean time (added he), whether you are to be puniſhed or forgiven, I recommend you to the divine protection." When they had ſolemnly engaged to do all he required, Mohammed ſent one of his diſciples, named Maſâb Ebn Omair, with them, to inſtruct them more fully in the grounds and ceremonies of his new religion. Maſâb, being arrived at Medina, by the aſſiſtance of thoſe who had been formerly converted, gained ſeveral proſelytes, particularly Oſaid Ebn Hodeira, a chief man of the city, and Saad Ebn Moâdh, prince of the tribe of Aws; Mohammediſm ſpreading ſo faſt, that there was ſcarce a houſe wherein there were not ſome who had embraced it. The principal of theſe were the Banu Abd'al Aſhaland Afad Ebn Hoſein, though the Banu Ommeya Ebn Zeid perſiſted ſtill in their infidelity. Maſâb immediately wrote to Mohammed, giving him a full account of the happy ſucceſs of his miſſion, and at the ſame time deſiring leave to form a congregation of all thoſe who profeſſed Iſlamiſm at Medina. To this plan the prophet readily agreed; in conſequence of which, the new Moſlems aſſembled regularly, to the number of forty perſons, in the houſe of Saad Ebn Khaïthama. The miſſionary, therefore, by his diligence and activity, extended Mohammed's intereſt in Medina, before his arrival there; which not a little facilitated the execution of his grand ſcheme. The form uſed by Maſâb of the initiation of the new converts, was conceived in the following terms: "Waſh yourſelf with water, purify your two garments, repeat the confeſſion of your faith (THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD, AND MOHAMMED IS HIS APOSTLE); and, laſtly, ſay your prayers with two incurvations." This year was ſtyled the Accepted Year, becauſe in it the prophet's party was ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of Al Anſar, the Anſars, or his coadjutors and confederates of the tribes of Khazraj, who had, as obſerved before, ſworn obedience to him.

Next

Several of that city swear fidelity to Mohammed.

Next year, being the thirteenth of Mohammed's miſſion, Maſâb returned to Mecca, accompanied by ſeventy-three men and two women of Medina, who had profeſſed Iſlamiſm, beſides ſome others who were as yet unbelievers. Of theſe ſeveral belonged to the tribe of Aws, and the reſt to that of Khazraj. On their arrival, they immediately ſent to Mohammed, and offered him their aſſiſtance, which proved very acceptable; for his adverſaries were grown ſo powerful in Mecca, that he could not ſtay there much longer without imminent danger: he accepted their propoſal, and met them, one night, by appointment, at Al Akaba, the hill above mentioned, which then was in the occupation of the Banu Tafri; whom therefore we may ſuppoſe to have been Mohammed's adherents. At this interview he was attended by his uncle Al Abbâs, who, though he was not then a believer, favoured his nephew, and made a ſpeech to thoſe of Medina; wherein he told them, that as Mohammed was obliged to quit his native city, and to ſeek an aſylum; and as they had offered him their protection, they ought not to deceive him; and that if they were not firmly reſolved to defend him, they had better declare their intentions, and let him provide for his ſafety in ſome other manner. Upon their proteſting their ſincerity, Mohammed ſwore to be faithful to them, on condition that they ſhould protect him againſt all inſults, as heartily as they would their own wives and families. He then permitted them to ſpeak, and compoſed ſome differences between them. They aſked him what recompence they were to expect, if they ſhould happen to be killed in his quarrel; he anſwered, paradiſe. Whereupon they pledged their faith to him, and returned home, after Mohammed had choſen twelve out of their number, who were to have the ſame authority amongſt them as the twelve apoſtles of Chriſt had among his diſciples. The form uſed by the Anſârs, or confederates, when they agreed to the prophet's propoſal, or rather that of his uncle Al Abbâs, was, "We have heard it well." The oath taken on this occaſion to defend Mohammed, amounted to a ſort of declaration of war againſt both the Blacks and the Reds, that is, againſt all nations that ſhould dare to oppoſe the eſtabliſhment of the new religion. The promiſe of paradiſe is ſuppoſed to be founded on thoſe expreſs words of the Koran—"And as to thoſe who fight in defence of God's true religion, God will not ſuffer their works to periſh: he will guide them, and diſpoſe their heart aright; and he will lead them into paradiſe, of which he hath told them." In order to inſpire them with a ſuperior degree of fortitude and

resolution, he supported the promises of the Koran with the authority of the Law and the Gospel, as is manifestly implied in the following words of the Koran: "Verily God hath purchased of true believers their souls, and their substance, promising them the enjoyment of paradise; on condition that they fight for the cause of God: whether they slay, or be slain, the promise for the same is assuredly due by the Law and the Gospel, and the Koran. And who performeth his contract more faithfully than God? Rejoice, therefore, in the contract which ye have made. This shall be great and unspeakable happiness," Having established this important point, Mohammed made the proper dispositions, in conjunction with his friends, for retiring from the city of Mecca [b].

The names of the chief of the Ansârs.

As the declaration of the Ansârs secured him a proper retreat, and for the present screened him effectually from the fury of his enemies, this may be considered as the foundation of his future greatness; it may therefore not be improper to insert the names of the chief of them, whom he had dignified with the name, as well as auhority, of apostles. 1. Abu Amama, or Asa'ad Ebn Zarâra. 2. Sa'ad Ebn Al Raba'. 3. Abd'allah Ebn Rawâha. 4. Rabe' Ebn Malec. 5. Al Bera Ebn Ma'rûr. 6. Abd'allah Ebn Omar Ebn Harâm. 7. Abâda Ebn Al Sâma. 8. Sa'ad Ebn Abâda. 9. Al Mondar Ebn Omar. 10. Osaïd Ebn Hodhaïr. 11. Sa'ad Ebn Khaïthama. 12. Rafâ'a Ebn Abda' Mondar. The nine first of these belonged to the tribe of Khazraj, and the other three to that of Aws. Some of the learned, however, in the room of the last, substitute Abu Haïtham Ebn Al Yothân. According to a tradition of Abu Becr, preserved by Ebn Ishâk, when Mohammed elected them, he said, "You are invested with the same power and authority that the apostles of Isa (Jesus) were, and I am the great apostle of all my people:" to which they replied, "It is undoubtedly so." If we believe the same author, who pretends to have received his intelligence from Caab Ebn Malk, one of the Ansârs then present, who himself heard it, when the confederates of Medina had taken the oath of fidelity to Mohammed, and were upon the point of returning home, the devil cried out with an exceeding

[b] Isin. Abulfed. ubi sup. cap. xxi. p. 42, 43, 44. Al Kor. Moham sect. v. ver. 8. sect. viii. ver. 39. Ebn Ishak. Al Jannab. Vide etiam Al Kor. Mohammed. sect. xlvii. ver. 5. sect. ix. ver. 113. Gagn. Not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 43, 44. Greg. Abu'l Faraj, Hist. Dynast. p. 162. Elmacin. lib. i. cap. 1. Prid. Life of Mahom. p. 42.

loud

loud voice, from the top of Al Akaba, "O ye inhabitants of Al Jehâjeb, why do you concern yourſelves with Mohammed, the Sabian; for thoſe with him are Sabians, and intend to make war upon you." Upon which the prophet immediately ſaid to them, "This is the little fellow of the hill Al Akaba, the ſon of the diſparager:" and then directing his diſcourſe to that malevolent ſpirit, "O thou enemy of God (ſaid he) thou canſt do no miſchief here; thou canſt draw no prey into thy net:" and then turning to his friends, "Depart (ſaid he), go and take your reſt;" which they accordingly did. That Mohammed was frequently by his enemies called a Sabian, we learn from Ebn Al Athir, as well as the Koran, where he endeavours to clear himſelf of that imputation, by declaring, that he only taught and profeſſed the religion of Abraham, as has been already obſerved. For a full and ample account of the Sabians, who are mentioned in the Koran, we muſt beg leave to refer our readers to Hottinger, Abraham Ecchellenſis, Eutychius, D'Herbelot, Hyde, Prideaux, Sale, and to what has been advanced concerning them in our ancient hiſtory of the Arabs [c].

Mohammed pretends to have leave to defend himſelf.

Mohammed finding now a confederacy formed in his favour, began to diſcover his true ſentiments in relation to the means of reformation. Hitherto he had propagated his religion by gentle means; ſo that the whole ſucceſs of his enterprize, before the flight to Medina, muſt be attributed to perſuaſion only, and not to compulſion. For before the ſecond oath of fealty, or inauguration, at Al Akaba, he had no permiſſion to uſe any force; and in ſeveral places of the Koran, which he pretended were revealed during his ſtay at Mecca, he declares his buſineſs was only to preach and admoniſh; that he had no authority to compel any perſon to embrace his religion; and that whether people believed, or not, was none of his concern, but belonged ſolely unto God. He was ſo far from allowing his followers to uſe force, that he exhorted them to bear patiently thoſe injuries which were offered them on account of their faith; and, when perſecuted himſelf, choſe rather to quit the place of his birth, and retire to Medina, than to make any reſiſtance. This wonderful moderation was entirely owing to his want of power, and the great ſuperiority of his oppoſers for the firſt twelve years of his miſ-

[c] Iſm. Abulfed. ubi ſup. p. 40—44. Ebn Iſhâk, Ebn Heſhâm, Ebn Al Athir, Al Kor. Mohammed. ſect. ii. ver. 62. Hoting. Hiſt. Orient. lib. i. cap. 8. Abr. Ecchellenſ. Eutych. Vindic. par. ii. cap. 7. Vide etiam. D'Herbel. Prid. Poc. Gol. Hyd.

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ſion; for no ſooner was he enabled, by the aſſiſtance of thoſe of Medina, to reſiſt his enemies, than he declared, that God had allowed him and his followers to defend themſelves againſt the infidels; and, as his forces increaſed, he pretended to have the divine leave to attack them, to deſtroy idolatry, and ſet up the true faith by the ſword. To this conduct he was excited by an apprehenſion that his deſigns would proceed very ſlowly, if they were not utterly overthrown, by pacific meaſures. He, therefore, determined to have recourſe to the moſt violent methods, even utter exciſion, for the more effectual converſion of the pagan Arabs, or rather the extenſion of his power, and the advancement of his authority. Nor do his followers at this day fail making uſe of the ſame means of conviction; being ſufficiently authoriſed thereto by the example of their prophet, as well as the injunctions he has left them. The firſt paſſage of the Koran, which gave Mohammed the permiſſion of defending himſelf by arms, is ſaid to have been that in the twenty-ſecond chapter; after which, a great number to the ſame purpoſe were pretended to be revealed [d].

The Koreiſh conſpire to kill Mohamed.

The chief of the Koreiſh finding that Mohammed, notwithſtanding the oppoſition they had given him, by his diligence, activity, and addreſs, had conſiderably extended his influence; and having alſo received intelligence, that he had provided for the ſecurity of his companions, as well as his own, by the league offenſive and defenſive which he had now concluded with the Anſârs, began to be greatly alarmed. Fearing, therefore, the conſequence of this new alliance, they began to think it neceſſary to prevent Mohammed's eſcape to Medina; and having held a council, after ſeveral milder expedients had been rejected, they came to a reſolution that he ſhould be killed. They agreed that a man ſhould be ſelected from every tribe for the execution of this deſign; and that each man ſhould have a blow at him with his ſword, that the guilt of his blood might fall equally on all the tribes, to whoſe united power the Hâſhemites were much inferior, and therefore durſt not attempt to revenge their kinſman's death. Nor did they doubt that they ſhould effectually ſecure themſelves from the fatal effects of his ambition by ſuch a ſalutary precaution. We are told by Al Jannâbi, that the council above mentioned was held in the palace of

[d] Iſm. Abulfed. & Gagn. ubi ſup. Al Kor. Mohammed. ſect xxii. Sale's Prelim. Diſc. p. 49.

Koſa

Kosa Ebn Kelâb, the wisest man among the Koreish; and that the devil himself, Mohammed's most inveterate enemy, in the shape of an old man, assisted at their deliberations. He intimated to them, that Mohammed, being crafty and eloquent, would easily insinuate himself into the good graces and affections of the people of Medina, and the neighbouring Arabs; insomuch that, after he had seduced them, he would soon be able to form a considerable army, and make himself master of Mecca. These suggestions of the ancient person of Najd, for that the evil spirit pretended to be, had such an effect upon the Koreish, that they produced the foregoing resolution. Abu Jahl also, Mohammed's implacable foe, who then made a very considerable figure among the Koreish, and proposed the opinion that prevailed, greatly exerted himself on this occasion [e].

Mohammed retires to a cave in mount Thûr.

In the mean time Mohammed directed his companions to repair to Medina, where, in consequence of the late treaty, they might be assured of protection; and they went thither accordingly: but himself, with Abu Beer and Ali, staid behind, having not yet received the divine permission, as he pretended, to leave Mecca. Here he narrowly watched the motions of the Koreish, and was soon apprized of their machinations. The foregoing conspiracy was scarce formed, when, by some means or other, it came to Mohammed's knowlege; and he gave out that it was revealed to him by the angel Gabriel, who had now ordered him to retire to Mecca. In order to amuse his enemies, he directed Ali to lie down in his place, and wrap himself up in his green cloak; and Mohammed escaped miraculously to Abu Beer's house, unperceived by the conspirators, who had already assembled at the prophet's door. The extreme danger of Ali produced in his mind an infinity of agitations, which continued the whole night; for the conspirators looking through the crevice, and seeing Ali, whom they took to be Mohammed himself, asleep, remained watching there till morning, when Ali arose, and they found themselves deceived. The Moslem historians and panegyrists bestow the highest encomiums upon Ali, for so generous and heroic an action. Abulfeda pretends, that when Mohammed, in his passage to Abu Beer's house, met some of the assassins, he repeated the nine first verses of the thirty-sixth chapter of the Koran, and im-

[e] Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. cap. xxiv. p. 50. Al Jannabi, p. 61, 62. Ebn Ishâk, Gagn. la Vie de Mahom. tom prem. cap. xvii. p. 280—283.

mediately

mediately threw a handful of duſt upon their heads; and that they thereupon were inſtantly ſtricken with blindneſs, ſo that they could not ſee him. The words ſuppoſed to be more particularly efficacious on this occaſion, are the following: "And we have ſet a bar before them, and a bar behind them; and we have covered them with darkneſs; wherefore they ſhall not ſee." Ebn Iſhâk relates, that of this plot the following paſſage of the eighth chapter of the Koran is to be primarily underſtood: "And to call to mind when the unbelievers plotted againſt thee, that they might either detain thee in bonds, or put thee to death, or expel thee the city; and they plotted againſt thee: but God laid a plot againſt them; and God is the beſt layer of plots." Mohammed, being thus preſſed on all ſides, found himſelf obliged to retire; which he did in company with Abu Becr, who could not forbear ſhedding tears at the deplorable ſituation of the prophet's affairs, and, by the direction of Abd'allah Ebn Oraïkat, an unbeliever, arrived at a cave in Mount Thûr (D), a hill a little to the ſouth of Mecca [f].

[f] Iſm. Abulfed. ubi ſup. Ebn Iſhâk, Al Jannabi, ubi ſup. Al Kor. Moham. ſect. xxxvi. ver. 9. & ſect. viii. ver. 29. Al Beidawi in Comment. ad Al Kor. Hottinger. Hiſt. Orient. lib. ii. cap. 5. Al Ghazali, Prid. Life of Mohamet, p. 42.

(D) The Moſlems have a tradition, that a party of the Koreiſh, being detached from Mecca to reconnoitre the mouth of the cave, when they came thither, found it covered by a ſpider's webb, and a neſt built by two pigeons at the entrance, which they ſaw, and which had laid two eggs there. At which ſight they reaſoned with themſelves in this manner: "If any perſon had lately entered this cavern, the eggs now before us would infallibly have been broke, and the ſpider's web demoliſhed; there can, therefore, be nobody in it." After which they immediately retired. As the prophet, therefore, and his friend, were now ſaved ſo miraculouſly, by means of the pigeon's eggs, and the interpoſition of the ſpider's web, he afterwards enjoined his followers, in memory of ſo remarkable an event, to look upon pigeons as a ſort of ſacred animals, and never to kill a ſpider. Which veneration for pigeons, Mr. Gagnier thinks, might occaſion the ſtory of the pigeon, taught by Mohammed to come to his ears, in order to perſuade the Arabs, that the Holy Ghoſt converſed with him: but as this is only a bare conjecture, our readers may allow what degree of credit to it they pleaſe (1).

(1) Gagn. la Vie de Moham. tom. prem. p. 289, 290, 291. Poc. Not. in Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 186. Hadr. Reland. de Relig. Mohammed. p. 259, 262.

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It ſeems to be intimated by the Koran, that Abu Becr was ſo extremely dejected during his and the prophet's residence in the cave of Thûr, that Mohammed could not without great difficulty preſerve his ſpirits from ſinking. With regard to Mount Thûr, it ſeems to be about an hour's journey to the ſouth, or rather ſouth-weſt, of Mecca. Mohammed, in his flight from Mecca to Medina, probably took a compaſs about the mountains and the maritime coaſt, deſcribed by ſharîf Al Edriſi, commonly called the Nubian geographer. Abu Becr, before he left Mecca, had commanded his ſon Abd'allah to watch the motions of the Koreiſh, and bring him intelligence of what paſſed there; he had alſo taken care to give his ſervant Amer Ebn Foheirah orders to carry a ſupply of proviſions to the cavern. He and the prophet were frequently viſited by his daughter Aſama, who brought them a variety of refreſhments. Al Damiri, in his hiſtory of animals, relates, that the pigeon is an animal held ſacred among the Moſlems, becauſe God was pleaſed to deliver Mohammed miraculouſly, by means of two of them, from the infidel Arabs, who had ſurrounded that cavern, when he was there, in order to take him. We are told by Al Jannabi, and other Moſlem hiſtorians, that Mohammed performed many miracles in the cave of Thûr, which produced a very good effect; though Abulfeda has not taken the leaſt notice of them.

He had a very narrow eſcape at Thûr.

Here the prophet and Abu Becr took refuge for three days, and recovered themſelves a little from the conſternation into which they had been thrown by the late bloody attempt of the Koreiſh: but the latter being informed of the route they had taken, ſent a party after them, under the command of Sorâka Ebn Malec, the Madbehite, who coming up with them between Thûr and Medina, and offering to ſeize Mohammed, his horſe fell down. Upon which Soraka deſired the prophet to pray to God for him, that he might be ſcreened from all impending dangers; and, in this caſe, promiſed to leave off purſuing him. This Mohammed did, and Soraka mounted his horſe again without receiving any hurt; but as, notwithſtanding his promiſe, he ſtill continued the purſuit, his horſe fell down with him a ſecond time, when he was remounted without the leaſt contuſion, upon the prophet's repeating his prayers to God for him. Upon this the prophet, looking at him, ſaid, "How will you behave yourſelf, O Soraka, when you ſhall have put on the bracelets of Keſra, or Khoſrû Parvîz?

He arrives ſafe at Medina.

Parviz (E)?" Soraka, therefore, returned to Mecca, without offering him any violence; and Mohammed, with Abu Beer and Abd'allah Ebn Oraïkat, being thus delivered from his purſuers, arrived ſafe at Medina, where he met with a very favourable reception [g].

Makes ſeveral proſelytes before his entry into Medina.

Before he entered that city, he thought proper to ſtop at Koba, a village about two miles north-weſt of Medina, where he lodged four days at the houſe of one Calthum Ebn Al Hadam. Here he laid the foundation of a moſque, and called it Al Takwa, or *the temple of piety*; which was afterwards, according to ſome, built by the Banu Amru Ebn Awf. Before Mohammed reached Koba, he was met by one Boreida Ebn Al Hoſeib, the Sahamite, at the head of the Banu Saham, amounting to about ſeventy perſons, who immediately embraced Iſlamiſm, after having taken an oath of fidelity and allegiance to the prophet. During his abode at Koba, he alſo received another proſelyte of great note amongſt the Mohammedans, and ſufficiently known amongſt the Chriſtians: this was the famous Salman Al Farſi, or Salman the Perſian, who was of a good family at Iſpahan, and, in his younger years, left the religion of his country to embrace Chriſtianity; but travelling afterwards into Syria, he was adviſed by a certain monk of Amûria to go into Arabia, where a prophet was expected to ariſe about that time, who ſhould eſtabliſh the

g Abulfed. ubi ſup, p. 52. Ebn Iſhak. Aut. lib. Al Moſhtarek apud Iſm. Abulfed. in Deſcript. Arab. p. 13. Al Jannab. Al Kor. Mohamm. ſect. xvi. Al Beidawi, Prid. Life of Mahom. p. 24, 25. Gagn. Not. ad Abulfed. de Vit. Mahom. p. 74, & la Vie de Mahom. ubi ſup. p. 296, 297, 298.

(E) The Moſlems ſay, that theſe remarkable words are to be conſidered as a prophecy, or prediction, that was fulfilled in the fifteenth year of the Hejra, when the khalif Omar gained a ſignal victory over Yezdegerd, the laſt king of the Perſians, of the Saſſanidæ, at Kadeſia. When this action was over, the bracelets, belt, and diadem, of the fugitive prince, which had formerly belonged to Khoſrû Parvîz, were brought to Omar, who calling Soräka, then become a good Moſlem, to him, cauſed him to put on thoſe inſignia of Yezdegerd. This he did, at the khalif's command; but his hair being grey, and his arms very hairy, he exhibited a very odd and groteſque appearance. However, the Moſlems urge this as a full proof of the completion of Mohammed's prophecy here, and conſequently of his having had the knowlege of future events communicated to him (1).

(1) Al Jannabi.

religion

religion of Abraham; and whom he ſhould know, among other things, by the ſeal of prophecy between his ſhoulders. Salman, whoſe father was dekan, or governor, of Iſpahan, performed the journey, and meeting with Mohammed at Koba, where he reſted in his flight from Medina, ſoon found him to be the perſon he ſought, and profeſſed Iſlamiſm. The commentators on the Koran ſuppoſe this Salman to have been the perſon mentioned in the ſixteenth chapter of that book, and whom Dr. Prideaux confounds with Abd'allah Ebn Salam, the Jew, who was ſo intimate with Mohammed, and, according to ſome Chriſtian writers, aſſiſted him in the compiling his pretended revelations. It is ſaid he died in the city of Al Madayen, then the capital of Perſia, of which he had been appointed governor by the khalif Omar, in the thirty-fifth year of the Hejra.

Received with great demonſtrations of joy at Medina.

Mohammed having left Koba the ſixteenth of the Former Rabî early in the morning, arrived the ſame day, after he had fortunately, or, as the Moſlems tell us, miraculouſly eſcaped all the dangers that threatened him at Medina. He was met at a ſmall diſtance from the town by above five hundred of the inhabitants, who had notice given them of his approach by a Jew poſted upon one of the higheſt towers of the city. He had no ſooner entered the place than he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and conducted with Abu Becr, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people, to the houſe of Abu Ayub Ebn Zeid, the Anſar, who carried the prophet's baggage upon his own ſhoulders to the apartment fitted up for him. Here he remained till he had built himſelf a houſe; which he immediately ſet about, and alſo erected a moſque at the ſame time for the exerciſe of his new religion. Hither his faithful friend Ali repaired to him, after he had ſettled ſome affairs at Mecca. Abu Becr now was extremely chearful, ſeeing the prophet in ſo flouriſhing a ſituation; though he had before been ſo dejected, at the proſpect of the imminent dangers which threatened him, that Mohammed found it neceſſary to raiſe his drooping ſpirits with thoſe words, recorded in the Koran, "Be not grieved, for God is with us." The new converts became every day more numerous; inſomuch that he doubted not but, in a ſhort time, he ſhould be able to carry the great deſign he had formed into execution.

Mohammed made his grand entry into Medina on the ſixteenth of the Former Rabî, and not on the twelfth, as we find intimated by Dr. Prideaux, who, in that point, runs

Some account of the Hejra, and the Arabian method of computing time.

runs counter to the beſt Mohammedan writers, and even to the whole ſtream of Moſlem antiquity; for it appears from Abulfeda, and the other writers already cited, that the prophet and Abu Beer arrived at Koba on the twelfth of the Former Rabî, and reached Medina four days after; that is, on the ſixteenth of the aforeſaid month. However, the Hejra, or *flight of Mohammed from Mecca*, happened on the firſt of the Former Rabî; and that day afterwards became very famous among the Mohammedans. This remarkable event has ſupplied the Moſlems with an æra, called the Hejra, even to this day, though it did not take place till the reign of the khalif Omar, by whom it was firſt appointed, on the following occaſion. A diſpute ariſing between two of his ſubjects about the payment of a ſum of money, which one of them pretended was due to him, the khalif was applied to by the creditor, for his aſſiſtance in this affair: but the debtor alleging, that the month mentioned in the bill did not belong to the current year, but to the following, and conſequently that the money was not then due; and there not appearing any date as to the year on the bill, the khalif found it impoſſible to decide this controverſy. In order, therefore, to remedy ſuch defects, and prevent ſuch inconveniencies for the future, it was ordained, by the advice of his privy council, that all bills and other inſtruments ſhould ever after have inſerted in them the date both of the day of the month, and alſo of the year in which they were ſigned. And as to the year, he was perſuaded by Harmuzan, or Hormuz, a learned Perſian, whom he conſulted, to order all computations to be made for the future from the flight of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina; for which reaſon this æra was called the Hejra, that word in the Arabic language ſignifying *a flight*. However, the Arabs, after the example of the Romans and the Egyptians, on a ſimilar occaſion, made no alteration in the ancient form of their proper year, which ſtill conſiſts of only three hundred fifty-four days, eight hours, and forty-eight minutes, as formerly; the Arabs, as they always have done, computing by lunar months. As for the khalif Omar, though he introduced a new æra, yet he anticipated the computation from the event that gave riſe to it fifty-nine days; beginning the year, as before, from the Neomenia, or firſt of the month Al Moharram, which precedes the firſt of the Former Rabi fifty-nine days. The flight, therefore, or migration of Mohammed from Mecca, in the Moſlem computation of time, is ſuppoſed to have fallen upon the

ſixteenth

ſixteenth of July, which anſwered to the firſt of Al Moharram; though, in reality, it happened on the firſt of the Former Rabî, in the year of our Lord 622 (F).

Mohammed

(F) In this particular the preſent Arabs differ from their anceſtors, that whereas the former, by intercalating ſeven months in nineteen years, after the manner of the Jews, reduced their lunar to ſolar years, and conſequently had their months always fixed to the ſame ſeaſon of the year; the latter, from the time of Mohammed, have intercalated a day on the ſecond, fifth, ſeventh, tenth, thirteenth, fifteenth, eighteenth, twenty-firſt, twenty-fourth, twenty-ſixth, and twenty-ninth years of the period formed by the odd hours and minutes exceeding the annual complement of three hundred fifty-four days, which conſiſts of thirty years. The preſent Arabian year, therefore, in thoſe parts of that period, has three hundred fifty-five days, by reaſon of the aforeſaid intercalation. Which form of the year the Mohammedans ſtrictly obſerve, they being confined to ſuch a uſage by a paſſage in the Koran; according to which, the intercalation of a month every third or ſecond year, which the Arabs had learned of the Jews, in order to reduce their lunar to ſolar years, is abſolutely unlawful; for by this means they fixed the time of the pilgrimage, and of the faſt of Ramadân, to certain ſeaſons of the year, which ought to be ambulatory. Hence it appears, that the beginning of the year, amongſt the Moſlems, is ambulatory and unfixed, the ſucceeding year always beginning eleven days ſooner than the preceding; ſo that, in the period of thirty-three years, the firſt day of the Mohammedan year paſſes through ſummer, ſpring, winter, and autumn, and arrives again at the ſame time of the ſolar year, though not preciſely at the ſame day. The decree of Omar, here mentioned, began to be in force about the eighteenth year of the Hejra, and the manner of computation enjoined therein has ever ſince prevailed among the Mohammedans. It has been already obſerved, in the ancient hiſtory of the Arabs, that it was uſual with them, before the appointment of the Hejra, to compute from the laſt great war they were engaged in; whence it happened, that the War of the Elephant, the Impious War, &c. ſupplied them with æras at Mecca; ſo that it would be entirely ſuperfluous and unneceſſary to give a farther account of every æra that preceded the Hejra here (1).

(1) Abulfed. ubi ſupra, p. 52. Ebn Shohnah, Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 52, 53, 55. Prid. Life of Mohamm. p. 43. Abr. Ecchellens. Hiſt. Arab. par. i. cap 10. Alfragan. Elemen. Aſtron. cap. i. p. 67. Amſtelodami, 1669. Poc. Not. in Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 172, 173. Prid. ubi ſupra, p. 44, 45. Sale's Prelimin. Diſc. ſect. iv. & vii.

Mohammed consummates his marriage with Ayesha.

Mohammed finding the people of Medina entirely at his devotion, thoroughly eſtabliſhed his new ſyſtem of religion in that place. The city of Medina, which we have already deſcribed, was about ten days journey diſtant from Mecca, and ſtood in the northern part of Hejâz. At the time of Mohammed's retreat thither, it was inhabited partly by Jews, and partly by heretical Chriſtians, who formed two different factions, that perſecuted each other with fury and violence. This diſſenſion gave Mohammed as good an opportunity as could be deſired of making new converts among them; and to this muſt be attributed the great and rapid ſucceſs he met with in the execution of his favourite deſign. He had eſpouſed Ayeſha, the daughter of Abu Becr Al Seddik, above a year before he found himſelf obliged to abandon Mecca, though ſhe was then not above ſeven years of age; but did not conſummate his marriage with her till eight months after his retreat to Medina. She accompanied her huſband in an expedition he undertook againſt the tribe of Moſtalek, in the ſixth year of the Hejra, when ſhe was accuſed of diſloyalty to his bed, as we ſhall relate more fully hereafter. According to Abulfeda and Al Bokhari, ſhe was not above nine years old when Mohammed began to cohabit with her, nor above eighteen at the time of that impoſtor's death. Some authors ſay, that about this time alſo, he gave his daughter Fatima in marriage to Ali, whom he conſidered as one of the moſt perfect of women, and who was the only one of his children that ſurvived him [h].

[h] Golii Notæ ad Alfragan. p. 98. Al Shahreſtan. Joan. Andreas, cap. i. Poc. not. in Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 137. Iſm. Abulfed. ubi ſup. cap. xxv. p. 53. Al. Jannab. Al Bokhari, Gagn. la Vie de Mahom. ubi ſup. p. 302, 303.

Before we diſmiſs this point, however, it may not be improper to inform our curious readers, that the names of the Arabian months are, Al Moharram, Safar, the Former Rabî, the Latter Rabî, the former Jomada, the latter Jomada, Rajeb, Shaabân, Ramadân, Shawâl, Dhu'lkaada, and Dhu'lhajja; the firſt, ſeventh, eleventh, and twelfth of which were held ſacred by the Arabs. The firſt of theſe months conſiſts of thirty days, and the ſecond of twenty-nine; and ſo they go on alternately to the end of the year; only, in the intercalary years, the month Dhu'lhajja has thirty days, on account of the day added; but in all the other years only twenty-nine.

The

Unites the Mohâjerîn and the Ansârs.

The next point the pretended prophet had in view, was the union of the Mohâjerîn and the Ansârs. The Mohâjerîn, or *refugees*, were those of Mecca, who fled thence on account of their religion; and the Ansârs, or *auxiliaries*, were those of Medina, who received Mohammed, and his followers, into their protection, and assisted them against their enemies. After his new mosque and house were finished, in order to facilitate this union, and to attach both those bodies of Moslems more closely to his interests, he established a fraternity among them; the principal statute or maxim of which society was, that they should not only treat one another like brethren, but likewise most cordially love and cherish one another, to the utmost of their power. But lest even this should prove insufficient, he coupled the individuals of those two bodies; the principal pairs resulting from which particular union were the following: Abu Becr and Hareja Ebn Zeid, Abu Obeidah Ebn Al Jarah and Saad Ebn Moad, Omar Ebn Al Khattâb and Otbân Ebn Mâlec, Abda'l-Rahmân Ebn Awf and Saad Ebn Al Rabi', Othmân Ebn Affân and Aws Ebn Thâbet, Telha Ebn Obeida'llah and Caab Ebn Mâlec, Said Ebn Zeid and Obba Ebn Caab. Which institution, according to Abulfeda, was the last transaction of the first year of the Hejra[1].

Changes the Kebla, and appoints the month of Ramadân for a fast.

The second year of the Hejra, if we may believe the same author, was ushered in by a change of the Kebla, or the part to which the Mohammedans are to turn their faces in prayer. At first, Mohammed and his followers observed no particular rite in turning their faces towards any certain place, or quarter of the world, when they prayed; it being declared to be perfectly indifferent. Afterwards, when the prophet fled to Medina, he directed them to turn towards the temple of Jerusalem (probably to ingratiate himself with the Jews); which continued to be their Kebla for seventeen or eighteen months; but either finding the Jews too intractable, or despairing otherwise to gain the pagan Arabs, who could not forget their respect to the temple of Mecca, he ordered that prayers for the future should be towards the East. This change was made in the second year of the Hejra; and as Jallalo'ddin relates, occasioned many to fall from him, taking offence at his inconstancy. This year also he appointed the month

[1] Abulfed. ubi sub. cap. xxvi. p. 53. Al Kor Mohammed. sec ix. Al Jannab. p. 75. Al Beidawi. Vide etiam Gagn. la Vie de Mahom. ubi supra, p. 303. 304.

of Ramadân (G) for a faſt, acccording to the ſame author; which faſt likewiſe we find expreſly enjoined in the ſecond chapter of the Koran [k].

Hamza not ſtrong enough to attack one of the enemies caravans.

About this time the prophet receiving advice, that a rich caravan of the Koreiſh was on the road from Shâm, or Syria, to Mecca, he detached his uncle Hamza, at the head of thirty horſe to ſeize upon it; who accordingly poſted himſelf in one of the woods of Yamâma, through which it was to paſs, for that purpoſe: but being informed, that the caravan was guarded by three hundred men, he thought fit to retire at their approach, as being too weak to attack them. He, therefore, returned to Medina, without making any attempt. We are alſo told, that, after this attempt, ſome ſmall parties were ſent out to haraſs the Koreiſh, who found themſelves not ſtrong enough to annoy them. However, the prophet made the proper diſpoſitions for acting againſt them with ſucceſs.

That Hamza's expedition was undertaken in the ſecond, not the firſt, year of the Hejra, we learn from Al Jannâbi: that writer informs us, that, in the beginning of the Latter Rabî, above a year after Mohammed's arrival at Mecca, the prophet ſent Obeïdah Ebn Al Hâréth, with a party of ſixty or eighty horſe, all Mohâjerîn, except one who was an Anſâr, to make repriſals on the Koreiſh. Obeidah, continues Al Jannâbi, in purſuance of his or-

[k] Abulfed. ubi ſup. p. 54. Al Kor. Mohammed. ſec. ii v. 146. Jallalo'ddin, Ahmed Ebn Yahya, Greg. Abul'l Faraj. p. 163. Al Kodai, Joannes Andreas, cap. vi v. 10. Buxtorf. Synagog. Judaic. cap. x. Maimonid. in Halachoth Tephillah, cap. i ſec. 3

(G) The Mahomedans are obliged, by the expreſs command of the Koran, to faſt the whole month of Ramadân, from the time the new moon firſt appears till the appearance of the next new moon; during which time they muſt abſtain from eating, drinking, and women, from day-break till night, or ſun-ſet. This injunction the Moſlems at preſent obſerve ſo ſtrictly, that, while they faſt, they ſuffer nothing to enter their mouth, or other parts of their body, eſteeming the faſt broken if they ſmell perfumes, take a clyſter or injection, bathe, or even purpoſely ſwallow their ſpittle; ſome being ſo cautious that they will not open their mouths to ſpeak, leſt they ſhould breathe the air too freely. The faſt is alſo deemed void if a man kiſs or touch a woman, or if he vomit deſignedly: but after ſun-ſet they are are allowed to refreſh themſelves, to eat and drink, and enjoy the company of their wives till day-break; though the more rigid begin the faſt again at midnight (2).

(2) Vid. auctor. ſupra cit.

ders

ders, ſet out from Medina, and in his march, arrived at a well in Hejâz, called Khainat Al Haran, where he met with a party of the Koreiſh, who immediately prepared for an encounter. However, they parted without any effuſion of blood, excepting only that Saad Ebn Abu Wakkâs, one of Obeidah's men, let fly an arrow that killed one of the Koreiſh; and this, ſays our author, was the firſt arrow that was ſhot after the introduction of Iſlamiſm into Arabia. The infidels, believing that the Moſlems were ſuſtained by a larger body of troops, retired with great precipitation; and two Moſlems, that were amongſt them, took this opportunity to deſert, and join Obeidah's detachment. The names of theſe were Al Makdâr Ebn Amru and Otba Ebn Ghazwân, the Mâzenite. A little while after, adds our author, the prophet diſpatched his uncle Hamza, at the head of thirty horſe, all Mohâjerîn, towards the maritime coaſt of Hejaz; who, being arrived at a wood, met a party of eighty Meccan horſe. Both ſides prepared for action; but, by the interpoſition of Majda Ebn Amru, they parted without coming to blows. From this account, in conjunction with what we have already obſerved, it indiſputably appears, that Hamza's excurſion was made, notwithſtanding what has been advanced by Dr. Prideaux, in the ſecond year of the Hejra; and that no acts of hoſtility were committed the preceeding year.

Abd'allah Ebn Hajaſh intercepts a caravan of the Koreiſh.

Mohammed being ſecurely ſettled at Medina, and, by the prudent meaſures he had taken, conſequential to the late offenſive and defenſive league concluded with the Anſârs, finding himſelf in a condition not only to defend himſelf againſt the inſults of his enemies, but even to attack them, began to ſend out, in earneſt, parties to make repriſals on the Koreiſh. One of theſe, which he ordered to advance as far Nakhla, under the command of Abd'allah Ebn Hajaſh, to get intelligence of the Koreiſh, conſiſting of no more than nine men, intercepted and plundered a caravan belonging to that tribe; and, after having killed one, took two of the eſcorte priſoners, in the action. One of theſe was called Naſir Ebn Waja. Nakhla is a valley, or place, ſituated between Al Tâyef and Mecca. This ſmall advantage animated the Moſlems, and induced the prophet to think that he ſhould gain as much reputation by his arms as by his revelations [1].

[1] Al Jannab. Iſm. Abulfed. ubi ſupra. Al Maſudi, in lib. Al Athrât, apud Iſm Abulfed. ibid. Vide etiam ejuſdem Abulfed. Deſcript. Arab. p. 55.

Gains the battle of Bedr.

But what eſtabliſhed Mohammed's affairs at this juncture, and was the foundation on which he built all his ſucceeding greatneſs, was the gaining of the battle of Bedr, which was fought in the ſecond year of the Hejra, and is ſo famous in the Mohammedan hiſtory. Of this remarkable action the Moſlem writers have given the following particulars. The prophet having been informed by his ſpies, that Abu Sofiân Ebn Harb eſcorted a caravan of the Koreiſh, then on its return from Syria, with a guard of only thirty or forty men, reſolved to advance at the head of a ſmall detachment of his troops, to intercept it. To this attempt he was excited by the riches of the caravan, which conſiſted of a large quantity of valuable merchandize, the produce of the country it came from, carried on the backs of a thouſand camels. He firſt ſent out a party to reconnoitre, with orders to poſt themſelves in ſome place convenient for an ambuſcade, where they might remain undiſcovered by the enemy: but Abu Sofiân having notice of Mohammed's motions, immediately diſpatched a courier to Mecca, with advice of his arrival on the frontiers of Hejâz, and of the deſigns of the Moſlems; requeſting his countrymen, at the ſame time, to ſend him ſpeedy ſuccours, that he might be able to defend the caravan. Upon this intelligence, Abu Jahl, and all the principal men of the city, except Abu Laheb, marched to his aſſiſtance, with a body of nine hundred and fifty men. Mohammed had no ſooner received advice of their march, than he drew together all his forces, which amounted to no more than three hundred and thirteen men, and advanced againſt the enemy. In the mean time he took care to leave a proper garriſon in Medina, to defend it in caſe of any diſaſter, and made Omar Ebn Omm Mactum governor of the place, during his abſence. In his army he had ſeventy-ſeven Mohâjerîn, on whom he ſeemed chiefly to depend; the reſt being Anſârs, with whom he was ſupplied by the tribes of Khazraj and Aws. He firſt encamped at Safrâ, a port of the Red Sea above Al Jâr, another port about three days journey diſtant from Medina. Here he ſoon received intelligence, that the caravan he was in queſt of, together with the eſcorte that attended it, was arrived at Bedr; and that the body of troops from Mecca was making forced marches to join Abu Sofiân. As he was encamped on the plain of Dâferân, to the right of Safrâ, and advantageouſly ſituated between two hills, the enemy could not eaſily have forced his camp, had they been diſpoſed to attack him; and, therefore, here he could with ſafety, in conjunction

junction with his officers, form a plan of the future operations; which having done, he advanced into the neighbourhood of Bedr, and pitched his tents at a small distance from the enemy, but nearer a well of water than that which had been before occupied for the same purpose by the forces of Abu Jahl and Abu Sofiân.

Things had not been long in this situation before Mohammed ordered his men to march directly against the enemy; and, on the seventeenth of the month Ramadân, early in the morning, the army of the Koreish likewise appeared on the heights in the neighbourhood of Bedr. Before the beginning of the battle, Otba Ebn Rabîa, Shaïba Ebn Rabîa, and Al Walîd Ebn Otha, on the side of the Koreish, and Obeidah Ebn Al Hâreth, Hamza, and Ali, on the side of the Moslems, engaged in single combat; in which the three former were slain. This circumstance greatly animated the Moslems, and as much dejected the Koreish, who now seemed to apprehend that victory would declare against them. In the mean time, Mohammed taking advantage of this lucky event, offered up his prayers to God with great fervency and vehemence; and then, feigning himself in a trance, pretended that God had promised him certain victory. Throwing a handful of dust towards the enemy, he said, "May the faces of them be confounded;" and then exhorting his men to behave valiantly, he commanded them to fall upon the Koreish. Upon which they charged with such bravery, that they soon put them to flight; having killed seventy of the principal of them on the spot, and taken as many prisoners, with the loss of only fourteen men. Amongst the prisoners were Al Abbâs, the prophet's uncle, Okail Ebn Abu Tâleb, and Nawfal Ebn Al Hâreth Ebn Abd'al Motalleb. The dead bodies Mohammed ordered to be thrown into the well Bedr, which gave name to the place where the battle was fought, and originally belonged to an Arab so called. Having refreshed his troops, he quitted his camp on the sea-coast near Mount Radwa, and returned to Safrâ, three days after the action [m].

Al Beidawi relates, that the Meccans, who marched to the assistance of the caravan, having advanced as far as Johfa, were there met by a messenger from Abu Sofiân, to acquaint them that he thought himself out of danger, and therefore they might return home. Upon which, adds he, Abu Jahl, to give the greater opinion of the courage of

[m] Al Beidawi, Al Kor. Mohammed. sect. iii. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. Hist. Dynast. p. 163. Prid. Life of Mahomet, p. 54.

himſelf and his companions, as well as of their readineſs to aſſiſt their friends, ſwore that they would not return till they had been at Bedr, had there drank wine, entertained thoſe who ſhould be preſent, and diverted themſelves with ſinging women. The event of which bravado proved fatal to them; ſeveral of the principal of the Koreiſh, as has been here obſerved, and Abu Jahl in particular, loſing their lives in the expedition.

We are farther told by the Moſlem writers, that Mohammed had no ſooner received advice of Abu Jahl's approach, than Gabriel deſcended from heaven, with a promiſe that he ſhould either take the caravan, or defeat the ſuccours; whereupon he conſulted with his companions which of the two he ſhould attack. Some of them were for ſetting upon the caravan, ſaying, that they were not prepared to fight ſuch a body of troops as Abu Jahl had with him: but this propoſal was rejected by Mohammed, as the caravan was at a conſiderable diſtance, by the ſea-ſide; whereas Abu Jahl was juſt upon them. This reaſon, however, did not ſatisfy the others, till by the interpoſition of Abu Beer, Omar, Saad Ebn Obadah, and Mokdâd Ebn Amru, they acquieſced to the prophet's opinion. Mokdâd, in particular, aſſured the prophet, that they were all ready to obey his orders on all occaſions. Mohammed ſmiled, and applied himſelf to the Anſârs, who promiſed to follow him wherever he pleaſed, though it were into the ſea. Upon which the prophet ordered them to attack the ſuccours, aſſuring them of the victory; which, though it might ſeem not ſo conſiderable in itſelf, was of great advantage to him, being the foundation of all his future power and ſucceſs; and had ſuch an immediate effect, that it cauſed both him and his followers to be treated with the higheſt reſpect by the najâſhi, who had received a particular account of it. It cannot, therefore, appear ſurpriſing, notwithſtanding this has been treated with ſuch contempt by Marracci, that the victory at Bedr ſhould be ſo famous in the Arabian hiſtory, and more than once repreſented in the Koran as an effect of the divine aſſiſtance. The miracle, it is ſaid by the Mohammedans, conſiſted in three particulars. 1. Mohammed, by the direction of the angel Gabriel, took a handful of gravel, and threw it towards the enemy in the attack, ſaying, "May their faces be confounded;" whereupon they immediately turned their backs, and fled: for, the prophet pretended, that not he, but God, by the miniſtry of his angel, threw the gravel towards the unbelievers. 2. The Moſlem troops ſeemed to the infidels to be twice as

numerous

numerous as themſelves. 3. God ſent down to their aſſiſtance firſt a thouſand, and afterwards three thouſand angels, led by Gabriel, mounted on his horſe Haizûm; and, according to the Koran, theſe celeſtial auxiliaries did all the execution, though Mohammed's troops could not perceive them. They rode, ſay the commentators, on black and white horſes, having on their heads white and yellow ſaſhes, the ends of which hung down between their ſhoulders. According to theſe viſionary writers, they firſt ſtruck the Koreiſh with terror, throwing them into ſuch a panic that they could never recover themſelves, and then immediately diſpatched them [n].

Mohammed divides the ſpoils taken at Bedr;

Notwithſtanding this defeat, Abu Soſiân made a tolerable good retreat, and conducted the greateſt part of the caravan ſafe to Mecca. The Moſlems, however, found great ſpoils on the field of battle. Theſe had like to have proved fatal to the victors themſelves, as they could not agree about a diviſion of them. The Anſârs, as having taken the Mohâjerîn into their protection, after they had been expelled their native city, inſiſted upon their being rewarded with the largeſt ſhare of them; a preference which the Mohâjerîn, as they had been the prophet's original companions, and greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the action, would not allow. This is Hottinger's repreſentation of the caſe; but the commentators on the Koran place the affair in another light; they relate, that the diſputes about the diviſion of the ſpoils taken at the battle of Bedr, happened between the old men who were ſtationed under the enſigns, and the young men who had fought; the latter inſiſting that they ought to have the whole, and the former, that they deſerved a ſhare. It is agreed on all hands that theſe diſputes ran ſo high, that Mohammed, in order to put an end to the contention, pretended to have received orders from heaven to divide the booty amongſt them equally, having firſt deducted a fifth part for the purpoſes mentioned in the eighth chapter of the Koran. Which chapter, ſay the Moſlems, was revealed to compoſe matters between the contending parties, and conciliate the affections of both to the prophet at this critical juncture. So that, to avoid all inteſtine broils and diſſenſions, and every ſpecies of mutiny, the diviſion

[n] Al Kor. Moham. ſect. iii. viii. &c. Al Beidawi, Al Wakedi, & Al Naiſaburi, apud Abu Zeid Seid in lib. Splendor. ut & ipſe Abu Zeid Seid, ibid. Aſſouhali, Ludovicus Maraccius in Vita Mohammed. p. 23. Vide etiam Joan. Gagn. Not. ad Abulfed. de Vita Mohammed. cap. xxvii. p. 56—60.

of

of the ſpoils on all future ſimilar occaſions, is entirely ſettled by Mohammed's deciſion after the battle of Bedr, which was founded upon the eighth chapter of the Koran, and is as follows: a fifth part is to be appropriated to the ſervice of God, and the uſe of his prophet, his kindred, the orphans, the poor, and the traveller; and the other four-fifths are to be equally divided amongſt thoſe who ſhall be preſent at the action: but with regard to the diſtribution of the firſt fifth, the Mohammedan doctors are not abſolutely agreed: nor did, indeed the pretended apoſtle, in his life-time, always ſtrictly adhere to the rule he himſelf had laid down, and which, with reſpect to his followers, he intended ſhould be of perpetual force and obligation; for by virtue of the divine commiſſion he pretended to have received, to diſtribute the ſpoil among his ſoldiers at his own diſcretion, he took himſelf to be authoriſed, on extraordinary occaſions, to diſtribute it as he thought proper, without obſerving an equality[g].

and arrives at Medina.

On Monday the 20th of Ramadân, the Moſlem army decamped from Bedr, and returned to the port of Safrâ. Here the prophet took a review of his forces, and found that he had loſt only ſix Mohâjerîn, and eight Anſârs in the expedition. Theſe the Moſlems look upon as martyrs, and as ſuch they are celebrated by Abulfeda. Soon after Mohammed's arrival at Safrâ, he ordered Ali to ſtrike off the head of Al Nodar Ebn Al Hâreth, who ſeems to have been taken priſoner at the battle of Bedr, and was one of the prophet's moſt implacable enemies. Al Nodar, Abu Sofiân, Al Walid, Otba, Abu Jahl, and their comrades, who are all pointed at in the Koran, went one day to hear Mohammed repeat ſome verſes of that book; and Nodar being afterwards aſked what he ſaid, anſwered with an oath, that he knew not; only that he moved his tongue, and told a parcel of fooliſh ſtories. The ſame perſon is likewiſe ſaid to have brought with him from Perſia the romance of Roſtam and Isfandiyar, the two heroes of that country, recited it in the aſſemblies of the Koreiſh, and highly extolled the power and ſplendor of the ancient Perſian kings, preferring their ſtories to thoſe of Ad and Thamud, David and Solomon, and the reſt which are told in the Koran. Such ſlights as theſe could not fail to render him extremely diſagreeable to Mohammed, and were undoubtedly the cauſe of

g Al Kor. Mohammed. ſect. viii. Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin. Hottinger. ubi ſupra. Ahmed Ebn Yahya, Abulfed. de Vita Mohammed. p. 98, 118, &c Prid. Life of Mahom. p. 54 Sale's Prelim. Diſcourſe, ſect. vi. p. 145.

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his death. Okba Ebn Abu Moait had likewise the same punishment inflicted upon him. This person, at the instigation of Obba Ebn Khalf, set his foot on Mohammed's neck, and spit in his face in the public hall, where he found the prophet sitting; whereupon Mohammed told him, that if ever he met him out of Mecca he would cut off his head. He did not fail to perform his promise; for Okba, being taken prisoner at the battle of Bedr, had his head struck off by Ali, at the prophet's command. After these executions the army continued its march to Medina, where the prophet was received in triumph, amidst the universal acclamations of the people: but the public joy was not a little interrupted by the death of Rakîah, the daughter of Mohammed, who was first married to Otba Ebn Abu Laheb, who repudiated her a little before he declared himself an enemy, in conjunction with his father, to the prophet, after which divorce Othmân took her to wife, and had by her a son named Abd'allah. Rakîah fled with her husband Othmân first into Ethiopia, and afterwards to Medina, where she died when her father Mohammed was at Bedr. Her son Abd'allah was destroyed by a cock, that put out one of his eyes, in the fourth year of the Hejra, when he was about six years of age. She was Mohammed's third daughter by Khadîjah, as we learn from Al Kodai. The prophet in nineteen days, the whole time he was absent from Medina, finished the Bedr expedition; a circumstance the more to be wondered at, as he had not above two horses and seventy camels in his army [P].

The Koreish endeavour in vain to engage the najâshi in their interest.

The Koreish, in order to be revenged of Mohammed for the late defeat at Bedr, resolved to send an embassy to the najâshi, to desire him to put into their hands the Moslem refugees, who had taken sanctuary in Ethiopia. This particular we learn from Mohammed Ebn Abd'al Bâki; who likewise informs us, that the people of Mecca lost the whole caravan escorted to Bedr by Abu Sofiân. This loss, together with the bad success that attended their arms in the first engagement between their troops and those of the Moslems, made them despair of putting a stop to the progress of Islamism, without the assistance of some neighbouring power. In pursuance, therefore, of the resolution they had taken, they sent Amru Ebn Al As and Abd'allah Ebn Abu Rabîa their ambassadors to the najâshi, with

[P] Ism. Abulfed. ubi supra. cap. xxvii. p. 60. Al Jannab. Ebn Ishak, Al Kor. Mohammed. sect. vi. viii. xxxi. &c. Al Beidawi, Al Kodai in Hist. Gen. Gagn. la Vie de Mahom. p. 332—334. & p. 362.

skins

ſkins or furs, the produce of their country, and other rich preſents for that prince, and the lords of his court, to engage them the more effectually in their intereſt. Upon their arrival in Ethiopia, they diſtributed their preſents to the beſt advantage, and obtained an audience of the najâſhi; but could not prevail upon him to deliver up the Moſlem fugitives into their hands, to be carried to Mecca, and puniſhed there. The ambaſſadors, in order to carry their point, accuſed the Moſlem refugees of ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of Jeſus and his mother Mary; but the force of this accuſation was eluded by Jaafar, the principal of them, when he produced the nineteenth chapter of the Koran, intituled, Mary, to the najâſhi, which, our author pretends, demonſtrated the falſity of the charge. In ſhort, continues Ebn Abd'al Bâki, the Ethiopian monarch receiving at that time a courier from Mohammed, with advice of the great victory he had obtained over his enemies at Bedr, was ſo far from complying with the requeſt of the Koreiſh, that he returned their preſents, ordered their ambaſſadors to leave his dominions, and took Jaafar Ebn Abu Tâleb, with the other Moſlems, who had been obliged to ſeek for ſhelter at his court, into his protection [q].

Mohammed diſperſes the Banu Solaïm and the Banu Ghatfan.

Mohammed having received advice about ſeven days after his return to Medina, that the Banu Solaïm, and the Banu Ghatfan, had aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops near a well called Karkaret Al Codr, on the road frequented by the Arabs bordering upon Irâk, in their pilgrimage to Mecca, where they committed ſome diſorders, he was reſolved to drive them from thence. For this purpoſe he put himſelf at the head of two hundred men, and having conſtituted Ebn Omm Mactum governor of the town in his abſence, advanced towards the ſaid well; but the Pagan Arabs being apprized of his intention to ſurpriſe them, diſperſed at his approach. However, he made himſelf maſter of ſeveral head of cattle, and carried them off in triumph to Medina [r].

The war of Al Sawik.

The prophet ſpent the remainder of the month Shawâl, and all that of Dhu'lkaada, with a youth he had taken priſoner in the laſt expedition, named Soïâr, whom, after he had converted him, he had made his ſhepherd; but, in the following month, Abu Soſiân, who had ſwore never to uſe either women or perfumes till he had fought another battle with Mohammed, ſet out from Mecca with a body

[q] Abu'l Maala Alaeddin Mohammed Ebn Abda'l Bâki in lib de Excellent. Habeſſinor. part ii cap. 2. [r] Abulfed ubi ſupra, p. 62. Al Jannab. p 96.

of

of two hundred horſe. He took his route through the country of the Nadîrites, advanced to a poſt within three miles of Medina, and from thence ſent a ſmall party to a village called Oraïdh, who ſet fire to a barn, and burnt a man in it who was winnowing wheat. Then they made an excurſion to the walls of Medina, where they met with an Anſâr, and another perſon, both of whom they put to the ſword. Mohammed, being informed of this inſult, moved immediately, with a detachment of horſe, towards Abu Sofiân, who receiving intelligence of his march, fled with ſo much precipitation, that his men were obliged to leave behind, on the road, all the ſacks of meal or flour that they brought with them for their ſubſiſtence. He therefore contented himſelf with alarming the country through which he paſſed, and pillaging ſuch as he ſuſpected of favouring the deſigns of the prophet. From the preceding circumſtance, this ſhort expedition of Abu Sofiân was ſtyled by the Arabs the war of Al Sawik, or *the Meal*; alluding to the ſacks abandoned by the Meccans at the approach of the Moſlems.

The Arabs defeat the Perſians.

We are informed by Abulfeda, that a great battle was fought this year, the ſecond of the Hejra, between the Arabs, under the conduct of Becr Ebn Wâyel, and the Perſians, commanded by Al Hâmeraz, Khoſrû Parvîz's general, in the plain of Dhû Kâr, which, after an hour's diſpute, ended in the defeat of the Perſian army. Dhû Kâr is ſituated between Medina and Boſra, or Boſtra, on the confines of Syria, at a ſmall diſtance from Hira, the ſeat of the Arab kings, ſurnamed Al Mondar. Khoſrû having put one of theſe princes to death, commanded his ſucceſſor to ſend him all the arms and military accoutrements of his predeceſſor Al Nooman; but Ayâs Ebn Kobaiſa, for ſo was the reigning king of Hira called, or rather Hana Ebn Maſûd, refuſing to obey his orders, the Perſian monarch ſent an army againſt him, which was routed by Ayâs's forces at the place above mentioned [s].

Ommeya Ebn Abi'lſalt dies.

About this time died Ommeya Ebn Abi'lſalt, one of the principal of the infidel Koreiſh. The Mohammedans pretend that, by reading the Scriptures, he found God would then ſend a prophet, and had the vanity to believe that he himſelf was the man. Mohammed's declaration, therefore, of his miſſion, gave him great uneaſineſs, nor would he believe on him, as they affirm, through envy.

[s] Iſm. Abulfed. de Vita Mohammed. cap. xxx. p. 62. Vide etiam Abulfed. Hiſt. General. ſect. iv.

Having

Having undertaken a journey to Syria, he paſſed Bedr; when, by Mohammed's order, the dead bodies, and, amongſt the reſt, thoſe of Otba and Shaïba, his couſin-germans, were thrown into the pit above mentioned. This ſpectacle ſo deeply affected him, that he is ſaid to have cut off his camel's ears with his ſword; and, through envy and grief, to have expired on the ſpot [t].

As alſo Othmân Ebn Matûn.

In the courſe of this year alſo died Othmân Ebn Matûn, who was converted, ſay the commentators, to Moſlemiſm, by the following verſe of the Koran: "Verily God commandeth juſtice, the doing of good, and the giving up to kindred what ſhall be neceſſary; and he forbiddeth wickedneſs, iniquity, and oppreſſion: he admoniſheth you, that you may remember." Which verſe, according to them, contains the whole of our duty, with regard to what is either to be performed or avoided by us. This converſion rendered Othmân ſo famous, that his death is reckoned by Abulfeda amongſt the remarkable events of the ſecond year of the Hejra [u].

Mohammed conquers the Banu Kaïnokâ.

Mohammed, ſoon after his eſtabliſhment at Medina, entered into a treaty of alliance with the Jews of that place; by which he granted them the enjoyment of all their privileges, and the free exerciſe of their religion. But a little above two years after the concluſion of this treaty, the Arab writers tell us, that the Jews violated it, on the following occaſion: one of the Banu Kaïnokâ, a Jewiſh tribe, ſettled at Medina, offering ſome indecency to an Arab woman, was killed by a Moſlem, who was an eye-witneſs of the action. This action ſo incenſed the Jews, that they immediately ſurrounded the Moſlem, and cut him in pieces; upon which a great tumult enſued, the Moſlems pouring in from all parts, to revenge their companion's death. However, the prophet himſelf interpoſing, for the preſent, prevented all diſorders that might otherwiſe have been committed; but refuſed to let the Jews enjoy the advantages they were entitled to by the late treaty, unleſs they would renounce their religion, and embrace Iſlamiſm. This propoſal they abſolutely rejected; and therefore he reſolved to make war upon them. Having truſted the government of the city of Medina with Baſhir Ebn Abda'l Mondar, he beſieged the Jews in their forts and retrenchments, during the ſpace of fifteen days; at the end of which they were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The

[t] Abulfed. de Vita Mohammed. p. 63. Al Beidawi, Jalalo'ddin, Al Zamakhſhar, &c. [u] Al Kor. Mohammed, ſect. xvi.

prophet

prophet being now maſter of their perſons, ordered all the Jews, to the number of ſeven hundred men, among which were three hundred armed with cuiraſſes, to be put to the ſword; but Abd'allah Ebn Abu Solûl, of the tribe of Khazraj, an infidel Arab, of great authority in Medina, interceded for them, as his confederates, and prevailed upon Mohammed to convert their deſtined puniſhment into perpetual baniſhment. They were, therefore, immediately ſent to the city of Adhraât in Syria, in conſequence of this determination, there to remain in a ſtate of perpetual exile; by which means all their riches and valuable effects came into the hands of the Moſlems. Amongſt the beautiful arms they left behind them, there were three bows, three lances, two cuiraſſes and three ſwords, that the prophet took for his own uſe. One of the cuiraſſes, ſay ſome of the Moſlems, David had on, when he ſlew the giant Goliath; though the Scripture poſitively declares, that he was then unarmed, having laid aſide the armour that Saul had given him. By changing the intended exciſion of the Jews into perpetual baniſhment, Mohammed gratified both his avarice and ambition.

and eſpouſes Hafsa.

In the month of Shaabân, the prophet eſpouſed Hafsa, the daughter of Omar, who was the widow of Hobeiſh Ebn Khodâfa, the Sahamite. She had for her dowry four hundred dirhems, and lived with her new huſband eight years. Her death happened in the month of Shaabân, and the year of the Hejra 45, in the khalifat of Moâwiyah, being then about ſixty years of age. She was a woman of a fine ſhape, and has been greatly celebrated by the Moſlem hiſtorians for her ſingular abſtinence. It was to the cuſtody of Hafsa that Abu Becr, the firſt khalif, or ſucceſſor, of Mohammed, committed the tranſcript of the Koran, which he had completed by the addition of a great number of paſſages, that were preſerved by Mohammed's followers, and collected not only from the palm-leaves and ſkins on which they had been written, that were kept between two boards, or covers, but alſo from the mouths of ſuch as had gotten them by heart[w].

The Moſlems plunder a rich caravan of the Koreiſh.

The Koreiſh, after the late defeat, in order to avoid Mohammed's parties, reſolved not to paſs by Bedr, but to take another route for the future with their caravans. In purſuance of this reſolution, the famous Abu Sofiân, at

[w] Ebn. Amid in Vit. Abu Bec. Iſm. Abulfed. in Vita Abu Bec.

the

the head of a Meccan caravan, took a compaſs, in his next journey to Syria, to the eaſt of the province of Irâk. The merchants, at this time guarded by Abu Sofiân, carried with them a large ſum of money, which rendered the caravan they formed more valuable than any of the preceding. Of this circumſtance Mohammed was ſoon informed by his ſpies; and, upon his receiving the news, he immediately diſpatched Zeid Ebn Hâretha, with five hundred horſe, to attack the Meccan troops under the command of Abu Sofiân. Zeid executed his orders ſo well, that he came up with the enemy at Al Karda, in the province of Najd; and after having defeated the eſcort, made himſelf maſter of the caravan. With the ſpoils he returned triumphantly to Medina: the prophet, in conformity to his late injunction, took the fifth part of the money acquired on this occaſion, conſiſting of twenty thouſand dirhems, for his own uſe, and diſtributed the reſt amongſt the troops employed in the expedition [x].

Caab Ebn Aſhraf aſſaſſinated by Mohammed's order.

In the third year of the Hejra, according to Abulfeda, Caab Ebn Al Aſhraf, a Jew, was aſſaſſinated. This unhappy man was pointed at in the third chapter of the Koran. Being an inveterate enemy of Mohammed, after the battle of Bedr, he went to Mecca, and there, to excite the Koreiſh to revenge themſelves, made and recited verſes, lamenting the death of thoſe who were ſlain in that battle, and reflecting very ſeverely on Mohammed. Afterwards he returned to Medina, and had the boldneſs to repeat them publicly there alſo. This inſolence ſo exceedingly provoked Mohammed, that he proſcribed him, and ſent a party of men to kill him; and he was at laſt ſlain by Mohammed Ebn Moſlema, the anſâr of the tribe of Aws. Salkân Ebn Salama, another Moſlem, greatly contributed to the ſucceſs of this enterprize, by amuſing the Jew with ſome ſtories relating to the prophet, and afterwards inſenſibly drawing him to the place where Mohammed Ebn Moſlema waited for him. In the month of Ramadân, this ſame year, Mohammed's daughter Fâtema, the wife of Ali, bore a ſon, to whom he gave the name of Al Haſan [y].

The battle of Ohod.

The Koreiſh next year, being the third of the Hejra, aſſembled an army of three thouſand men, amongſt whom there were two hundred horſe, and ſeven hundred armed with coats of mail. Theſe forces marched under the con-

[x] Al Jannab. ubi ſupra, p. 101. [y] Al Kor. Mohammed. ſ. iii. Abulfed. ubi ſupra, p. 64. Al Jannab. ubi ſupra, p. 102. Al Beidawi, Prid. Life of Mahom. p. 59, 60.

duct

duct of Abu Sofiân Ebn Harb, attended by his wife Henda Bint Otba, and sat down at Dhû'lholeifa, a village about six miles from Medina. Mohammed being much inferior in number to the enemy, at first determined to keep himself within the town, and receive them there: this was also the sentiment of Abd'allah Ebn Solûl, and some others. But afterwards the advice of the majority of his companions prevailing, he marched out against them at the head of one thousand men, or, as some say, one thousand and fifty, or, according to others, nine hundred only, of whom two hundred were cuirassiers; but he had no more than one horse belonging to Abu Barda, besides his own, in his whole army. He distributed three standards amongst his troops, one of which was assigned to the soldiers of the tribe of Aws, another to those of the tribe of Khazraj, and the third to the Mohâjerîn. The grand standard was carried before the prophet by Mosaab Ebn Omaïr. With these forces Mohammed formed a camp in a village near Ohod, a mountain about four miles to the north of Medina, which he contrived to have on his back; and the better to secure his men from being surrounded, he placed fifty archers, the flower of his troops, in the rear, with strict orders not to quit their post. On the other hand, the army of the Koreish was drawn up in the form of a crescent, and made a tolerable good appearance. The right wing was commanded by Khâled Ebn Al Walîd, the left by Acrema Ebn Abu Jahl, and the centre by Abu Sofiân. The corps de reserve was headed by the heroine Henda Bint Otba, Abu Sofiân's wife, accompanied by fifteen other matrons, acting the part of drummers, and lamenting the fate of their countrymen slain at Bedr, in order to animate the troops that attended them. Henda, in particular, cried out with her might, "Courage, ye brave sons of Abd'l Dâr, courage, fall on with all your swords." The Meccan forces consisted of some volunteers belonging to the tribe of Koreish, and a considerable body of Arabs, with which the people of Mecca were supplied by the tribe of Kenâna, and the inhabitants of the province of Tehama. Both armies now facing each other, expected the signal to be given, in order to begin the attack.

The Moslems seeing things in this situation, by Mohammed's command, fell upon their enemies with such fury, that they were not able to stand the shock, but immediately began to give way in the centre. Ali, or, according to Abulfeda, Hamza, slew Arta, the enemies great standard-bearer; a circumstance which struck them with such

ſuch terror, that they were thrown into confuſion, and ſoon fled: ſo that the Moſlem troops had undoubtedly the advantage, notwithſtanding their great inferiority in point of number, in the beginning of the action.

But the Moſlem archers, poſted in the rear, elated with this firſt inſtance of ſucceſs, and hurried away with the avidity of plunder, afterwards left their ranks for the ſake of pillage, and quitted the poſt that had been aſſigned them. Seeing the enemy fly, contrary to Mohammed's expreſs orders, they ſo diſperſed themſelves, that Abd'allah Ebn Jobair, their captain, though he made the utmoſt efforts to oblige them to keep their ranks, could not prevail upon ten men out of the fifty to ſtand firm by him. Khâled Ebn Al Walîd, perceiving Mohammed's army greatly expoſed, as being left entirely unſupported, and deſtitute of its principal defence, by the diſperſion of the archers, immediately made a movement with his cavalry, and attacked the enemies rear with ſuch bravery that he turned the fortune of the day. Not content with putting the troops poſted there into diſorder, he cried out with a loud voice, "Mohammed is ſlain:" which intimation had ſuch an effect upon the Moſlems, that they ſoon quitted their poſts; nor could the prophet himſelf, notwithſtanding all his endeavours, ever afterwards rally them. He therefore found himſelf obliged to abandon the field of battle, and was very near loſing his life in the action, being ſtruck down by a ſhower of ſtones, and wounded in the face with two arrows, which occaſioned his two fore-teeth to drop out. He likewiſe received a contuſion on his upper lip, and would have been killed upon the ſpot, had not Telha, one of his companions, Abu Becr's nephew, received a blow that was levelled at him. Telha received, on this occaſion, a wound in his hand, which deprived him of the uſe of ſome of his fingers ever after. Of the Moſlems ſeventy were ſlain, amongſt whom were Hamza Ebn Abd'al Motalleb, Mohammed's uncle, and Moſaab Ebn Omaïr, his ſtandard-bearer, who was mortally wounded by Ebn Kamia, the Laïthite, and twenty-two of the Koreiſh. Amongſt the wounded, on Mohammed's ſide, there were found Abu Becr, Omar, and Othmân; but as ſoon as they underſtood that the prophet was ſafe, for Ebn Kamia had given out, when he ſlew his ſtandard-bearer, that he had killed him, they returned to the charge with a conſiderable body, and, after an obſtinate diſpute, carried off Mohammed to a neighbouring village. This battle, ſo fatal to the Mohammedans, was fought on Saturday, the ſeventh

venth day of the month Shawâl, in the third year of the Hejra [z].

Abu Sofiân made no advantage of his success.

The retreat was so well conducted by Abu Becr, Omar, and Othmân, that the troops of Abu Sofiân did not pursue the flying enemy, but contented themselves with remaining masters of the field of battle. Abu Sofiân made no farther advantage of his success, than to give Mohammed a challenge to meet him the next year at Bedr; which the prophet accepted. Some of the Moslem writers inform us, that as the Koreish were on their march home, they repented they had not utterly extirpated the Mohammedans, and began to think of going back to Medina for that purpose; but were prevented by a sudden consternation, which God sent upon them. In the mean time, Mohammed being informed of their intention, assembled all those who had supported him in the field of battle, and advanced at the head of them to meet the enemy as far as Hamrâ Al Asad, about eight miles from Medina: but receiving advice afterwards that they had changed their resolution, he returned to Medina; and the Koreish continued their march home. However, they seem to have exulted not a little on the field of battle; Abu Sofiân, with part of Hamza's head fixed on the top or point of a lance, crying aloud, "O Hobal, thou art now exalted!" It may not be improper here to remark, that there were no less than three hundred and sixty idols, equalling in number the days of the Arabian year, in and about the Caaba of Mecca; the chief of which was this Hobal, brought from Belka in Syria into Arabia by Amru Ebn Lohai, who pretended it would procure them rain when they wanted it. It was the statue of a man made of red agate, which having by some accident lost a hand, the Koreish repaired it with one of gold. He held in his hand seven arrows, without heads or feathers, such as the Arabs used in divination.

A truce between Mohammed and Abu Sofiân.

After Abu Sofiân's return to Mecca, he desired a truce with the Moslems; which was granted him by the prophet. In the mean time, Mohammed caused the body of Hamza Ebn Abd'al Motalleb to be interred, after having decently covered it with a black cloak. Some authors relate, that the Koreish abused the dead body of Hamza, by

[z] Abulfed. Al Kor. Mohammed. Al Jannab. Greg. Abul Faraj. Al Bokhar. ubi sup. Al Beidawi, Gagn. la Vie de Mahom. tom. prem. lib. iii. cap. 9. p. 359—363. Vide etiam Ebn Amid. ubi sup. Disputat. Christian. cap. 5. Greg. Abul Faraj. Hist. Dynast. p. 185.

taking out his bowels, and cutting off his ears and his nose; which when Mohammed saw, he swore that if God granted him success, he would retaliate those cruelties on seventy of the Koreish; but he was afterwards, as the same writers infer from the Koran, expressly forbidden by God to put his design in execution. The blow at Ohod had like to have proved the total ruin of Mohammed's affairs, and put an end to all his towering projects; for some of his followers pretended, that had he been really a prophet sent by God, he could not have received such an overthrow from the infidel Koreish; and others were rendered furious by the loss of their friends and relations, who had been slain in the late engagement. The more effectually to stifle the murmurs of the former, he attributed the defeat at Ohod to the sins of some of the Moslems, who bore a share in that unfortunate action; and, to pacify the latter, he represented to them, that the time of every man's death is decreed and predetermined by God; and that those who fell in the battle could not have avoided their fate, had they staid at home; whereas they had now obtained the glorious advantage of dying martyrs for the faith, and were consequently translated to the regions of eternal bliss. Which last doctrine Mohammed made great use of in the Koran; the latter part of the third chapter of which book he pretended was communicated to him to raise the drooping courage of his followers, after the defeat at Ohod, for the advancement of his designs. By the assistance of this, he encouraged his adherents to fight without fear, and even desperately, for the propagation of their faith, by representing to them, that all their caution would not avert their inevitable destiny, or prolong their lives for a moment [a].

Mohammed harasses the Asadites;

Soon after the commencement of the fourth year of the Hejra, Mohammed received intelligence, that Taliha and Salama, two chiefs of the Asadites, had drawn together a body of men, in order to make an incursion upon the territory of Medina. He therefore detached fifty men, under the command of Abu Salama Ebn Abd'allah, the Makhzumite, to repress the courses of these robbers. Abu Salama taking Walid Ebn Nozeira, the Tayite, with him for his guide, soon entered the district of the Asadites, where he committed great depredations; carrying off their shepherds

[a] Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 68. Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin, Ebn Khalecan. Vide etiam Poc. Not. in Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 294, 295. & alibi. Al Kor. Mohammed. sect. iii. sect. xcvii. & alibi. Al Zamakshar. Prid. Life of Mahom. p. 61.

and

and cattle, without oppofition. Some of the former, however, making their efcape, informed their mafters of what had happened; who thereupon immediately abandoned their habitations, of which the Moflems made themfelves mafters; and having thoroughly pillaged the country, returned loaded with fpoil to Medina. This the prophet, after he had rewarded the guide for his fidelity, and referved a fifth part for his own ufe, in conformity to what he had enjoined in the Koran, diftributed amongft the perfons concerned in the expedition; and it was fo confiderable, that feven camels, and a great number of fheep, fell to every man's fhare. This party was abfent from Medina only ten days [b].

and affaffinates Sofiân Ebn Khâled.

About the fame time Mohammed was informed, that Sofiân Khâled, the Hodheilite, was making preparations to attack him; he therefore gave Abd'allah Ebn Onaïs, furnamed Dhu'l Mahdrat, that is, *a man fit for any enterprize*, a commiffion to affaffinate him. This defign Abd'allah happily executed in the month of Al Moharram, at a place called Batu Arna, in the valley of Orfa; a circumftance which fo pleafed Mohammed, that, when Abd'allah imparted the news, the prophet gave him, in token of friendfhip, the cane he had in his hand; which Abd'allah ever afterwards carried about with him, and had it interred with him in his grave.

He fends miffionaries to the towns of Edhl and Al Kâra;

In the month of Safar, the fame year, deputies arrived at Medina from the towns of Edhl and Al Kâra, who, in the names of the principals, requefted Mohammed to fend fome miffionaries, to inftruct them in the principles of the new religion. He therefore ordered the following fix miffionaries to attend them: Thâbet Ebn Abu'l Aftah, Khobaïb Ebn Ada, Morthad Ebn Abu Morthad the Anwite, Khâled Al Bokeir the Laïthite, Zeid Ebn Al Dathnata, and Abd'allah Ebn Târek. From thefe he felected Morthad Ebn Abu Morthad, to prefide over the reft, and confequently appointed him the fuperior of the miffion [c].

who are murdered at Al Raji.

Upon their arrival at a place called Al Raji, a fountain belonging to the Hodheilites, the deputies fell upon the Moflems, whom Mohammed had fent with them, to inftruct their countrymen, and killed three of them upon the fpot, making at the fame time the other three prifoners. One of thefe laft they afterwards ftoned to death, becaufe he attempted to make his efcape. The other two

[b] Al Jannab. ubi fup. p. 113. Al Kor. Mohammed. fect viii.
[c] Abulfed. ubi fup. cap. xxxiii. p. 69.

they ſold to the Koreiſh, who put them to death ſoon after their arrival at Mecca.

Others ſent to Najd meet with the ſame fate.

In the ſame month of Safar, the prophet ſent Al Mondar Ebn Omar, with ſeventy miſſionaries, amongſt whom was Amer Ebn Foheira, Abu Becr's ſervant, to the province of Najd. As ſoon as they arrived at Bîr Ma'ûna, a place about four days journey diſtant from Medina, they ſent the prophet's letter, directed to Amer Ebn Al Tofeil, who preſided over the Arabs of Najd, to that prince; who ſlew the meſſenger that brought it, and then marched with a body of troops againſt the miſſionaries. Theſe he ſoon came up with, and put all of them to the ſword, except Caab Ebn Zeid, who afterwards fell in the battle of the Ditch. Mohammed afterwards formed a deſign to aſſaſſinate his inveterate and moſt implacable enemy Abu Sofiân; but Amru Ebn Ommeya, the Dhamrite, the perſon employed on this occaſion, was diſcovered before he could carry it into execution. By ſuch barbarous and inhuman means did the pretended prophet, or rather the infamous impoſtor, attempt to propagate his religion, when he found that milder methods proved ineffectual[d].

Mohammed undertakes an expedition againſt the Jewiſh tribe of Al Nadîr.

The next expedition undertaken by Mohammed was that againſt the Jews of the tribe of Al Nadîr, who dwelt in Medina, and, when Mohammed fled thither from Mecca, promiſed him to ſtand neuter between him and his opponents, and concluded a treaty with him to that purpoſe. When he had gained the battle of Bedr, they confeſſed that he was the prophet deſcribed in the law: but, upon his receiving the diſgrace at Ohod, they changed their opinion; and Caab Ebn Al Aſhraf, with forty horſe, went and made a league with Abu Sofiân, which they confirmed by oath. In conſequence of this alliance, Mohammed found means to have Caab diſpatched, and, in the fourth year of the Hejra, ſet forward againſt Al Nadîr, and beſieged them in their fortreſs, which ſtood about three miles from Medina, for ſix days; at the end of which they capitulated, and were allowed to depart, on condition that they ſhould entirely quit that place. They marched out accordingly with drums beating, ſome of them retiring into Syria, and others to Khaibar and Hira.

Mohammed forbids his followers the uſe of wine, &c.

About this time, according to Abulfeda, that paſſage of the Koran, prohibiting the uſe of wine, and all inebriating liquors, as well as all games of chance, was revealed to

[d] Abulfed ubi ſupra, cap. xxxiv. p. 70. Al Bokhar. ubi ſupra, Ebn Iſhâk, Al Jannab. ubi ſupra. Vide etiam Joan. Gagn. Not. ad Abulfed. ubi ſupra, p. 70.

Mohammed.

Mohammed. Both these practices seem to have been forbidden, with a view to prevent quarrels and disturbances; as also any neglect, or at least indecencies, in the performance of religious duties. We are told by some authors, that several of the leaders of the Moslems, being heated with wine, and deeply engaged at play, did, at this time, actually quarrel amongst themselves; an incident which was near proving fatal to the impostor.

The Mohammedans at present abstain from inebriating liquors.

Be this as it will, the drinking of wine, under which name all sorts of strong and inebriating liquors are comprehended, is more than once forbidden in the Koran. Some indeed have imagined that excess is only prohibited; and that the moderate use of wine is allowed by two passages in the same book; but the more received opinion is, that to drink any strong liquors, either in a lesser quantity or a greater, is absolutely unlawful. The more conscientious Mohammedans are so strict, especially if they have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, that they hold it criminal not only to taste wine, but to press grapes for the making of it, to buy or to sell it, or even to maintain themselves with the money arising from the sale of that liquor. Spanheim and Reland have observed, from a MS. of Levinus Warnerus, formerly in the public library at Leyden, but now not to be met with there, that the ancient Arabs abstained from wine before the birth of Mohammed [e].

Mohammed surprises a party of the Ghatfânites.

In the month called the Former Jamâda, this year, Mohammed marched with a body of four hundred men, or, as others say, seven hundred, into the province of Najd. This expedition he undertook against the Banu Mohareb and Tha'alba, of the tribe of Ghatfân; a body of whom he surprised at a place called Dhât Al Rekâ, that is, *the place of infatuation*; because they fled at his approach with as much precipitation as if they had been infatuated. About the same time the prophet narrowly escaped being assassinated by one of the Banu Mohâreb, according to Abulfeda and Al Jannâbi [f].

The second expedition of Bedr.

In the month of Shaabân, Mohammed marched at the head of a body of infantry to Bedr, there to meet Abu

[e] Al Kor. Mohammed. ubi supra, sect. ii. & sect. v. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 696. Smith, de Morib. & Instit. Turcar. ep. ii. p. 28, &c. Chardin, Voy. de Perse, tom. ii. p. 212. Spanhem. & Levin, Warner. apud Hadr. Reland. de Relig. Mohammed. p. 269, 270, 271, ut & ipse Reland. ibid. Vide etiam Joan. Gagn. Not. ad Abulfed de Vit. Mohammed, p. 72. [f] Al Jannab. ubi supra, p. 119.

Sofiân, and the Koreiſh, acccording to their challenge the preceding year. Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb carried the ſtandard before him, and arrived with him at Bedr, where they remained eight days, in expectation of ſeeing Abu Sofiân. On the other hand, that commander advanced with the Koreiſh forces as far as Aſha Al Tarîk, on the road to Bedr; but when he arrived there, his heart failed him, and he returned home without facing the prophet. Others ſay, that he reached Makhaba, in the territory of Thohrân and Osfan; but did not judge it proper to proceed to the place of appointment. Mohammed imputed the cowardice of the Koreiſh troops, on this occaſion, to their being ſtruck with a terror from God. This expedition the Arabian hiſtories call the ſecond, or leſſer expedition of Bedr [g].

Mohammed poſſeſſes himſelf of Dawmat Al Jandal.

Soon after the commencement of the fifth year of the Hejra, Mohammed marched againſt a body of wild Arabs, ſeated on the confines of Syria, who infeſted the roads to ſuch a degree, pillaging all the paſſengers they met with, and committing ſo many violences in the neighbouring parts of Arabia, that commerce ſuffered greatly from their depredations. Having formed a corps of one thouſand men, he advanced to Dawmat Al Jandal, a town belonging to theſe Arabs, which they abandoned at his approach. Having carried off many of their ſhepherds, and a great number of cattle, he poſſeſſed himſelf of the town; where he ſtaid ſome days, to repoſe himſelf and his troops. Then he returned to Medina, enriched with the enemy's ſpoils, and extremely pleaſed with the ſucceſs of the expedition [h].

The war of the Ditch.

But in the month of Shawâl, this ſame year, that is, the fifth of the Hejra, Mohammed and his followers were all threatened with utter deſtruction. The Koreiſh and the tribe of Ghatfân, in conjunction with the Jews of Al Nadîr and Koreidha, aſſembled an army of twelve hundred men, with which they formed the ſiege of Medina. On the enemies approach, Mohammed, by the advice of Salmân the Perſian, ordered a deep ditch or intrenchment to be dug round Medina, for the ſecurity of the city, and went out to defend it, with three thouſand men. In the mean time, the pagan Arabs, under the command of Yuſef, the brotherof Abu Sofiân, drew near to the entrenchment with all their forces. The Ghatfânites pitched on the eaſt ſide of the town, on the higher part of the valley; and the

[g] Al Jannab. ubi ſup. p. 121. & ſeq. Al Beidawi, Iſm. Abulfed. de Vit. de Mohammed. cap. xxxvii. p. 73. [h] Al Kodai, Iſm. Abulfed. ubi ſupra.

Koreiſh

Koreiſh on the weſt ſide, on the lower part of the ſame valley. Both ſides remained in their reſpective camps near a month, without any other acts of hoſtility than ſhooting of arrows, and ſlinging of ſtones; which produced no great effect. During this interval, many illuſtrious miracles were wrought, or, rather, many prodigies happened, according to the Moſlem writers; all which Mohammed's adherents interpreted in favour of the prophet. At laſt, ſay ſome of the Arab writers, God ſent a piercing cold eaſt wind, which benumbed the limbs of the confederates, blew the duſt in their faces, extinguiſhed their fires, overturned their tents, and put their horſes in diſorder. The angels at the ſame time, cried, Allah Acbar, *God is great*, round about their camp; whereupon Toleiha Ebn Khowailed, the Aſadite, ſaid aloud, "Mohammed is going to attack you with inchantments; wherefore provide for your ſafety by flight." This exclamation ſo affected the enemy, that the Koreiſh firſt, and afterwards the Ghatfânhites, broke up the ſiege, and returned home. Which retreat was alſo not a little owing to the diſſenſions among the confederate forces; the raiſing and fomenting whereof the Mohammedans alſo aſcribed to God; but others, to the crafty conduct of the impoſtor, who found means to corrupt the leading men in the enemies camp. Amru Ebn Abdûd, one of the principal men of the Koreiſh, and an exceeding good horſeman, rode up to Mohammed's trenches, and challenged the beſt man in the Moſlem army to fight him in ſingle combat. Ali, the prophet's nephew, accepted the challenge, and ſlew both him and another that came to his aſſiſtance. After which exploits, thoſe who had been corrupted by Mohammed's agents, ſo diſguſted a conſiderable part of their forces, that they inſtantly deſerted their camp, and put themſelves in march for Mecca; and the reſt followed their example. Thus was the pretended prophet happily extricated out of the greateſt difficulties in which perhaps he had ever been involved [1].

News of the enemies retreat brought by Hodeifa Ebn Yamûn.

Early next morning Hodeifa Ebn Yamûm, one of Mohammed's ſpies, arrived from the enemies camp with the news of their precipitate retreat; which ſo pleaſed the prophet, that he took him into his more particular confidence, and ever afterwards treated him with uncommon marks of diſtinction. To him, in conjunction with

[1] Abulfed. ubi ſup. cap. xxxviii. p. 73. Ebn Amid. & Greg. Abul-Faraj. ubi ſupra. Al Jannabi, ubi ſup. p. 124, &c. Al Kor. Mohammed. ſec. xxxiii. Al Beidawi, Ebn Iſhâk.

Ali

Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb, who was afterwards khalif, or, as Al Jannâbi ſtyles him, the emir, or *emperor of the faithful*, he communicated in ſecret the myſteries and heavenly revelations that were imparted to him; and particularly thoſe that related to the true meaning of ſeveral paſſages in the Koran. It is related, that when Mohammed heard that his enemies were retired, he ſaid, "I have obtained ſucceſs by means of the eaſt wind, and Ad periſhed by the weſt wind." The Arab writers term this expedition the war of Al Kandak, or Al Ahzâb, that is, *of the Ditch*, or *of the Nations*; the former of which appellations alludes to the ditch or intrenchment Mohammed cauſed to be dug round Medina, for the ſecurity of the place, and the latter to the number of Arab tribes, or petty nations, that entered into a confederacy againſt him.

Mohammed cuts off the tribe of Koreidha.

After the confederate forces had decamped, Mohammed and his troops quitting the entrenchment, returned to Medina, and, laying down their arms, began to refreſh themſelves after their fatigue. Upon which the angel Gabriel came to the prophet, as he pretended, and aſked him whether he had ſuffered his people to lay down their arms, when the angels had not laid down their's; ordering him, at the ſame time, to go immediately againſt the Koreidhites, and aſſuring him that himſelf would lead the way. Mohammed, in obedience to the divine command, having cauſed public proclamation to be made, that every one ſhould pray that afternoon for ſucceſs againſt the ſons of Koreidha, ſettled the plan of the military operations with Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb, and appointed Ebn Omm Mactum commandant of Medina, ſet forward on the expedition without loſs of time. He firſt took poſt at a place called Dhâ Enâ, where he was joined by the remainder of his troops, and then continued his march to the fortreſs of the Koreidhites. This he beſieged in form, and puſhed on the ſiege with ſo much vigour, that, though the place ſeemed impregnable, he obliged the garriſon to capitulate at the end of twenty-five days. The Koreidhites, not daring to truſt to Mohammed's mercy, ſurrendered at the diſcretion of Saad Ebn Moâdh; hoping that he, being the prince of the tribe of Aws, their old friends and confederates, would have ſome regard for them: but they found themſelves diſappointed in their expectations; for Saad being greatly incenſed at their breach of faith, they having, at the inceſſant perſuaſion of Caab Ebn Aſad, a principal man amongſt them, perfidiouſly gone over to the Koreiſh in the war of the Ditch, though they were then

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in league with Mohammed, had begged of God that he might not die of the wound he had received in that war, till he saw vengeance taken on the Koreidhites. He therefore adjudged, that the men should be put to the sword, the women and children made slaves, and their goods be divided amongst the Moslems. When Mohammed heard this sentence he cried out, that Saad had pronounced the sentence of God; and, in consequence of this decision, ordered the men, to the number of six or seven hundred, amongst whom were Hoyai Ebn Akhtab, a great enemy of Mohammed's, and Caab Ebn Asad, who had been the chief occasion of the revolt of their tribe, to be immediately massacred. The women and children were carried into captivity. Their immoveable possessions Mohammed gave to the Mohâjerîn; saying, that the Ansârs were in their own houses, but that the others were destitute of habitations. The moveables were divided amongst his followers; but he remitted the fifth part, which was usual to be taken in other cases. The Moslems attribute the success they met with in this war to the assistance of the angel Gabriel, who, according to his promise, conducted Mohammed's army to the scene of action. They pretend that Mohammed, a little before his arrival at the fortress of the Koreidhites, asking some of his men, whether any body had passed by them, they answered, that Dohya Ebn Kholeifa, the Calbite, had just passed by them: to which he replied, "that person was the angel Gabriel, who is sent to the sons of Koreidha, to shake their castles, and to strike their hearts with fear and consternation." We must not omit observing, that Saad's wound, which had been skinned over, opening again, he expired soon after judgment had been given against the Koreidhites; nor that the Moslems lost only six men in the war of the Ditch, and no more than one in the expedition against the Banu Koreidha, which was undertaken in the month of Dhu'lkaada, and the fifth year of the Hejra [k].

The great barbarity and impiety of Mohammed.

The spoils of the Koreidhites consisted principally of three hundred cuirasses, one thousand lances, and one thousand five hundred pikes, besides other moveables and utensils, which the prophet distributed amongst his troops. The prisoners were conducted into the province of Najd by Saad Ebn Zeid, the Ansâr, who was ordered either to

[k] Abulfed. ubi supra, cap. xxxix. p. 77—80. Al Jannab. p. 130, 137, &c. Al Beidawi, Al Kor. Mohammed, ubi supra. Ebn Ishak, Al Bokhari in Sonna.

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ſell them, or change them for horſes and arms; but before they were ſent away, the prophet choſe from among them a young lady, called Rihâna Bint Amru, the moſt charming and beautiful of all the female captives, whom, with ſome difficulty, he prevailed upon to become a Mohammedan, and retained her afterwards for himſelf. About this time, Mohammed formed a deſign to aſſaſſinate a Jew, called Salâm Ebn Abu'l Hakik, who, after the war of the Ditch, retired to Khaibar; which ſcheme, by the aſſiſtance of Abd'allah Ebn Atik, and four other ruffians of the tribe of Khazraj, he was enabled to carry into execution. By ſuch horrid facts as this, and the inhuman butchery of the Banu Koreidha, which is moſt impiouſly celebrated in the Koran as the immediate effect of the divine omnipotence, Mohammed endeavoured to propagate amongſt the Arabs his new religion.

Mohammed takes Zeinab to wife.

Before we conclude our relation of the tranſactions of this remarkable year, our readers will expect a ſhort account of Mohammed's marriage with Zeinab, which happened towards the cloſe of it; eſpecially as that affair ſhews the impoſtor, whoſe life we are now writing, to have been as much addicted to ſenſuality, on ſome occaſions, as he was on others to cruelty. Zeinah, or Zenobia, was the daughter of Jahaſh, and wife of Zeid, Mohammed's freed-man, who was of the tribe of Calb, a branch of the Khodaites, deſcended from Hamyar, the ſon of Saba. The mother of Zeinab, it is ſaid, was Amima, the daughter of Abd'al Motalleb, and Mohammed's aunt. Zeid being taken in his childhood by a party of wild Arabs, of the Banu Al Kain, was bought by Mohammed, or, according to others, by his wife Khadîjah, before ſhe married him. Some years after, his father, Hâretha Ebn Shorheil Ebn Abd'al Ozza Ebn Amru Al Kais, being informed that his ſon was at Mecca, took a journey thither, and offered a conſiderable ſum of money for his ranſom: but Zeid declaring that he would not leave his maſter, Mohammed took him by the hand, and led him to the black ſtone of the Caaba, where he publicly adopted him for his ſon, and conſtituted him his heir. From this time Zeid was called the ſon of Mohammed: his father acquieſced in this adoption, and returned home well ſatisfied. After the publication of Iſlamiſm, the prophet gave him to wife Zeinab, the daughter of Jahaſh, with whom he lived happily ſeveral years: but Mohammed at laſt going to his houſe on ſome affair, and not finding him at home, accidentally caſt his eyes on Zeinab, who was then in a

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dreſs which diſcovered her beauty to advantage, and was ſo ſmitten at the ſight, that he could not forbear crying out, " God be praiſed, who turneth the hearts of men as he pleaſeth." He made no other diſcovery of his paſſion at that time, but immediately retired.

Zeinab did not want penetration to diſcover that ſhe had made a conqueſt of Mohammed: nor did ſhe fail to acquaint her huſband with what had happened, on his return home. Zeid, after mature reflection, reſolved to part with her in favour of his benefactor: he therefore gave out publicly, that he did not retain any manner of affection for Zeinab; he even endeavoured to conceive a ſort of averſion for her, and to heighten this in proportion as he perceived the love of the prophet to increaſe: in fine, he informed Mohammed of the reſolution he had taken, who, apprehending the ſcandal it might raiſe, offered to diſſuade him from it, and endeavoured to ſtifle the flames which inwardly conſumed him; but at length his love for her being authoriſed by a pretended revelation, which is contained in the thirty-third chapter of the Koran, he acquieſced; and after the term of her divorce was expired, finding himſelf at full liberty to ſatisfy his paſſion, he affianced himſelf to her. This contract was ſoon ſucceeded by marriage. Nothing could exceed the ſplendour and magnificence of the nuptial banquet given by the prophet on this occaſion, to which an infinite number of both ſexes were invited. All the moſt coſtly viands that could be procured, all the moſt rare and exquiſite fruits that Arabia and the neighbouring countries produced, all the moſt elegant dainties that the Arabs were capable of furniſhing him with, then made their appearance upon the prophet's table: nor was there wanting either plenty, or variety, of the moſt delicious liquors: but nevertheleſs, this marriage gave great offence to many of his followers; for the relation between him and Zeid, though only fictitious, created an impediment of marriage among the old Arabs within the prohibited degrees, in the ſame manner as if it had been real; and therefore Mohammed's taking his adopted ſon's wife, could not but give great uneaſineſs to many of the Moſlems. In order to remove all ill impreſſions conceived againſt him on this account, he took upon him to aboliſh an eſtabliſhed cuſtom, as he did on this occaſion, by an expreſs declaration in the Koran, and even to introduce God himſelf as authoriſing an illegal action; than which a more profane and impious meaſure,

measure, for the gratification of a turbulent and unruly passion, could not have been devised [l].

Defeats a party of the Arabs.

Next year, being the sixth of the Hejra, in the month of Al Moharram, the prophet sent Mohammed Ebn Salama with a party of thirty horse against a small detachment of the Banu Becr Ebn Kelâb, who had posted themselves at Al Dharia, a place about seven days journey from Medina, on the road from Mecca to Bosra. Mohammed departed from Medina on the tenth day of the aforesaid month, and marched with so much diligence, that he surprised the enemy, before they had any notice of his approach. Some of them he killed upon the spot, took Themâma their commander prisoner, and put the rest to flight. The booty he acquired on this occasion consisted of fifty camels, and three thousand sheep, with which he returned in triumph to Medina. These the prophet distributed amongst the men concerned in the late action, after he had reserved a fifth part of them for himself. Mohammed Ebn Salama, with his men, spent only nine days in this expedition [m].

Themâma makes incursions upon the Koreish.

Upon Themâma's declaring himself a Moslem, he had his liberty given him by the prophet, and immediately returned to the people over whom he presided. In return for Mohammed's kindness to him, he made incursions upon the Koreish, and frequently intercepted their convoys of corn that came from the province of Yamâma. These hostilities reduced the Koreish to such difficulties for want of provisions, that they sent a deputation to the prophet, to desire him to have pity upon them, and put a stop to Themâma's depredations. This request he granted by writing to that chief to this effect: "Preserve my people, and let their convoys pass without interruption." Which order was punctually obeyed for the future by Themâma.

The prophet's expedition against the Banu Lahiân.

In the month of the Former Jomâda this year, the prophet undertook an expedition against the Banu Lahiân, to revenge the wrongs they had done to the inhabitants of Raji'. In order the more effectually to surprise them, he made a feint as though he would have passed towards the borders of Syria; but immediately afterwards making a counter-march, he came suddenly upon them. He found them upon their guard, and entrenched upon the heights,

[l] Vide Gagn. la Vie Mohamm. tom. prem. liv. iv. cap. 3. p. 416—422. [m] Al Jannab. ubi sup. p. 139.

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to which they had fled upon the firſt rumour of his march; finding that he could not attack them, without too much expoſing his troops, he advanced to Osfan at the head of two hundred horſe, to alarm the people of Mecca; then he returned without any loſs home to Medina [n].

Defeats the Banu Ghatfan.

A few days after his arrival at Medina, Oſna Ebn Haſan, the Farârite, with a party of the Banu Ghatfân, chiefly horſe, carried off ſome of the prophet's camels, that were paſſing through the territory of Ghâba. One of the Banu Ghafâr, that attended them, they alſo put to the ſword. Of which incident Mohammed having notice given him by Amru Ebn Al Acwa, the Aſlamîte, he immediately detached a party of horſe in purſuit of the plunderers; who ſoon coming up with them, killed all that made any reſiſtance, put the reſt to flight, and brought off ſome of the camels that the Ghatfânites had ſeized.

The expedition of Dhu Kard.

Some time after, the prophet ſet out from Medina, at the head of five hundred men, and took poſt at Dhu Kard, about two days journey diſtant from Medina, on the road to Khaibar. Here he was joined by another body of the Moſlem forces, which enabled him to make an incurſion upon the enemies territory, to retake the remainder of his own camels, and to diſperſe a conſiderable party of infidel Arabs, that pretended to oppoſe him. He alſo pillaged the adjacent country, and carried off ſuch a number of camels, that he regaled his forces with them, killing one camel for every hundred men. After which excurſion he returned to Medina, having before left in it three hundred men, under the command of Saad, for the defence of the place.

Mohammed makes an incurſion into the country of the Banu Aſad.

Afterwards the prophet ſent Acaſha Ebn Mohaſen, the Aſadite, to make a courſe upon the territory of Ghemar Marzuk, a well or fountain belonging to the Banu Aſad, two days journey from Keid, a ſtation of the Moſlem pilgrims who viſit Mecca. Acaſha had only with him forty men; and yet the enemy fled at the firſt rumour of his march. However, the Moſlems entered the infidels country, and carried off two hundred camels: but this advantage was more than balanced by the loſs of a ſmall detachment of ten men, under the conduct of Mohammed Ebn Salama, which was cut to pieces by a hundred men of the Banu Thaalba, who ſurrounded them at Dhu'l Kaſa, about twenty-four miles from Medina. To revenge this

[n] Iſm. Abulf. ubi ſup. cap. xl. p. 80. Al Jannab. ubi ſup. p. 140. Ebn Amid, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi ſupra.

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affront, the prophet detached Abu Obeida Ebn Al Jarah, with forty men, to make an irruption into the enemies country; which he did with ſuch ſucceſs, that he obliged a body of them, who waited his approach, to fly into the mountains. They fled with ſo much precipitation, that Abu Obeida could only make one priſoner, who regained his liberty, by declaring himſelf a Moſlem [o].

Seizes a rich caravan, and ſends an agent to Conſtantinople.

In the month of the former Jomâda, the ſame year, Mohammed being appriſed that a rich caravan of the Koreiſh was on its return from Syria, detached Zeid Ebn Hâretha with ſeventy men to attack it. Zeid, in purſuance of his orders, advanced to Al Aïs, four days journey from Medina; where lying in ambuſcade, as ſoon as the caravan came up, he ruſhed out upon it, and made himſelf maſter of it, without the loſs of a man. He alſo ſeized upon a large ſum of money, which belonged to Safwân Ebn Ommeiya, and made ſome of the eſcort priſoners; amongſt which Abu'l As, whom he releaſed, at the requeſt of Zeinab, and reſtored all the effects taken from him. About the ſame time, the prophet likewiſe ſent Doyha Ebn Kholeifa, the Calbite, his principal factor, in the quality of agent, to Conſtantinople, to obtain the emperor Heraclius's permiſſion to trade with his ſubjects; which that prince immediately granted him. On his return home, he was plundered by Al Honeid Ebn Ardh, the Dohaite, and his ſon Udh, in the valley of Heſma, belonging to the Jodhamites: but the Dhobaihites, a conſiderable family, the iſſue of Rafa'a Ebn Zeid, the Jodhamite, obliged Al Honeid to reſtore every thing he had taken from Dohya. The latter continued his journey, without interruption, to Medina; and, upon his arrival, acquainted the prophet with what had happened. This information ſo incenſed him, that he ſent Zeid Ebn Hâretha with a detachment of five hundred men againſt Al Honeid Ebn Ardh; who coming up with them early in the morning, defeated his troops, put Al Honeid and his ſon, together with ſeveral of their men, to the ſword, and diſperſed the reſt. The Moſlems alſo carried off the enemies wives and children, to the number of two hundred, and all their cattle: but Mohammed reſtored every thing that his men had taken, at the deſire of the Râfaïtes, who had been extremely civil to Dohya, and likewiſe behaved with great generoſity to the prophet's troops [p].

[o] Al Jannab. ubi ſupra. [p] Ibid p. 144, &c.

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Soon after this laſt expedition, eight of the Oraïnites came to Medina, and embraced Iſlamiſm. Here they reſided for ſome time; but finding that the air did not agree with them, they retired into the country where the prophet kept his cattle; and by his preſcription, drank the milk and the urine of his camels, for a diſorder they laboured under, which reſtored them to their former health. In return for this kindneſs, they murdered his ſhepherd, and then ſeized upon the camels. The prophet being informed of this double crime, detached Carze Ebn Jâber, the Fehrite, with a troop of horſe, in purſuit of the robbers; who coming up with them before ſun-ſet, brought them in chains to Medina. Mohammed ordered their hands and feet to be cut off, their eyes to be put out with a red-hot iron, and their bodies to be fixed to a croſs, where they miſerably expired.

Puts eight of the Oraïnites to a cruel death.

In this ſame year, the prophet reſolved to make an attempt to bring ſome of the Chriſtian Arabs over to the Mohammedan religion; however, in this attempt, he ſeemed determined at firſt not to employ force, but to have recourſe only to methods of perſuaſion: for which purpoſe he appointed Abda'l Rahmân Ebn Awf ſuperior of this pacific miſſion; and ſent him in that quality to the Banu Calb, who inhabited the city of Dawmat Al Jandal, where Mohammed had been the preceding year. Here Abda'l Rahmân ſtaid three days, and invited the citizens to embrace Iſlamiſm. His preaching had ſuch an effect upon their prince, named Aſbag Ebn Amru, the Calbite, who was a Chriſtian, that he profeſſed himſelf a Moſlem; and the greateſt part of his ſubjects followed his example. Thoſe who choſe to perſevere in their old religion were excuſed, upon their paying a tribute, in conformity to the Mohammedan cuſtom. Abda'l Rahmân eſpouſed Aſbag's daughter; who, after her huſband's return to Medina, was brought to bed of a ſon, whom his father named Abd'allah Al Aſgar. He became afterwards one of the great doctors of the Mohammedan law in the city of Medina, and was of the number of the Al Tabeïtes, or of thoſe who immediately ſucceeded the firſt companions of the prophet [q].

He attempts to convert ſome of the Chriſtian Arabs.

In the mean time Mohammed received advice, that the Banu Saad, who inhabited the town and territory of Fadac, ſituated between Khaibar and Cûfa, had aſſembled a body of troops, in order to aſſiſt the Jews of Khaibar. He

The expedition againſt the Banu Saad;

q Al Jannab. ubi ſupra, p. 147, &c.

was no ſooner appriſed of this circumſtance, than he ordered Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb to march at the head of one hundred men, and diſperſe them. Ali executed his orders with great bravery; and, after he had put the enemy to flight, carried off five hundred camels and one thouſand ſheep. The flower of theſe he ſent to the prophet, and diſtributed the reſt amongſt his own troops: then he returned to Medina, without meeting with a ſingle enemy to impede his march.

and againſt the Banu Al Moſtalek.

In the month of Shaabân, the Banu Al Moſtalek, a powerful tribe of the Arabs, formed a conſiderable body of troops, in order to make war upon the Moſlems. They were commanded by their prince Al Hâreth Ebn Abu Dharâr, the father of the beautiful Joweira, who was afterwards married to the prophet. Of this deſign Mohammed being informed, he aſſembled a body of infantry, compoſed of the Pagan Arabs, and a troop of thirty horſe, conſiſting of ten Mohâjerîn, and twenty Anſârs; with which, attended by his two wives, Ayeſha and Omm Sâlma, he marched againſt the enemy. After ſeveral movements, and a formal declaration of war, that preceded them, on the part of the Moſlems, the two armies faced each other in the plain of Al Moreiſi, ſo called from a fountain or well of the ſame name, belonging to the diſtrict of Kodeid, about five miles from the ſea, and twenty-four from Osfân. The prince Al Hâreth advancing, at the head of a detachment, to reconnoitre the Moſlem army, was ſlain by an arrow, before the beginning of the action; an accident which, however, did not diſcourage his troops: notwithſtanding this diſaſter, they ranged themſelves in order of battle, and the prophet, on his part, did the ſame. For an hour, the two armies engaged only by diſcharges of arrows; but, at laſt, the prophet having given the ſignal for the Moſlems to advance, they fell upon the enemy ſword in hand with ſuch bravery, that they killed ten upon the ſpot, and forced all the reſt to cry out for quarter, and ſurrender themſelves priſoners at diſcretion. This victory was ſo complete, that it would have appeared incredible, had it not been atteſted, as the Moſlems pretend, by an ancient tradition; according to which, the angel Gabriel mounted on a bay horſe, and dreſſed in white, greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the action. In the diſtribution of priſoners, Joweira fell to the lot of Thâbet Ebn Kais; of whom ſhe was purchaſed by Mohammed, who took her to wife. This match produced a ſort of alliance between him and the Moſtalekites, which was of conſiderable ſervice to him.

him. In consideration of that marriage, he released a hundred of the Mostalekite chiefs, who had been taken prisoners; and afterwards favoured that tribe on all occasions. The number of prisoners, including men, women, and children, taken in the battle of Al Moreisi, amounted to two hundred: besides the captives, five thousand sheep, and one thousand camels, as also all the arms and baggage of the enemy, fell into the hands of the victors.

The loss the Moslems sustained in the late action was very inconsiderable; only Heshâm, of the Banu Leith Ebn Becr, falling in the field of battle; and he was killed by an Ansâr, who took him for an infidel, by mistake. However, his brother Mekîas, an idolater, coming from Mecca, pretended to embrace Islamism, that he might have an opportunity of revenging Heshâm's death; which, after he had done, by destroying the murderer, he returned home, and relapsed into his former idolatry. This apostacy so exasperated Mohammed, that, after the reduction of Mecca, he caused him to be put to death in cold blood. About this time, a dispute arose between Jahja, the Ghasârite, and Sonân, the Jahanite, which had like to have produced fatal effects, by exciting a dissension betwixt the Ansârs and the Mohâjerîn: but Mohammed behaved with so much address to both parties, that he composed all differences between them, and prevented the effusion of blood [r].

Gabriel assists the Moslems.

According to Al Wâkedi, the Moslem troops appeared to Joweira to be much more numerous than they really were, before the beginning of the action; a circumstance which the Mohammedans consider as a miracle exhibited in favour of their prophet. The same author also relates, that the angel Gabriel appeared in a white habit, mounted upon such a horse as had never before been seen, the moment Mohammed gave the signal of battle to his troops.

The prophet marries Joweira.

Immediately after the prophet's arrival at Medina, he celebrated his nuptials with Joweira; who, according to Al Jannâbi, had before been married to one of her cousin-germans. She was a lady of such wit and beauty, that Mohammed, notwithstanding the number of wives he already enjoyed, found it impossible to resist her charms. She lived with him five, survived him forty-five years, and died in the fifty-sixth year of the Hejra.

[r] Ism. Abulfed. ubi supra, cap. 42. p. 80—82. Al Jannab. ubi supra. p. 150, &c. Al Kor. Mohammed. sect. lxiii. v. 1—8, &c. Gol. Lex. Arab. in Al Mortasi, &c. Jallalo'ddin, Ebn Amid. & Greg. Abul Faraj. ubi supra. Poc. Not. in Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 42.

Ayesha accused of adultery.

During the preceding expedition an accident happened, that caused great inquietude to Mohammed, and no small uneasiness in his family. When the prophet entered upon any war, it was usual, before he began his march, for his wives to cast lots, to know which of them should attend him into the field. At this time the lot fell upon Ayesha; and she accordingly accompanied him in the expedition. The army being on its return home, and removing by night, Ayesha, on the road, not far from Medina, had occasion to light from her camel: but before she remounted her beast, perceiving she had dropped her necklace, which was of onyxes of Dhafâr, she went back to look for it. In the mean time, her attendants taking it for granted, that she had entered her pavilion, or little tent surrounded with curtains, set it again on the camel, and carried it away. When she returned to the road, and perceived her camel was gone, she walked to the next station of the army, but met with no living soul. Upon which she resolved to take her repose in that place; imagining, that, when she was missed, some would be sent back to fetch her. In a little time she fell asleep, and remained there all night. Early in the morning, Safwân Ebn Al Moattel, one of Mohammed's general officers, who had staid behind to repose himself, perceiving some body asleep, went to see who it was, and immediately knew her to be Ayesha. He waked her, by twice pronouncing with a low voice these words, "We are God's, and unto him we must return." Ayesha then immediately covered herself with her veil; and Safwân, after he had dismounted his camel, set her thereon, walked on foot, and conducted her safely to the army, which they rejoined about noon, though greatly fatigued. This is the substance of Ayesha's relation of the whole affair, which has been transmitted down to us, amongst many other pretended authentic traditions in the Sonna, by Al Bokhâri [s].

This accident made a great noise, and had like to have proved the ruin of Ayesha; for Mestah Ebn Athâtha, Hasân Ebn Thâbet, Abd'allah Ebn Obba Ebn Solûl of the tribe of Khazraj, and Omm Hasna Bint Hajash, being greatly surprised at the circumstances of the affair, loudly exclaimed against Ayesha, and directly accused her of adultery with Safwân: but he whom Ayesha the most bitterly complained of, as the person who the most cruelly urged the accusation, gave it the most malicious turn, and

[s] Al Bokhari in Sonna. Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin, Abulfed. ubi supra, cap. 43. p. 82—84. Al Kor. Mohammed. sect. xxiv.

coloured

coloured his ſtory in the moſt artificial manner; in fine, who moſt laboured the point, in order to chagrin the prophet, was Abd'allah. Nor did Mohammed himſelf know what to think of the affair, when he reflected upon all the circumſtances of it, ſo ſuſpicious did they appear. However, conſidering that if this accuſation was generally believed, it might be looked upon by many of his enemies, who were then very numerous in Arabia, as an aſperſion upon his own character, and contribute to the diminution of his authority, he took upon him, about a month after, to diſculpate his wife, and entirely clear her reputation, by a pretended revelation from heaven, which is contained in the twenty-fourth chapter of the Koran. This effectually ſilenced all her accuſers, by declaring the accuſation to be unjuſt, and brought down infamy upon them; for one of them, by Mohammed's order, was ſeverely ſcourged, in conformity to what we find enjoined in this very chapter of the Koran; but as for Abd'allah Ebn Obba, though more obnoxious than any of the reſt, and more hated by Ayeſha, he had ſo much power and intereſt amongſt the Arabs, that the pretended prophet did not at this time think fit to inflict any puniſhment upon him [t].

The expedition of Al Hodeibiya.

In the ſixth year of the Hejra, and the month of Dhu'l-kaada, the prophet ſet out with one thouſand four hundred men to viſit the temple of Mecca; not with any intent of committing hoſtilities, but in a peaceable manner, if we may believe the Moſlem writers; but that his views were not quite ſo pacific as they pretend, ſeems to appear from hence, that he ſummoned the tribes of Aſlam, Joheinah, Mozeinah, and Ghifâr, who, with the troops he commanded, would have formed a very conſiderable force, to attend him in this expedition: but they excuſed themſelves, by ſaying their families muſt ſuffer in their abſence, and would be robbed of the little they had, ſtaid behind. However, the Koreiſh were jealous, and not without good reaſon, as appears from the whole tenour of his conduct, of the prophet's deſigns; ſo that when he came to Al Hodeibiya, a place ſituated partly within, and partly without, the ſacred territory, they ſent to let him know, that they would not permit him to enter Mecca, unleſs he forced his way. Whereupon he called his troops about him, and reſolved to attack the city. Of which reſolution the Koreiſh being informed by Arwa Ebn Maſûd, whom they had diſpatched to Mohammed, to acquaint him, that they had put on

[t] Vide etiam Gagn. la Vie de Mahom. liv. iv. cap. 7.

their leopards ſkins, and ſworn that he ſhould never make a peaceable entry into Mecca, they began to ſue for peace. Mohammed, therefore, ſent Othman Ebn Affân to facilitate an accommodation; but, inſtead of liſtening to his propoſals, they impriſoned him, and a report ran at firſt that he was ſlain. In the mean time, according to Jalalo'ddin, eighty Meccans came privately to Mohammed's camp, with an intent to ſurpriſe ſome of his men, or rather, as ſhould ſeem, to reconnoitre the force he had with him; but they were taken, and brought before the prophet, who ordered them to be ſet at liberty. Hereupon the Koreiſh ſent Sohail Ebn Amru, and ſome others to treat of peace; who were very careful in wording the treaty that they afterwards concluded with Mohammed; for when the prophet ordered Ali to begin with the form, "In the name of the moſt merciful God," they objected to it, and inſiſted, that he ſhould begin with this, "In thy name, O God;" which expreſſion Mohammed ſubmitted to, and proceeded to dictate, "Theſe are the conditions on which Mohammed the apoſtle of God has made peace with thoſe of Mecca:" to this epithet Sohail again objected, ſaying, "If we had acknowleged thee to be the apoſtle of God, we had not given thee any oppoſition." Then Mohammed commanded Ali to write, as Sohail deſired, "Theſe are the conditions which Mohammed, the ſon of Abd'allah, &c." This moderation ſo diſguſted the Moſlems, that they were upon the point of breaking off the treaty. However, they at laſt aquieſced in what had been done. The terms of this pacification imported, that there ſhould be a truce for ten years; that any perſon might enter into a league with Mohammed, or with the Koreiſh, as he ſhould think fit; and that Mohammed ſhould have the liberty to viſit the temple of Mecca next year, for three days. After the ſigning of the treaty, the prophet remained about twenty days at Al Hodeibiya, and then the Moſlem army decamped from that place, in order to begin its march for Medina; where it arrived in the month of Dhu'lhajja.

The expedition against Omm Forka;

Beſides the expedition of Al Hodeibiya, ſeveral other tranſactions, leſs intereſting and important, have been mentioned, as happening this year, by Al Jannâbi, though paſſed over in ſilence by Abulfeda; ſome of which we ſhall beg leave here juſt to touch upon. Zeid Ebn Hâretha, one of Mohammed's generals, was attacked on his return from Syria, where he had been on affairs of commerce, and plundered of many valuable effects, by a party of the Banu Fazara, as he paſſed through the territory of Wadi'l Kora, a town

a town about ſeven days journey from Medina. As this diſtrict belonged to Omm Forka, the wife of Malec Ebn Hodeifa Ebn Bedr, who held her reſidence in a fortified caſtle near Wadi'l Kora, Zeid, after his arrival at Medina, obtained of the prophet a body of troops, with which he ſoon inveſted that caſtle, and carried it by aſſault; killing part of the garriſon, and making the reſt priſoners of war. Kaïs Ebn Mojaſſer, the commandant, he loaded with irons, put Omm Forka herſelf to a cruel death, carried off with him all that lady's riches, which were immenſe, together with her daughter, then very young, and ſuch a vaſt quantity of booty, that for the loſs he had before ſuſtained he made himſelf ample amends in this expedition[u].

and againſt the Banu Ghatfân.

In the month Shawâl, the prophet received advice, that the Banu Ghatfân, in conjunction with ſome other Arab tribes, had aſſembled a body of troops, in order to commit hoſtilities againſt him. His ſpies at the ſame time informed him, that the Jews of Khaibar had reinforced that body; and that they had choſen for their chief Oſair Ebn Râzem, a turbulent and ambitious fellow, in the room of Salâm Ebn Abu'l Hakik, whom he had cauſed to be aſſaſſinated the year before by ſome of the tribe of Khazraj. In order to get rid of this dangerous enemy, as well as all apprehenſions on the part of the Banu Ghatfân, Mohammed ſent a party of thirty men, under the command of Abd'allah Ebn Rawâha, towards Khaibar, to draw him into an ambuſcade, and then deſtroy him. This aim Abd'allah at laſt effected, after having cut to pieces the eſcorte, conſiſting of thirty men, that attended him. Oſair himſelf was killed by Abd'allah Ebn Onais, with a ſword that he had hid under his garment for that purpoſe. The action happened at Korka, a place not far from Khaibar; after which Ebn Rawâha returned to Medina, without the loſs of a man.

Zeid Ebn Hâretha makes an incurſion upon the territory of Madian.

At the ſame time, the prophet ſent Zeid Ebn Hâretha, with a detachment of his troops, to make an incurſion upon the territory of Madian. This tract belongs to Syria, being oppoſite to Gaza, and is mentioned both in the Moſaic hiſtory and the Koran. Abulfeda repreſents Madian, or Midian, as a ruined village on the coaſt of the Red Sea, about ſix days journey from Tabûc. It was formerly a city of Hejâz, and the habitation of a tribe of the ſame name. The ancient inhabitants were the deſcendents of Midian, the ſon of Abraham by Keturah, who afterwards,

[u] Al Jannab. ubi ſupra, p. 152.

as it ſeems, mixed with the Iſhmaelites; Moſes naming the ſame merchants who ſold Joſeph to Potiphar, in one place Iſhmaelites, and in another Midianites. This city, which ſtood to the ſouth-eaſt of mount Sinai, is doubtleſs the ſame with the Modiana of Ptolemy. There are eight ſtations between it and the frontiers of Egypt. What was remaining of it in Mohammed's time, was ſoon after demoliſhed in the ſucceeding wars, and it ſtill remains deſolate. The people of the country pretend to ſhew the well whence Moſes watered Jethro's flocks. Zeid being arrived at this place, met with a body of Arabs, that came from Naba, a town ſituated on the ſea, Al Kolzom, whom he immediately attacked. His men behaved with ſo much bravery on this occaſion, that they ſoon diſperſed them, killed ſome, and brought many priſoners to Medina. They alſo carried off a great number of women and children, whom they ſold for ſlaves, and a very conſiderable booty that they acquired in the expedition [x].

The great reſpect ſhewn Mohammed by his followers.

Before we conclude our account of the tranſactions in which Mohammed was concerned this year, it may not be improper, to ſhew the inconceivable veneration and reſpect the Moſlems by this time had for their prophet, to mention the relation which Arwa Ebn Maſûd, the Thakîfite, whom the Koreiſh ſent with an actual défiance to Mohammed's camp at Al Hodeibiya, gave the Meccans, at his return, of their behaviour. He ſaid he had been at the courts both of the Roman emperor and of the king of Perſia, and never ſaw any prince ſo highly reſpected by his ſubjects as Mohammed was by his companions: for, whenever he made the ablution, in order to ſay his prayers, they ran and catched the water that he had uſed; and whenever he ſpit, they immediately licked it up, and gathered up every hair that fell from him with great ſuperſtition. This account had probably a conſiderable effect upon the Koreiſh, as it gave them ſufficiently to underſtand with what ardour the prophet's followers would fight for him; and therefore, in all likelihood, did not a little contribute to the pacification that enſued [y].

Invites ſovereign princes to embrace his religion.

In the ſeventh year of the Hejra, Mohammed began to think of propagating his religion beyond the bounds of Arabia, and ſent meſſengers to the neighbouring princes, with letters to invite them to Mohammediſm: but before

x Al Jannabi, ubi ſup. p. 154. Al Kor. Mohamm. ſect. vii. ver. 86, &c. Abulfed Geogr. Arab. p. 42, 47. Gen. xxv. 2. xxxvii. 36. xxxix. 1. Golii Not. ad Alfraganum, p. 143. Sharif Al Edriſi, p. 109. y Iſm. Abulfed. de Vit. Mohammed. cap. xliv. p. 85.

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he wrote these letters, he ordered a silver seal to be made, on which were engraved, in three lines, the following words, MOHAMMED THE APOSTLE OF GOD.) This seal, he believed, would procure the letters to which it was affixed a more favourable reception at the courts of those princes whose conversion he intended first to attempt. Nor was this project without some success. Khosrû Parvîz, then king of Persia, the first monarch to whom he wrote, received the prophet's letter from the prince of Bahrein, to whom Abd'allah Ebn Hodhâfa had delivered it for that purpose: but when, upon the interpreter's reading it, he found that Mohammed had placed his own name before that of Khosrû, he fell into a violent passion, tore the letter to pieces, and sent away the messenger very abruptly; which particulars, when Mohammed heard, he said, "God shall tear his kingdom, in the same manner that he hath torn my letter." Soon after a messenger came to the prophet from Badhân, king of Yaman, who was a dependent on the Persians, to acquaint him, that he had orders to send him as an audacious slave to Khosrû. Mohammed deferred his answer till the next morning, and then told the messenger it had been revealed to him by Gabriel that night, that Khosrû was slain by his son Shirûyeh, about seven o'clock the evening before. To which declaration he thought proper to add, "Go, and carry this news to Badhân, your master." He also further assured him, says Al Jannâbi, that he was not afraid of the Persians, as he was very well assured that his new religion and empire should rise to as great a height as that of Khosrû; and therefore bid him advise his master to embrace Mohammedism. The messenger being returned, Bahân, in a few days, received a letter from Shirûye, informing him of his father's death, and ordering him to give the prophet no farther disturbance. Badhân then turned Mohammedan, and all the Persians with him followed his example. Of this event Badhân sent the prophet news by an express; and, in consideration of such eminent service, he was afterwards continued viceroy of Yaman to his death, which happened about four months before that of Mohammed.

The messenger, or minister, whom the prophet sent to the emperor Heraclius, was Dohya Ebn Kholeifa, the Calbite; who found that prince at Hems, or Emesa, according to Ahmed Abn Yusef, in Syria. Dohya, being introduced by the governor of Bostra, presented the letter he had brought with him to the emperor, who treated it with

with great respect, laying it on his pillow, and dismissed the bearer honourably. Abulfeda relates, that Dohya carried with him many rich presents from Heraclius to his master at Medina. Ahmed Ebn Yusef has handed down to us a copy of the letter, said to be brought by Dohya to the emperor; but as it by no means appears to be genuine, having been omitted by Abulfeda, our readers will not expect an insertion of it here [z].

Another author, however, asserts, that Dohya only delivered the prophet's letter to the governor of Bostra, as Abd'allah Ebn Hodhâfa had given the former to the prince of Bahrein, who presented it to Heraclius. Al Jannâbi pretends, that the emperor would have professed the new faith, had he not been afraid of losing his crown [a].

The third person Mohammed invited to the profession of Islamism, was Mokawkas, governor of Egypt, or, as he styled himself, prince of the Copts. He had been sent to Egypt by the emperor Heraclius, in quality of intendant of the imposts there. He was of the Jacobite communion, and therefore hated the Greeks; but durst not declare this hatred openly. From the time that the Persians had besieged Constantinople, he had stopped the revenues of Egypt, and for that reason was afraid of falling into the hands of Heraclius. Mohammed sent to him Hâteb Ebn Abu Balta'a, who delivered his letter, conceived in the same terms as that before dispatched to the emperor. Mokawkas received Hâteb with great respect; and, after he had read the prophet's letter, applied it with the utmost reverence to his breast, and then put it into an ivory box, where he kept his signet. He also ordered his secretary to write an answer to it in Greek, which was afterwards translated into Arabic. Of this Ebn Yusef has likewise preserved a copy in his general history, which no one versed in Oriental literature will allow to be genuine. In the year of the Hejra 19, when Egypt was subdued by the khalif Omar, he, with his Copts, perfidiously deserted the Greeks, and concluded a treaty with Amru Ebn Al As, the khalif's lieutenant; by virtue of which, upon payment of tribute, he was permitted to profess the Christian religion. He died in the Jacobite persuasion, and, before his death, desired that his body might be interred in the church of St. John at Alexandria. We are

z Amed Ebn Yusef, in Hist. Gen. sec. liv. cap. 9. Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 94. Al Jannab. ubi sup. p. 154. a Abu Sofiân apud Abu Zeid Seid Abda'l Rahmân, in lib. Splendor. ut & ipse Abu Zeid Seid Abda'l Rahman. ibid.

told

told by Abulfeda, that he gave Hâteb four gems of great value for Mohammed, and two Coptic girls, one of which brought the prophet a ſon, named Ibrahim [b].

The fourth prince invited by Mohammed to declare himſelf a Moſlem, was the najâſhi, or king of Ethiopia, named Aſhama, or Atzam, to whom he wrote a much longer epiſtle than any of the former. This prince, according to the Arab writers, received the prophet's letter with marks of the moſt profound reverence, ſubmiſſion, and humility. As ſoon as it was brought him, he put it to his eyes, deſcended from his throne, and ſat down upon the bare ground. Then he profeſſed Iſlamiſm a ſecond time, depoſited the letter in an ivory box, and ordered an anſwer to be drawn up in the moſt obliging and ſubmiſſive terms: but neither the copies of the letters here mentioned, preſerved by Mohammed Ebn Abda'l Bâki, nor the relation of the Najâſhi's pretended converſion, nor, in ſhort, any accounts of the propagation of Mohammediſm, in theſe early times of it, in Ethiopia, can at all be depended upon [c].

He alſo wrote a letter of the like purport, in the fifth place, to Al Hâreth Edn Abi Shamer, king of Ghaſſân, whoſe territories extended to the frontiers of Syria. The perſon employed by him on this occaſion was Shajâ Ebn Waheb, the Aſadite. After the letter had been read to Al Hâreth, he returned for anſwer, that he would go to Mohammed himſelf; which declaration, when the prophet heard, he ſâid, "May his kingdom periſh." As the prince here mentioned was ſurnamed Ebn Abi Shamer, as well as the firſt of his predeceſſors, we may infer from thence, that the ſurname applied to him here was common to all the kings of Ghaſſân.

The ſixth prince to whom Mohammed applied was Hawdha Ebn Ali, king of Yamâma, who received the prophet's letter from his miniſter, Soleit Ebn Amru. Hawdha was a Chriſtian, and having ſome time before profeſſed Iſlamiſm, had lately returned to his former faith. He threatened to make war upon the prophet, and gave out, that he had aſſociated with him in his pretended apoſtolic function the falſe prophet Moſeilama. This accuſation ſo

[b] Iſm. Abulfed. Ahmed. Ebn Yuſef, & Al Jannab. ubi ſup. Ebn Batrik, alias Eutychius, Hiſt. tom. ii. p. 302. edit. Pocock.
[c] Mohammed. Ebn. Abda'l Baki in lib. de Excellent. Habeſſinor. par. ii. cap. 2. Iſm. Abulfed. ubi ſup. p. 95, 96. Bagawi, Al Wakedi, &c. apud Moham. Abd'al Bak. ubi ſupra.

irritated

irritated Mohammed, that he curſed him; upon which, ſays the Moſlem writers, he died ſoon after.

The ſeventh and laſt letter he wrote was carried to Al Mondar Ebn Sàwa, king of Bahrein, by Al Ola, the Hadhramite. This prince, upon the receipt of it, embraced Mohammediſm, and all the Arabs of that country followed his example. He afterwards gained a ſignal victory over the Perſians. As to the embaſſy ſent to Al Hàreth Ebn Abd Colâl, one of the kings of Hamyar, in which Al Mohâjer Ebn Abu Ommeya was employed, and the anſwer returned by that prince to Mohammed, which ſome place here, theſe have likewiſe been by others referred to the beginning of the tenth year of the Hejra [d].

Mohammed bewitched. Some of the Moſlem authors pretend, that about this time Mohammed was bewitched by Lobeid Ebn Al Aſam, a Jew, with the aſſiſtance of his daughters, who were extremely well verſed in the magic art, by tying eleven knots on a cord, which they hid in a well called Dharwân. Whereupon Mohammed falling ill, God revealed the 113th and 114th chapters of the Koran; and Gabriel acquainted him with the uſe he was to make of them, and of the place where the cord was hidden. Then the prophet, according to the directions the angel gave him, ſent Ali to fetch the cord, and the ſame being brought, he repeated the two chapters over it, and at every verſe (for they conſiſted of eleven) a knot was looſed, till, on finiſhing the laſt words, he was entirely freed from the charm. It is probable this fiction was invented by Mohammed, to render the Jews, who were then his moſt implacable enemies, the more odious to his followers; for he ſeems to have made his pretended conduct of Lobeid a pretext for coming to an open rupture with the Jews of Khaibar.

The expedition to Khaibar. About the middle of the month Al Moharrem, in the ſeventh year of the Hejra, Mohammed having drawn together a body of fourteen hundred foot and two hundred horſe, begun his march for Khaibar. He was attended by his wife Omm Salma in this expedition. The Jews, notwithſtanding the great loſſes they had lately ſuſtained, were grown very numerous there. They had entrenched and fortified themſelves in ſeveral caſtles or forts, that were rendered almoſt impregnable, and, therefore, thought themſelves in no danger of being attacked by the Moſlems.

[d] Vide etiam Gagn. la Vie de Mahom. tom. ſect. liv. v. cap. 4. p. 42.

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However, Mohammed had before ſo animated his troops, that they thought themſelves certain of ſucceſs. He gave out the preceding year, before he ſet out for Al Hodeibiya, that he ſeemed, in a dream, to enter Mecca at the head of his companions, with their heads ſhaven and their hair cut. This dream being imparted by the prophet to his followers, occaſioned a great deal of joy amongſt them; they ſuppoſing it would be fulfilled the ſame year: but when they ſaw the truce concluded, which fruſtrated their expectations for that time, they were deeply concerned. Whereupon a paſſage of the forty-eighth chapter of the Koran was pretended to be revealed for their conſolation, confirming the viſion, which was not to be fulfilled till the year after, when Mohammed performed the viſitation diſtinguiſhed in the Koran by the addition of *al kadâ*, or *completion*, becauſe he then completed the viſitation of the former year: for the Koreiſh then did not permit him to enter Mecca; ſo that he was obliged to kill his victims, and ſhave himſelf at Al Hodeibiya: it was then that his companions had the promiſe of their being made amends for miſſing at that time the plunder of Mecca, by giving them that of Khaibar in lieu thereof. It is no wonder, therefore, that they ſhould attend the prophet with ſo much courage and alacrity in this expedition.

As Khaibar, according to Abulfeda, was but ſix ſtations from Medina, Mohammed ſoon arrived before the town with all his forces. The place, ſtrong in itſelf, was fortified with four or five caſtles, according to Abulfeda, or nine at leaſt if we will believe Al Jannâbi and others, that ſeemed to render it almoſt impregnable. Some part of the adjacent country abounds with palm-trees, and is capable of cultivation. Khaibar was the ſeat of the Banu Anzah, deſcended from Maad or Moad, the ſon of Adnân, and ſtood to the north-eaſt of Medina.

Mohammed takes Naem and Al Kamus;

Mohammed having taken poſt before the town, made the proper diſpoſitions for laying ſiege to the caſtles; the reduction of which he knew would make him abſolute maſter of the place. The Jews of Khaibar, having received no intelligence of his march, were ſtruck with terror when they underſtood that his troops were advanced to Manſela, a poſt in a ſtony tract at a ſmall diſtance from Khaibar; for till then they were abſolute ſtrangers to his motions. The firſt caſtle he attacked was called Naem, which he carried ſword in hand, without meeting with any conſiderable oppoſition. This firſt inſtance of ſucceſs encouraged the prophet to beſiege in form the citadel of Khaibar, named Al Kamus, a

place

place so strong, by its situation upon a rock, that it was almost inaccessible. The Jewish garrison was commanded by Kenâna Ebn Al Rabi, the richest and most powerful person of the whole nation, dignified with the title of king of the Jews. As the greatest part of the treasure belonging to the people of Khaibar was deposited in this place, Kenâna had caused it to be strengthened by many additional works, which seemed to render it impregnable. Notwithstanding which, Mohammed opened trenches before it; and, after battering the walls some days with his rams and other military engines, he made a breach that enabled him to give several assaults to the place, in which he was vigorously repulsed by the besieged. Though by reiterated attacks he endeavoured to carry the citadel, they were never attended with success: since, therefore, the prophet often narrowly escaped being killed by too much exposing his person in order to animate his men, and the siege was drawn out to an unforeseen length by the gallant behaviour of the besieged, he resolved to give a little relaxation to his troops, and therefore discontinued the attacks for one or two days [e].

During this interval Abu Becr, desirous of distinguishing himself, mounted the breach, and was followed by some of his brave companions; but they were driven from thence with loss. Omar also made a more vigorous effort to storm the castle Al Kamus, but without effect, he likewise being constrained to retire; but next morning Ali, who had laboured under a disorder in his eyes, of which he is said to have been cured by applying some of the prophet's spittle to them, advanced at the head of a choice detachment to the attack; and having, in single combat, slain Marhab, a giant of an enormous size, and the champion of Khaibar, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the besieged, carried the place by assault. Some of the Moslem authors pretend, that, in the heat of the pursuit, after he had driven the enemy from the breach, he tore one of the castle-gates off the hinges, and used it for a shield, his own having before been struck out of his hand by a Jew that encountered him: but this seems to be an Arab hyperbole, meriting little regard. Marhab, according to Abulfeda, was the lord of the castle Al Kamus: from whence we may infer, that it was either his proper seat, or else that he commanded the garrison in it. The last

[e] Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 87, 88. Al Jannab. ubi supra, p. 172. Ebn Ishâk.

of

of which notions is repugnant to what we find advanced by Al Jannâbi, who makes Marhab to have acted under the orders of Kenâna, as has been already obſerved. However, we are aſſured, that Ali cleft his head in two with the famous ſword Dhu'l-fakâr, or the *piercing*, given him by Mohammed for this purpoſe, when ſcarce any other weapon would have done execution; his head being ſecured by a weighty helmet, lined with a double turbant. Amongſt the female captives taken on this occaſion, Abulfeda reckons the beautiful Saſiya Bint Hoyai Ebn Akhtab, whom the prophet took to wife, having preſented her with her liberty for a dower. We are informed by Al Beidawi, that this Saſiya Bint Hoyai Ebn Akhtab once came to her huſband, and complained that the women ſaid to her, "O thou Jeweſs, the daughter of a Jew and a Jeweſs:" to which he anſwered, "Canſt thou not ſay, Aaron is my father, Moſes is my uncle, and Mohammed is my huſband?" Part of the treaſures depoſited in the citadel fell into Mohammed's hands; though, rather than diſcover the reſt, Kenâna ſuffered the moſt exquiſite torture, and at laſt death itſelf, with a moſt ſurpriſing conſtancy, or rather an obſtinacy peculiar to that nation to which he belonged [f].

and the caſtle of Al Aſab Ebn Moâd.

After this atchievement, the prophet cauſed the caſtle of Al Aſab Ebn Moâd, called Nata'a, to be firſt inveſted, and then formally beſieged. The Moſlem troops had ſcarce reached the place when ſome workmen came out of the town with ſpades, pickaxes, baſkets, and other inſtruments, in order to finiſh a certain part of the fortifications, who had like to have fallen into the hands of one of Mohammed's detachments: but as ſoon as they perceived the Moſlems, they gave the alarm, by crying out, "Mohammed is here, with all his army!" and then immediately retired within their entrenchments, leaving their tools behind them that they might make the greater haſte. Upon which Mohammed, in his turn, ſaid aloud, "Allah acbar," *God is great*; adding, "Khaibar ſhall be deſolate; and ſince our enemies themſelves have ſupplied us with tools, one of theſe mornings ſhall prove fatal to thoſe who firſt gave the alarm." In ſhort, he conſidered the acquiſition of theſe tools as a ſure preſage of their ruining and deſtroying the city [g].

[f] Iſm. Abulfed. Al Jannab. & Ebn Iſhak, ubi ſupra. Al Bokhari in Sonna. Aut. lib. Dict. Mo'alem Al Tanzil, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi ſupra. Gagn. la Vie de Mahom. ubi ſup. p. 53. 56. [g] Iſm. Abulfed. & al Jannab. ubi ſupra.

However,

However, as the Jews of Khaibar had cut down four hundred palm-trees, and ruined all the flat country for ſome miles round the fortreſs, the Moſlems found themſelves reduced to great diſtreſs for want of proviſions: but at laſt they ſurmounted all difficulties, and entered the place, where they met with a vaſt quantity of corn, dates, oil, honey, and fleſh, as alſo an infinite number of ſheep, oxen, aſſes, military engines, and arms of all kinds. To which Al Wâkedi adds a large camel's hide, or ſkin, filled with collars, necklaces, bracelets, ear-rings, and buckles, all of gold, beſides emeralds, and golden ſeals in great abundance. In fine, if Abulfeda merits any regard, this fort, or caſtle, of Al Aſab Ebn Moâd was as well repleniſhed with corn and other proviſions as any other in the diſtrict of Khaibar [h].

He is poiſoned by Zeinab Bint Hâreth.

We muſt not omit informing our readers, that after the reduction of Al Kamus, during the prophet's reſidence there, he was poiſoned by Zeinab Bint Al Hâreth, the ſiſter of Marhab, who had been ſlain in ſingle combat by Ali; which horrid fact ſhe committed in order to revenge her brother's death. The manner of her executing this ſcheme was by communicating ſome poiſon to a ſhoulder of mutton, which, upon enquiry, ſhe was told by his domeſtics, Mohammed loved better than any other part of the ſheep; or, as Abulfeda ſeems to intimate, by dreſſing a ſhoulder of a ſheep that had itſelf been poiſoned. Having invited the prophet to ſupper, ſhe ſet this joint roaſted before him and his companions; one of whom, named Baſhar Ebn Al Bara, eating heartily of it, was almoſt inſtantly ſeized with convulſions, and expired upon the ſpot. Nor did Mohammed himſelf, though he eſcaped for the preſent, by ſpitting ſome of the meat out of his mouth, ſurvive this diſaſter much above three years. The prophet having ordered the whole carcaſs to be burnt, demanded of Zeinab what could induce her to perpetrate ſo black a crime; to whom ſhe is ſaid to have made the following anſwer: "I thought, if you had been really a prophet, you would have eaſily diſcovered the poiſon; and if not, that it would have delivered us from your tyranny." However, ſome relate, that Mohammed pardoned her; though others affirm, that he delivered her up to the parents of Baſhar, who put her to death. Be that as it may, we are told by ſome Moſlem writers, that when Baſhar's mother viſited him in his laſt ſickneſs, he ſaid to her, "O mother of

[h] Ebn Iſhâk, & al Wakedi, ubi ſupra.

Baſhar,

Bashar, the poison of Khaibar, so fatal to your son, has not ceased to visit me from time to time ever since I received it; but now the veins of my heart are broke and dissolved by the violence of it."

The other castles of Khaibar surrender to him.

After the reduction of the preceding castles Mohammed easily made himself master of all the rest; the principal of which were Kala'at Al Zobeir, Hesn Obba, Hesn Al Barâ, Al Watîh, and Al Salâlem. The garrison of the two last finding themselves not in a condition to defend the places long, and being threatened with inevitable destruction, surrendered at discretion to Mohammed upon the first summons[1].

He makes himself master of the city.

The town of Khaibar itself, being now destitute of its chief supports, was incapable of sustaining a long siege; and therefore, at the end of ten days, it was forced to capitulate. The terms of the capitulation were, that the inhabitants of Khaibar should continue to cultivate their lands as heretofore; that their present effects, and the future produce of their lands, should be divided between them and the Moslems; and that the prophet should have the liberty of transplanting them whenever he pleased. By virtue of this capitulation, the Jews of Khaibar remained in peaceable possession of their country several years; but at last they were expelled from thence in the khalifat of Omar, who obliged them to depart out of Arabia, and assigned them, as an equivalent for their land, an equal extent of territory in Syria.

Fadac and Wadi'l Korâ likewise submit to him.

At the same time that Khaibar surrendered, the citizens of Fadac likewise opened their gates, and made their submission to the prophet. In consideration of which submission, he allowed them a moiety both of their lands and effects. That moiety assigned the Moslems the prophet took to himself, in conformity to the law contained in the fifty-ninth chapter of the Koran, no cavalry having been made use of in the reduction of that place. As for the spoils taken at Khaibar, Mohammed distributed part of them amongst the troops employed in the expedition. From Khaibar the prophet marched to Wâdi'l Korâ, a Jewish town, about two days journey from thence, towards the borders of Syria; which he took after a few days siege, and then returned to Medina. Soon after his arrival, he met with Jaafar Ebn Abu Tâleb and his companions, who, in the fifth year of the prophet's mis-

[1] Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 91. Al Jannab. ubi supra, p. 173. Ebn Amid, Hist. Sar. p. 8.

ſion, had fled into Ethiopia. As Mohammed had before wrote to the najâſhi to ſend them back to Medina, this interview was very agreeable to him; inſomuch that, at the firſt ſight of them, he ſaid, "I cannot determine whether I am better pleaſed with the return of Jaafar, or the expedition to Khaibar." That expedition was finiſhed in a month's time, the town ſurrendering in the month of Safar, ten days of which were ſpent in the ſiege of the citadel. About this time, according to Mohammed Ebn Abda'l Bâki, and Abulfeda, the prophet eſpouſed by proxy Omm Habîba, the daughter of Abu Sofiân, in Ethiopia, her couſin Khâled Ebn Said Ebn Al As Ebn Ommeya perſonating Mohammed on this occaſion. The najâſhi himſelf, according to Ebn Abda'l Bâki, performed the ceremony of the eſpouſals, and then pronounced an oration; the ſubſtance of which is given us by that author. He alſo made the lady a preſent of four hundred dinârs, for a dower, out of the profound eſteem and veneration that he had long entertained for the prophet; the news of which being brought to Abu Sofiân, he could not forbear ſaying, "This ſtallion (meaning Mohammed), will never be bridled." Omm Habîba was then about thirty years of age, and lived three years and ſome months with Mohammed. She died at Medina in the 42d or 43d year of the Hejra, and the khalifat of Moâwiyah; and after her death, Merwân Ebn Al Hakem ſaid the uſual prayers for her at her interment. When Mohammed eſpouſed her ſhe was a widow, having before been married to Abd'allah Ebn Jahaſh, who died at the court of the najâſhi. Before his death he became a convert to the Chriſtian faith [k].

Mohammed divides the ſpoils taken at Khaibar;

The Jewiſh war being thus happily terminated, Mohammed divided the ſpoils taken at Khaibar, and ſome of the neigbouring towns, into thirty-ſix equal portions; half of which he applied partly to his own uſe, and partly towards defraying the expence of the pilgrimage to Mecca, which he was to perform the approaching Dhu'lkaada, by virtue of the treaty concluded at Al Hodeibiya with the Koreiſh. The other half he diſtributed amongſt the troops employed in the expedition, and the refugees lately arrived from Ethiopia. The latter he put upon the ſame eſtabliſhment with the former, out of regard to his new ſpouſe Omm Habîba Bint Abu Sofiân. As for the ſpoils of Fa-

[k] Iſm. Abulfed. & Al Jannab. ubi ſupra. Al Kor. Mohammed. f. lix. Ebn Hawkal, Sharif Al Edriſi. Mohammed Ebn Abda'l Baki, ubi ſupra, par. ii. cap. 3, & alib. Prid. Life of Mahom. p. 85.

dac,

dac, that is to say, half of the effects of the inhabitants, and half of the revenue of their possessions, of these he made no division, but considered them entirely as his own property; no Moslem horse having advanced against that city, the people of which he brought solely by his own address to a capitulation.

and celebrates his nuptials with Safiya Bint Hoyai.

Mohammed celebrated his nuptials with Safiya Bint Hoyai at a place called Al Sahbâ, where he encamped in his march to Medina. Two days after this marriage, he provided a sumptuous entertainment; where, amongst other elegant dishes, was served up one called al hais, composed of dates, honey, and whipt cream, all mixed together. He invited none to this banquet but his most intimate friends, who then all had the honour to dine with him. Safiya lived with the prophet three years and some months, and at last died either in the 50th, or 52d, year of the Hejra.

He reduces Yetama.

It must be observed here, that, in the expedition to Khaibar, Mohammed made a considerable city, inhabited by Jews, tributary to him, that has not been mentioned by Abulfeda. The name of this city was Yetama. Its inhabitants being struck with terror, when they were informed that Mohammed had defeated a considerable body of the Jewish forces near Wadi'l Korâ, and made himself master of that place in four days after he had opened trenches before it, sent deputies to him to desire peace, offering at the same time to pay him an annual tribute. This offer the prophet accepted, and then began his march for Medina. The Moslems are said not to have lost above twenty men in the expedition [1].

Incursion upon the territories of the Hawanites.

Soon after the prophet's arrival at Medina, he sent Omar with a party of thirty men to make an incursion upon the territory of the Hawanites, who seem to have committed some hostilities against the Moslems. Omar, at the head of his men, advanced to Torba, a place within the dependencies of Mecca, inhabited by the Banu Hawan. But the enemy fled with so much precipitation at his approach, that he could not come up with them.

March against the Banu Kelâb;

In the month of Shaabân, Abu Becr marched with a detachment against the Banu Kelâb, seated in the district of Fazara, and took his measures so well, that he surprised a body of them. Of these he killed some, wounded others, and put the rest to flight.

[1] Al Jannab. ubi supra, p. 177, 178. 180.

and against the Banu Morrah.

In the ſame month, Baſhar Ebn Saad, the Anſâr, ſet out from Medina with thirty men to attack the Banu Morrah, in the territory of Fadac; but falling into an ambuſcade, he was forced to retire, with the loſs of the greateſt part of his men.

Expedition against the Banu Awâl.

In the month of Ramadân, the prophet ſent Gâleb Ebn Abd'llah, the Leithite, with a hundred and thirty men, to Monia, in the territory of Najd, about thirty-ſix paraſangs from Medina. This expedition was undertaken againſt the Banu Awâl, who had incurred the prophet's diſpleaſure. Gâleb made an irruption into their habitations, killed ſome of the principal of them, carried off a great number of their camels and ſheep, and then returned to Medina, without the loſs of a ſingle man.

Incurſion into the kingdom of Yaman.

Baſhar Ebn Saad, the Anſâr, made another incurſion, more fortunate than his former, into the kingdom of Yaman, and the country of Jabâr, with three hundred men, in the month of Shawâl. Being informed, that a body of the enemy were upon the point of making an irruption into the territory of Medina, he advanced to attack them; but they retired at his approach. He therefore ravaged the country through which he moved, ſeizing upon many of their camels; and took two priſoners, who both, at the prophet's requeſt, embraced the Mohammedan religion.

The king of Ghaſſân turns Mohammedan, and afterwards relapſes.

About this time, Mohammed wrote a letter to Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham, the laſt king of Ghaſſân, who reigned at Tadmor, and invited him to embrace Iſlamiſm. That prince upon this invitation, became a Moſlem; and, in anſwer to his letter, aſſured the prophet of the reality of his converſion. He perſiſted for ſome time in the profeſſion of the new religion; but having ſtruck a certain Fazarite at Mecca, whither he was come to perform the pilgrimage commanded in the Koran, who had affronted him, he was ordered by the khalif Omar either to aſk pardon of the Fazarite for the offence, or to ſuffer himſelf to be treated in the ſame manner; which alternative ſo diſguſted him, that he returned to his former faith, and retired to Conſtantinople. This year died Shirûyeh, or Syroes, king of Perſia, who had aſſaſſinated his father Khoſrû Parvîz, and ſixteen brothers. He was a prince of abandoned morals, and guilty of the moſt execrable crimes. Being attacked by various maladies, he expired in exquiſite torture, after ſix months reign [m].

[m] Vide Poc. Not. in Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 77, 78.

We

Mohammed guilty of fornication.

We are told by ſome of the Moſlem writers, whoſe authority in the point before us is unexceptionable, that, before the concluſion of this year, their holy prophet was guilty of fornication. Mohammed was ſo charmed with the beauty of Mary, a girl of Coptic extraction, who, together with three other female ſlaves, and an eunuch named Maiudh, had been ſent him as a preſent by Al Mokowkas, governor of Egypt, that he was tempted to lie with her; though he had before expreſly forbidden fornication in the twenty-fourth chapter of the Koran. Some relate, that Hafsa caught the prophet and his maid in too familiar a ſituation. This affront ſhe took extremely ill, and reproached her huſband ſo ſharply, that, to pacify her, he promiſed, with an oath, never to touch Mary again. In order to ſoothe her vanity, and to induce her to keep the whole affair a ſecret, he foretold to her, that Abu Becr and Omar ſhould ſucceed him in the government of his people. Hafsa, however, could not conceal this circumſtance from Ayeſha, with whom ſhe lived in ſtrict friendſhip, but acquainted her with the whole matter. The prophet perceiving, probably by Ayeſha's behaviour, or rather that of her father Abu Becr, to whom ſhe had diſcovered her huband's incontinence, and of Omar, to whom his daughter Hafſa had made great complaints upon the ſame ſubject, that his ſecret had been diſcovered, upbraided the latter with her betraying him; telling her, that God had revealed it to him. He, therefore, for her indiſcretion, not only divorced her, but ſeparated himſelf from all his other wives for a whole month; which time he ſpent in amorous dalliance with Mary; in direct contradiction to the Koran, and in open violation of the oath he had taken to Hafsa. However, dreading the reſentment of Omar, in a ſhort time, he took Hafsa again, by the direction, as he affirmed, of the angel Gabriel; who commended her for her frequent faſting, and other exerciſes of devotion; aſſuring him likewiſe, that ſhe ſhould be one of his wives in paradiſe. To free himſelf from the obligation of his promiſe and oath to Hafsa, he pretended, that the ſixty-ſixth chapter of the Koran was revealed, which allows the Moſlems the diſſolution of their oaths[n].

In the month of Dhu'lkaada, this ſame year, Mohammed performed the ſacred viſitation called Al Kadâ, or

[n] Jallalo'ddin, Ahmed Ebn Yahya, Al Zamakhſhari, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Al Kor. Mohammed. ſec. xvii. xxiv. lxvi. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi ſup. p. 165.

He performs the sacred visitation called Al Kada.

the completion. This was distinguished by the addition of Al Kadâ, because Mohammed then completed the visitation of the former year, when the Koreish not permitting him to enter Mecca, he was obliged to kill his victims, and shave himself, in order to correspond with his dream, at Al Hodeibiya. All the people who had accompanied the prophet last year, attended him on the present occasion, together with seventy camels, designed for victims upon their arrival at the Caaba. They had also a hundred horses, and carried with them a large quantity of arms. They repaired first to Dhu'lholeifa, six miles from Medina, where they solemnly vowed to observe all the rites and ceremonies of the sacred visitation. From thence they advanced to Batn Yajaj, some few miles distant from Mecca, where the prophet deposited all his baggage and arms, and left Aws Ebn Khuf, with two hundred men, to guard them. Before he reached that city, most of the Koreish retired to the summits of the neighbouring mountains; so that it was almost deserted by its inhabitants; only a few remaining upon the top of the council-house, to observe the prophet's procession, and the motions of the Moslems.

Mohammed having ascended the hill of Cadâ, which was part of the mountain called Al Hajun, where the heights of Mecca begin, and afterwards entered the plain of the Little Pebbles, mounted his camel named Kaswa, and began his solemn procession towards the city. He was surrounded on all sides by the Moslems, and Abd'allah Ebn Rawâha marched before him on foot, holding the bridle of his camel. Mohammed, being arrived at Mecca, immediately visited the temple, and entered upon the prescribed ceremonies. After which, he came to the corner where the black stone is fixed, which he kissed with great devotion. From thence he and his companions proceeded to compass the Caaba; which they did seven times, using a short quick pace the three first, and a grave ordinary step the four last. This method, it is said, was ordered by Mohammed, that his followers might shew themselves strong and active, to cut off the hopes of the infidels, who gave out that the immoderate heats of Medina had rendered them weak; and, at the same time, to spare his men, who were already pretty much fatigued: which custom, in some measure, still prevails; though the pilgrims are not obliged to use the quick pace, every time they perform this piece of devotion, but only at certain particular seasons. As often as the Moslems passed by the black stone, they either kissed it, after the example of their

their prophet, or touched it with their hand, and kiſſed that; which is likewiſe the preſent practice of the Mohammedans. The ſeven circuits round the Caaba being finiſhed, Mohammed ordered Belâl, his crier, to give notice of the time of prayer without the Caaba; which being likewiſe done, the prophet mounted his camel, and ran ſeven times between the mountains of Saffâ and Merwâ, partly with a ſlow, and partly with an accelerated pace, for the reaabove aſſigned. This ceremony his followers at firſt made a ſcruple of performing, becauſe there were on thoſe mountains two idols, named Aſaf and Nayelah, to which the Koreiſh uſed to pay a ſuperſtitious veneration: but, in order to remove this ſcruple, the prophet pretended that, at this juncture, God revealed to him the following paſſage of the Koran: "Moreover, Safa and Merwâ are two of the monuments of God: whoever, therefore, goeth on pilgrimage to the temple of Mecca, or viſiteth it, it ſhall be no crime in him, if he compaſs them both." This ceremony is ſaid to be as ancient as the time of Hagar the mother of Iſhmael. Laſtly, he ſacrificed the camels, brought with him for that purpoſe, in the valley of Mina, and the Moſlems ſhaved their heads, according to cuſtom; which having done, the prophet ſent ſome of his men to relieve the troops compoſing the detachment left at Batn Yajaj, to guard the arms and baggage. This diſpoſition gave them likewiſe an opportunity of coming to Mecca, and performing their devotions there. All which being finiſhed, the prophet, after four days reſidence in Mecca, retired to Shorf. Here he conſummated his marriage with Maimûna Bint Al Hâreth, the Helâlite, the widow of Raham Ebn Abda'l Ozza, whom he had before eſpouſed at Mecca, when he was in the habit of a pilgrim; God having granted him, as he pretended, the peculiar privilege of doing this, or, in other words, of breaking through thoſe rules and cuſtoms held ſacred by the other Arabs, and even recommended as ſuch by himſelf to all his followers. His uncle Al Abbâs performed the nuptial ceremony. This Maimûna was the laſt of Mohammed's wives, according to Al Jannâbi, and ſurvived all the reſt. When ſhe was taken ill at Mecca, ſhe was, at her own requeſt, carried to Shorf, becauſe the prophet had, as ſhe ſaid, foretold that ſhe ſhould not depart this life in the former place. Here, therefore, ſhe died in a pavilion erected under that tree under which Mohammed conſummated his marriage with her. Her tomb was ſtill remaining in the ſixteenth cen-

tury, having been visited by Abu Mohammed Mostafa Ebn Al Sayyad Hasan Al Jannâbi, the Arab historian, in his return to Medina from Mecca, where he had been to pay his devotions at the tomb of the impostor [o].

Three considerable persons of the Koreish embrace Islamism.

The eighth year of the Hejra was ushered in by the conversion of Khâled Ebn Walîd, Amru Ebn Al As, the Sahamite, and Othmân Ebn Telha Ebn Abda'l Dâr, three considerable persons among the Koreish, who, soon after the prophet's departure from Mecca, left that place, and arrived at Medina, where they made public profession of Mohammedism. This proved a great accession of power to the impostor, and soon enabled him to make himself master of the whole peninsula of the Arabs; for Khâled Ebn Al Walîd was one of the greatest warriors of his time. He had put to flight Mohammed's rear, and occasioned the defeat of all his forces, at the battle of Ohod; Amru was the ambassador sent by the Koreish to the najashi, to demand the Moslem fugitives who had taken refuge in Ethiopia, a man of very considerable abilities; and Othmân Ebn Telha was intendant of the Caaba, and consequently a person of most extensive influence in Arabia. No wonder, therefore, that after these had declared themselves in his favour, he should so soon find himself in a condition to give laws to the Koreish, and of course to raise himself to the supreme government of his country [p].

Incursions made by Gâleb Ebn Abd'allah.

In the month of Safar this year, the eighth of the Hejra, Gâleb Ebn Abd'allah, the Leithite, one of Mohammed's commanders, made two very successful incursions. In the first of which he plundered the Banu Al Malah, a very considerable Arab family seated at Al Cadia; and, in the second, he took vengeance of the Banu Morrah at Fadac, for the massacre of Bashar's companions, in the month of Shaabân, the preceding year. He no sooner arrived at Fadac, with a body of two hundred men, than the enemy made a vigorous sally upon him; but they were repulsed with so much bravery, that the greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and all the rest taken prisoners. After the action, the Moslems pillaged the adjacent district, and brought off a considerable number of camels to Medina.

We are told by Al Jannâbi, that about this time the prophet caused a chair, or pulpit, to be built for him by

[o] Abulfed. de Vit. Moham. p. 97, 98, 99. & Al Jannab. ubi sup. p. 184, &c. [p] Ebn Ishâk in Lib. Splendor. Abu'l Rabi apud Al Wâked. in Relat. ut & ipse Al Wâked. ibid.

a Greek

a Greek carpenter, called Nakum, who was domeſtic to a Chriſtian lady, named Ayeſha. This he aſcended by three ſteps, the higheſt of which he ſat upon, and placed his feet upon the ſecond, when he preached, as he conſtantly did, to the people. After his deceaſe, Abu Becr ſat on the ſecond ſtep, and put his feet on the third. Afterwards Omar ſat upon the loweſt ſtep, and placed his feet upon the ground. When Othmân was khalif, he followed their example during the firſt years of their reign; but afterwards he ſeated himſelf on the higheſt ſtep, to the end of his khalifat. Moâwiyah raiſed this pulpit to ſix ſteps, and none of his ſucceſſors ever altered it. Othmân was the firſt who covered it with tapeſtry; of which a certain woman having ſtripped it, ſhe had her hands cut off, in conformity to an injunction of the Koran. In the 50th year of the Hejra, Moâwiyah had an intention to remove this pulpit to Damaſcus: but the very moment this was attempted, as ſome of the Moſlems pretend, there happened a moſt ſurpriſing ſolar eclipſe; which, together with the remonſtrances made by Abu Horeira, induced the khalif to deſiſt from his deſign. Before the conſtruction of this pulpit, the prophet, immediately after his arrival at Medina, officiated on a piece of a beam, or the trunk of a palm-tree driven into the ground, on the top of which he leaned, when he preached to the people. The firſt time Mohammed aſcended the new machine, a diſmal ſound came from this trunk, that repreſented the lowing or bellowing of a camel, that ſeemed to expreſs the grief of the beam for its being deſerted by the prophet. This ſound, ſays Al Jhazâli, ſo affected him, that he immediately came down from the pulpit, embraced the trunk, careſſing it, and giving it the moſt endearing language, till he had brought it to good humour [9].

A deſcription of Mohammed's pulpit.

In the month called the Former Rabî, Shaja Ebn Wahab plundered the Banu Amer, and carried off many of their camels. Caab Ebn Omar, the Ghafârite, did not meet with the ſame ſucceſs on a ſimilar occaſion: having advanced, at the head of a ſmall detachment, as far as Dhat Al Talâh, ſituated behind Dhat Al Kora, he was attacked by a ſuperior force; he defended himſelf with ſo much bravery, that he fought his way through the ene-

[9] Al. Jannab. ubi ſup. p. 188. Al Ghazali apud Pocockium in Not. ad Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 188. ut & ipſe Pocock. ibid. Ebn Amid. Hiſt. Saracen. lib. i. cap. 7. Eutych. tom. ii. p. 360. Greg. Abul-Faraj. p. 104.

my,

my, and at laſt made his eſcape, grievouſly wounded, though all his men were cut to pieces in the action [r].

Mohammed's ambaſſador aſſaſſinated.

Nevertheleſs, this proved, upon the whole, a fortunate year to Mohammed. In the beginning of it Khâled Ebn Al Walîd, and Amru Ebn Al As, both excellent ſoldiers, became converts to Iſlamiſm, as has been already obſerved. The prophet received advice, that the ambaſſador he had ſent to the governor of Boſra, on the ſame errand as thoſe who went to the princes above mentioned, was aſſaſſinated by Amru Ebn Shorheil, an Arab of the tribe of Ghaſſân, who was commandant of the place for the emperor Heraclius, at Mûta, a town in the territory of Balkâ, in Syria, about three days journey eaſtward from Jeruſalem. The prophet was ſenſibly touched with this tragical accident, and reſolved to be revenged of the governor of Mûta, for the affront offered him, and the loſs he had ſuſtained by the death of his ambaſſador. For this purpoſe he aſſembled an army of three thouſand men, all choſen troops, and gave the command of it to Zeid Ebn Al Hâretha, his freed-man, with orders to advance without delay to Mûta, the place where the murder of Al Hâreth Ebn Omair, the Azdite, Mohammed's ambaſſador, was committed.

Mohammed's general begins his march for Mûta;

Zeid, having received his inſtructions, began his march for Mûta; but being apprized that the emperor's army, compoſed of Greeks and auxiliary Arabs, amounting to a hundred thouſand effective men, was likewiſe on its march to attack him, he thought proper to halt. In a council of war held on this occaſion, it was at firſt propoſed to ſend to the prophet for a reinforcement, to enable them to make head againſt ſo formidable a power, to which their diminutive forces bore no manner of proportion: but at laſt, by the perſuaſion of Abd'allah Ebn Rawâha, it was reſolved, that they ſhould march directly againſt the enemy, and engage them, notwithſtanding their inferiority in point of numbers. As they were to fight for their religion, and every thing dear to them lay now at ſtake, they were determined either to conquer or die.

and advances to that place.

In the mean time, the Greeks advanced to Amſhâref, a town on the confines of the territory of Balka, with a full reſolution to offer the Moſlems battle: but the latter, in purſuance of the prophet's orders, puſhed their march with ſo much vigour, that they penetrated to Mûta, before

[r] Al Jannab. ubi ſup. p. 188. Al Mogholtai.

the

the enemy reached that place, and immediately made the proper dispositions for an engagement.

The battle of Mûta.

The imperial army being likewise arrived at Mûta, the battle immediately began. Zeid, who carried the standard of Islamism, and fought in the first ranks, was killed in the beginning of the action; as was also Jaafar Ebn Abu Tâleb, who succeeded him in his post. Abd'allah Ebn Rawâha, who took upon him the command of the Moslem forces after the death of Jaafer, fell next; an accident which occasioned such a consternation amongst the Moslem troops, that they instantly fled. However, Khâled Ebn Al Walid, who succeeded to the command, rallying the fugitives, returned with the bravest of them to the charge, and attacked with such fury a body of the enemy, that he would have cut them all to pieces, had not the approach of night favoured their retreat. Next day, Khâled, like a skilful warrior, made several movements with his army, in order to amuse the Greeks. He commanded the vanguard and the right wing to change places with the rear and the left, at the same time contracting some of his ranks, and dilating others, in such a manner as to make his troops appear much more numerous to the enemy than they really were. This disposition had the desired effect; insomuch that the Greeks, being persuaded that the Moslems had received a strong reinforcement the preceding night, could not be prevailed upon to stand their ground, but fled with so much precipitation, that they could never afterwards be rallied. Khâled, therefore, pursuing them with his victorious troops, made a great carnage, possessed himself of their camp, and carried away with him abundance of rich spoil. When a particular account of this action was brought to Mohammed, he was so transported with joy, that he gave Khâled the honourable title of Seif Min Soyûf Allah, *one of the swords of God*[s].

The advantage gained in this action amplified by the Arabs.

That the advantage gained by the Moslems on this occasion has been greatly exaggerated by their historians, we have little reason to doubt. The very genius of the Arabs, especially of the hot-headed enthusiasts amongst them, so inclinable to fiction and romance, particularly in relations of this nature, is of itself a sufficient proof of it; but this is likewise farther evinced by the testimony of Theophanes, a Christian chronographer of great authority, who represents the battle of Mûta, or, according to him, Mo-

[s] Abulfed. & Al Jannab ubi sup. Al Bokhari in Sonna.

thus,

thus, as an action of no great importance, neither in itself nor its consequences, either to the Moslems or the Greeks. He only intimates, that the former lost three emirs in it; and that Khâled, the fourth, made his escape; that the Christian army consisted only of a body of troops, drawn together in haste, solely with a view to make a sudden incursion upon the Arab territories [t].

With regard to the Moslem chiefs who fell in the battle of Mûta, the loss of them more than balanced the advantage gained in that action. Jaafer Ebn Abu Tâleb had always persisted, without the least variation, in his fidelity to the prophet, and had been very instrumental in bringing the najashi into his measures, during his residence in Ethiopia. Zeid Ebn Hâretha, Mohammed's freed-man, and adopted son, had an uncommon affection for him, and was a person of great conduct and bravery. Abd'allah Ebn Rawâha, was an officer of determined courage and resolution, besides having an excellent military genius, as may be inferred from the advice he gave the Moslems before they advanced to Mûta. That town stood opposite to Al Carac, or, as it was afterwards called by the Christian historians, Crac de Montreal, one of the strongest fortresses in those parts, and not a little celebrated in the times of the crusades. This battle, that rendered Mûta famous to succeeding ages, was fought, according to Abulfeda, in the month of the Former Jamâda, and the eighth year of the Hejra [u].

Mohammed's troops obtain an advantage over the Kodaites.

In the following month, the prophet received advice, that the Kodaites, having assembled a considerable body of troops, were upon the point of making an irruption into the territory of Medina. Against these robbers he sent Amru Ebn Al As, with a detachment of four hundred and thirty men, four hundred of whom were foot, and thirty horse; but being informed that they were not strong enough to face the enemy, he sent them a reinforcement of two hundred men, under the command of Abu Obeidah. This enabled Amru to go in quest of the Kodaites, and to attack them at Dhat Al Solâsel; where, after a vigorous action, he entirely defeated them, with great slaughter. In the month of Rajeb, the prophet perceiving that the Koreish were inclinable to come to a rupture, in defiance of the treaty lately concluded with them,

[t] Theoph. Chron. p. 278, 279. Parisiis, 1655. Georg. Cedren. Histor. Compend. p. 429. Al Bokhari in Sonna. [u] Ism. Abulfed. ubi supra. Al Bokhari in Sonna, Ebn Amid. in Contin. Historiæ ejus inedit.

ordered

ordered Abu Obeidah Ebn Jarah to march towards the ſea-coaſt, with a body of three hundred men, to obſerve their motions. Here Abu Obeidah ſtaid ſo long, without being able to undertake any thing, that his proviſions failed him; inſomuch that he was forced to live upon the leaves of trees, which proved very pernicious and deſtructive to his men: but at laſt they ſeized upon a ſea-monſter, that had been thrown upon the ſhore by the tide, called ambar, and fed upon it fifteen days; by which means they were cured of the ulcers and ſcorbutic eruptions they had been afflicted with, and had their health perfectly reſtored.

Another of his parties plunders Koſra.

In the following month, Abu Kottâda Ebn Rabi, the Anſâr, advanced at the head of a party of only fifteen men, to Koſra, a town of the province of Najd. Having entered the place without oppoſition, he ſlew ſome of the principal inhabitants, took others, and brought away with him a hundred camels, and a thouſand ſheep, after having ſpent fifteen days in the expedition.

The Koreiſh violate the late treaty.

On the twenty-firſt day of the month Ramâdan, this year, Mohammed took the city of Mecca; the citizens whereof had broken the truce concluded on two years before: for the tribe of Beer, who were confederates of the Koreiſh, attacking thoſe of Khozâah, ſeated at Al Wathir, in the plain of Mecca, who were allies of Mohammed, maſſacred twenty of them, and afterwards retired, being ſupported in the action by a party of the Koreiſh themſelves. The conſequence of this violation was ſoon apprehended; and Abu Sofiân made a journey to Medina, on purpoſe to cloſe the breach, and renew the truce: but in vain; for Mohammed, glad of this opportunity, refuſed to ſee him. He applied to Abu Beer, Ali Omar, and Fâtema, to intercede for their countrymen with the prophet; but ſome of theſe giving him unfavourable anſwers, and others none, he was obliged to return to Mecca as he came [w].

Mohammed makes preparations to attack them.

Mohammed immediately gave orders for preparations to be made, that he might ſurpriſe the Meccans while they were unprepared to receive him: but Hâteb Ebn Abu Baltaa, one of his hitherto faithful ſervants, having been bribed by the Koreiſh, attempted to give the people of Mecca notice of the impending danger, though without effect; for the letter he would have ſent to them, on this occaſion, by one Sarah, a maid ſervant of the Hâſhemites,

[w] Iſm. Abulfed. ubi ſupra, cap. l. p. 102. Al Jannab. ubi ſupra, p. 200.

having

having been intercepted at Rawdat Al Khâh, about twelve miles from Medina, was brought to Mohammed, to whom, as he pretended, the angel Gabriel had discovered the whole affair. Mohammed afterwards sending for Hâteb, asked him how he came to be guilty of such an action? He replied, that it was not out of infidelity, or a desire to return to idolatry, but merely to induce the Koreish to treat his family, which was still at Mecca, with some kindness; adding, that he was assured his intelligence would be of no service to the Meccans, because he knew God would take vengeance on them. Whereupon Omar, who was present, desired the prophet's leave to strike off his head, as a proper reward for his hypocrisy and infidelity: but Mohammed received his excuse, and pardoned him, as he had greatly distinguished himself at the battle of Bedr: however, the prophet thought fit to forbid any such practices for the future [x].

Mohammed begins his march for Mecca.

On the tenth day of the month of Ramadân, Mohammed began his march for Mecca, with an army composed of Mohâjerîn, Ansârs, and other Arabs, who had lately become converts to Islamism. These last were drawn principally out of the tribes of Solaim, Ghâfar, Aslam, Mahzem, Tamim, Khozâa, and Asad, which supplied the prophet with a very formidable body of troops. The Moslems, in their march, observed the fast of Ramadân till they arrived at Cadid, between Kodaid and Osfân, a place about seventy miles from Mecca, and five from the sea, according to Sharîf Al Edrisi. Here they were allowed to refresh themselves, that they might be in a better condition to sustain the fatigues of their march, and to look the enemy in the face when they drew near to Mecca. At Codaid the prophet also set up his standards, assigning to each tribe its particular colours, and from thence advanced in order of battle to Mar Al Dhahrân, four parasangs from Mecca, where the whole army encamped. Here the prophet ordered ten thousand fires to be lighted, and committed the defence of the camp to Omar Ebn Al Khattâb, who cut off all communication with the town, insomuch that the Koreish could receive no certain advice of their approach. Amongst others that came from Mecca to reconnoitre the Moslem camp, Abu Safiân Ebn Harb, Hakîm Ebn Hezâm, and Bodail Ebn Warka, fell into Omar's hands, and, being conducted to Mohammed,

[x] Abulfed. ubi sup. cap. li. p. 102, 103. Al Jannab. ubi sup. p. 201. Al Zamakshar.

were

were obliged to embrace Islamism, in order to save their lives. Upon a review of his army at this place, the prophet found it to consist of ten thousand effective men [y].

Makes dispositions for attacking that place,

The first rumour of this expedition had not a little terrified the Koreish, though they were not then apprized that the prophet had resolved upon a war; but perceiving now, by the report of Abu Sofiân, who had been sent back to them, that the enemy was at their gates, they were thrown into the utmost consternation. Of this Mohammed being soon informed, he was determined to take immediate advantage of the confusion that then reigned amongst them: he, therefore, first dispatched Hakîm and Bodail to the Meccans, to invite them to take an oath of allegiance to him, and to become converts to his religion; and then made the following disposition of his forces. Al Zobeir Ebn Alwâm he ordered to advance with a detachment towards the town, on the side of mount Cadâ; Saad Ebn Obad, prince of the tribe of Khazraj, marched, by his order, with another detachment, towards the height of Coda, which commands the plain of Mecca; Ali conducted the left wing of the army, composed of the Ansârs and Mohâjerîn; the prophet put into his hands the great standard of Islamism, with orders to post himself upon mount Al Hajun, and to plant the standard there, strictly enjoining him not to stir from thence till he himself arrived, and till a proper signal from Saad Ebn Obad should be given him for that purpose. Khâled led the right wing, consisting of the Arabs lately converted to Islamism, with which he was to possess himself of the plain of Mecca; Abu Obeidah Ebn Al Jarah commanded in the centre, that was occupied by the main body, consisting entirely of infantry; the prophet placed himself in the rear, from whence he could the most easily dispatch his orders to all the general officers, as occasion should require. He expressly prohibited Khâled, and all his other generals, to act offensively, except they should be first attacked.

and takes it.

Things being in this situation, the army, upon a signal given, immediately put itself in motion. The prophet mounted his camel with great alacrity, and was that day cloathed in red. He stopped at Dhu Tava, in order to perform his devotions, and was surrounded by an infinite number of people, who crouded from all parts to see him. In the mean time, Al Zobeir pursued the route assigned him, without meeting with the least opposition; nor did

y Sharif Al Edrisi.

Saad

Saad Ebn Obad, in his march, discover the faintest traces of an enemy. Ali took possession of the post assigned him without the least effusion of blood; and Abu Obeidah seized upon the suburbs, without the loss of a man: but Khâled, in his march to the plain of Mecca, met with a large body of the Koreish, sustained by the Banu Becr and the Al Ahabishites, their confederates, whom he immediately attacked, and, after a short dispute, dispersed them, putting twenty-eight of them to the sword. Not content with this, he pursued them into the town, and massacred a great number of the inhabitants; a slaughter which so terrified the rest, that some of them shut themselves up in their houses, others fled to the mountains, others to the sea-coast, and some made their escape to Yaman, to avoid the fury of that most impious and mercileſs barbarian, who had now made himself master of their city [z].

He makes his public entry into Mecca.

Mecca being thus reduced, Mohammed made his public entry into that town, exactly at the time the sun first appeared upon the horizon. He was mounted on his camel Al Kaswa, having on his right hand Abu Becr, on his left Osaid Ebn Hodhair, and Osama Ebn Zeïd walked behind him. It is said, that, on this occasion, he repeated aloud the whole forty-eighth chapter of the Koran, intitled, The Victory, which, as he pretended, was revealed to him two years before the commencement of this expedition.

Mohammed loses only two men in the expedition of Mecca.

According to one of the Moslem doctors, the Meccans, at Mohammed's approach, thought fit to surrender at discretion; so that he possessed himself of their city without any effusion of blood; though another, of equal authority, asserts, that he took the town by force, and exercised great cruelties upon the inhabitants. Neither of these accounts seems to be strictly true, as appears from the preceding narrative; for the Koreish seem to have made their submission to him before they were rendered absolutely incapable of resisting him, though Khâled put a considerable number of them to the sword. According to Abulfeda, he lost only two men on this occasion [a].

Destroys the idols of the Koreish.

All tumults being now appeased, and the public tranquility restored, Mohammed went seven times in procession round the Caaba, touching the corner of the black stone with the staff in his hand, as often as he passed by it, with great devotion. Then he entered the Caaba, where ob-

[z] Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 106, 107. Al Jannab. ubi sup. p. 208, 209. Moslem, Ebn Amid, lib. i. cap. 1. Al Tabar. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. Hist. Dynast. p. 164. [a] Al Shaffi & Abu Hanifa apud Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. cap. li. p. 107.

serving

ſerving ſeveral idols in the form of angels, and the ſtatues of Abraham and Iſhmael, with the arrows of divination in their hands, he cauſed them all to be deſtroyed. He alſo broke to pieces, with his own hands, a wooden pigeon, that had long been eſteemed as one of their deities by the idolatrous Koreiſh. Afterwards, entering the interior part of the Caaba, he repeated with a loud voice, the form uſed at this day by the Mohammedans, "ALLAH ACBAR, GOD IS GREAT," &c. turning towards every part of the temple. Then he prayed between the two pillars there, with two inclinations, as well as without the Caaba; ſaying to thoſe that attended him, "This is your Kebla, or the place towards which you are to turn your faces in prayer:" and then entering the temple a ſecond time, he preached to the people. He likewiſe purged the Caaba of three hundred and ſixty idols, equalling in number the days of the Arabian year; the chief of which was that of Hobal, brought originally out of Syria; whoſe name ſeems to have been deduced from הבל, hebel, *vanity*. The prophet compaſſed the Caaba again ſeven times, and then viſited the well Zemzem, ſo celebrated among the Mohammedans. He alſo performed the wodû, or ordinary ablution uſed in common caſes, with all the proper ceremonies, and all his followers imitated his example; a ceremony which not a little excited the admiration of the idolaters. Then Ali, by his order, broke to pieces the great idol of the Khozâites, who held the angels to be the daughters of God, placed on the top of the Caaba, which was a compoſition of glaſs and melted or caſt braſs. It may not be improper to remark, on this occaſion, that Mohammed entered the Caaba four times after the Hejra; firſt, when he performed the viſitation of Al Kadâ, or *the completion*; ſecondly, the day he took Mecca; thirdly, the day after that exploit; and laſtly, when he performed the peregrination, or pilgrimage, of *valediction*. But the moſt ſolemn entry of all was that here deſcribed, which happened immediately after the reduction of Mecca[b].

and afterwards endeavours to ingratiate himſelf with them.

The prophet having thus ſubdued the Koreiſh, in order to prevent effectually all future commotions, and conſequently to render them the more ſubſervient to the accompliſhment of his deſigns, he reſolved to ingratiate himſelf

[b] Abulfed. ubi ſup. p. 107, 108. Ebn Abbas apud Al Bokhar. in Son. ut & ipſe Al Bokhâr. ibid. Lib. Shafao'l Garam, i. e. Medicin. Morbor. Al Shahreſtan. apud Pocock. Not. in Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 95, ut & ipſe Poc. ibid. Ebn Al Athir. See alſo Sale's Prelim. Diſc. p. 20.

with that tribe. Sending, therefore, for some of the principal of them, he said, "What treatment do you expect to meet with from me, now I have subdued you?" To which they replied, "None but what is favourable, O generous brother! O son of a generous brother!" Then he dismissed them with these words, "Go your way, you are from this moment a free people." In order to preserve peace and tranquility amongst his followers, he pretended, that a passage in the fourth chapter of the Koran had been revealed to him, the primary design of which was to direct him to return the keys of the Caaba to Othmân Ebn Telha, who had then the honour to be keeper of that holy place, and not to deliver them to his uncle Al Abbâs, who, having already the custody of the well Zemzem, would gladly have had also that of the Caaba. The prophet obeying the pretended divine order, Othmân was so affected with the justice of the action, notwithstanding he had at first refused him entrance, that he immediately professed a second time Mohammedism; whereupon the guardianship of the Caaba was confirmed to this Othmân and his heirs for ever. The day the prophet took Mecca, when he entered the temple, he ordered Belâl, his crier, to get upon the top of the Caaba at noon, and to call the people to prayer, from thence, for the first time; which custom has ever since been religiously observed, the criers giving the people notice of prayer from the minârets, or steeples, of the mosques, as well as the top of the Caaba, in the same manner, and the very same form of words, at this day.

He proscribes several of the Arabs.

On the day after the taking of Mecca, the Khozaites, elated with the prophet's success, assassinated Al Anza, of the tribe of Hodhail, an idolater. Nor did their insolence stop here; one of them, named Khorash Ebn Ommeya, killing Ahmar, a Moslem, and a man of great bravery and resolution. This outrage induced Mohammed to declare Mecca an asylum, and to give out publicly, that he would maintain, to the utmost of his power, the inviolable security of that place. However, after he had been solemnly inaugurated on the hill Al Safâ, by the people assembled for that purpose, and they all, and particularly Henda Bint Otba, the wife of Abu Sofiân, had taken the oath of allegiance to him, he proscribed several persons who had rendered themselves the most obnoxious by their former conduct. The persons so proscribed amounted to no more than six men and four women, according to Abulfeda; though only three men and one woman were put to

to death, the reſt obtaining pardon on their embracing Iſlamiſm, and one of the women making her eſcape.

Mohammed remained at Mecca, after the ſurrender of that place, which happened on Friday the twenty-firſt of Ramadân, only fifteen days. This ſhort time was ſpent in regulating the affairs of the government, and ſending his generals upon ſeveral military expeditions, for the deſtruction of idolatry, and the extenſion of his new conqueſts. As he was wholly engaged in affairs of the higheſt conſequence, he curtailed his prayers, and inſtead of four formerly in vogue, uſed now only two inclinations. Having ſettled every thing to his ſatisfaction at Mecca, he ſet out from thence on the ſixth of the month of Shawâl, at the head of his forces, for Honein, where he arrived the ſame day.

Mohammed ſends Khâled to deſtroy the idol Al Uzza;

Before his departure from Mecca, he detached his moſt famous general, Khâled Ebn Walîd, with a body of troops to Nakhla, a city about a day's journey from Mecca, in the neighbourhood of Al Tâyef, with orders to deſtroy the idol Al Ozza, made of the trunk of a tree, and adored by the Banu Kenânah. Khâled executed his orders ſo effectually, that, after he had pierced Al Ozza, or Al Uzza, with an arrow diſcharged at her, as a mark of his reſpect, for that purpoſe, he ſlew two ugly ſhe-dæmons, or rather two of Al Uzza's prieſteſſes, that appeared. The firſt of theſe ſallied out after the arrow was diſcharged, and the other after the idol was burnt, and the temple belonging to it demoliſhed. The adoration of Al Uzza was not confined to the Banu Kenânah, that goddeſs having been alſo worſhipped by the Banu Salim and the Koreiſh [c].

and Amru Ebn Al As to deſtroy that of Sawa.

At the time that Khâled deſtroyed the idol Al Uzza, Amru Ebn Al As broke to pieces the idol Sawa, belonging to the tribe of Hodhail, at Rohât, about three miles diſtant from Mecca; and Saad Ebn Zeid did the ſame by Manah, an idol of the tribes of Aws and Khazraj, and the other inhabitants of the diſtrict of Medina. The former of theſe idols was ſuppoſed to have been older than the deluge, to have been diſcovered by the devil, and to have had pilgrimages inſtituted to it; and the latter, being a large ſtone, was placed on the top of an eminence not far from the ſea, by the foot of which ran the river Codaid. Here the tribes of Hodhail, Khozaah, Thakîf, Aws, and Khazraj, frequently aſſembled, and offered their ſacrifices. We are told by ſome of the Moſlem writers, that Saad killed a

[c] Al Jannab. ubi ſupra, p. 226.

ſhe-fiend, or an ugly black prieſteſs, as well as Khâled, that ſeemed by no means inclinable to ſurvive the idol with which ſhe had ſo long had a moſt cloſe and inſeparable connexion [d].

Khâled's expedition againſt the Jadhîmites.

In the month of Shawâl, after Khâled had finiſhed his expedition againſt Al Uzza, he was diſpatched, with a body of three hundred and fifty men, to propagate Iſlamiſm; but was ordered by the prophet not to act offenſively, except he ſhould be firſt attacked. Having received his inſtructions, he marched directly againſt the Jadhîmites, a tribe who, before the eſtabliſhment of the new religion, had aſſaſſinated Awf Abd'al Rahmân's father, and Khâled's uncle, when thoſe two perſons were on their return from Yaman, and carried off all their effects. Khâled, therefore, was reſolved to take vengeance for ſo inhuman and iniquitous an action. In order to which, having encamped near a water, or well, that belonged to them, he waited their approach; and, upon their appearing armed, he ordered them to lay down their arms, and to profeſs Iſlamiſm. This command, according to Abulfeda, they readily complied with. Khâled, far from being ſatisfied with ſo prompt and quick a ſubmiſſion, commanded their hands to be tied behind their backs; and then, in a moſt brutal manner, put the greateſt part of them to the ſword. This cruel and cowardly action was highly diſapproved of by Mohammed. However, Al Bokhâri, in order to palliate Khâled's conduct, tells us, that the Jadhîmites would not cry out, "We embrace Iſlamiſm," as Khâled ordered them to do; but, on the contrary, loudly declared, that they profeſſed Sabaiſm; upon which, Khâled killed many of them, and took the reſt priſoners. Mohammed ſent Ali to diſtribute a ſum of money amongſt the ſurviving Jadhîmites, to make ſome amends for the blood Khâled had ſpilt. Abd'al Rahmân, whoſe father's death Khâled pretended to revenge, upbraided him with his cruelty. Mohammed, with great indignation, addreſſed him to this effect: "O Khâled, ceaſe to moleſt my followers. If you poſſeſſed a heap of gold as large as Mount Ohod, and expended it all in God's cauſe, your merit would not be equal to that of one of thoſe perſons whom you have ſo inhumanly deſtroyed [e]."

Mohammed's expedition againſt the tribes of Hawâzen and Thakîf.

The prophet having received advice, that his enemies were making great warlike preparations, reſolved to march

[d] Al Firauzabadi in Lexic. Al Kam. [e] Iſm. Abulfed. ubi ſupra, cap. liii. p. 111, 112. Salem & Al Zohar. apud Al Bokhâr. in Sonna, ut & ipſe Al Bochâr. ibid. Al Jannab. ubi ſupra, p. 227.

againſt

against them with all his forces. The Arabs, that opposed him in this war, were the tribes of Hawâzen and Thakîf, joined by the Saadites, a branch of the Banu Becr. The generals, who commanded the troops formed out of these tribes, amounting to about four thousand men, were Mâlec Ebn Awf, the Nadirite, Doraik Ebn Al Semma, the Joshmite, at that time above a hundred years of age, whose body was reduced to a mere skeleton, and Kenânah Abd Yâlil, the Thakîfite. These infidels, says Al Jannâbi, being closely attached to their idols, could not bring themselves to submit to Mohammed's institutions; and therefore resolved to make a vigorous effort to re-establish their idolatrous worship. Having assembled all their forces, they advanced to the plain of Awtâs, between Dhât Irk and Amra, and at a small distance from the valley of Honein, situated between Mecca and Tâyef, about three miles from the former city. Here they encamped, in order to wait for the Moslem army, and made all the necessary dispositions for entering immediately upon action.

The battle of Honein.

Mohammed being informed by Abd'allah Ebn Abu Jardad, the Aslamite, one of his spies, who had penetrated Mâlec's designs, of all the enemy's motions, set out from Mecca on the sixth day of the month Shawâl, with an army of twelve thousand men, in order to attack the infidel Arabs. The Moslems arrived at Honein in the evening, and found the enemy drawn up in order of battle, having chosen a spot of ground very commodious for their horse. To the advantageous situation of the place, Mâlec, the enemy's general, added a stratagem, which proved of considerable service to him. By favour of the night, he extended his army on two eminences that commanded the plain, and posted a body of troops at the streights of the valley, ordering them to form an ambuscade, and in the morning, immediately after break of day, to discharge their arrows from all parts upon the enemy, to throw them into confusion, and then to fall upon them sword in hand with the greatest impetuosity, without giving them time to recover themselves. In the mean time, Mohammed having put his army in battle-array, and mounted his white mule Daldal, gave the signal to his troops to advance, and begin the attack.

The Moslems seeing themselves so greatly superior to the enemy, whom they held in the utmost contempt, made themselves sure of the victory; insomuch that a certain person, whom some suppose to have been Abu Becr, others Salema Ebn Salâma, others Al Abbas, and lastly,

others the prophet himſelf, cried out, "It is impoſſible theſe ſhould be overcome by ſo few;" but God, ſays ſome of the Moſlem writers, was ſo highly diſpleaſed with this confidence, that he ſuffered the apoſtle and his followers to be not a little mortified on this occaſion; for the Mohammedan troops ſcarce entered the valley when they found themſelves overwhelmed by a ſhower of arrows, diſcharged from all parts, in purſuance of Mâlec's orders, by the idolaters, who occupied the heights both on the right hand and on the left. This, with the briſk attack that followed, as Mâlec had foreſeen, threw the Moſlems into ſuch confuſion, that they immediately fled, ſome of them running away quite to Mecca. In the mean time, the prophet did his utmoſt, both by words and actions, to animate his troops, and perſuade them to return to the charge; but, for ſome time, without effect, ſcarce any of them ſupporting their leader except Abu Becr, Omar, Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb, Al Abbâs, Abu Sofiân Ebn Al Hâreth, with his ſon Jaafar, Al Fadhl Ebn Al Abbâs, Rabîa Ebn Al Hâreth, and Oſâma Ebn Zeid. The prophet himſelf was in extreme danger; for Aiman Ebn Obaid fell down dead at his feet. He diſplayed ſuch undaunted courage on this occaſion, that his uncle Al Abbâs, and his couſin Abu Sofiân Ebn Al Hâreth, with difficulty prevented him from ſpurring his mule into the midſt of the enemy, by ſeizing the bridle and ſtirrup. In this extremity he had recourſe to a ſtratagem which did him ſignal ſervice; addreſſing himſelf to his mule Daldal, "Lie down on the ground, (ſaid he) lie down on the ground;" an order which the mule obeyed, and thereby infuſed freſh vigour into his troops. Then he ordered Al Abbâs, who had the voice of a Stentor, to recall his flying battalions; upon which they rallied, and the prophet throwing a handful of duſt againſt the enemy, attacked them a ſecond time, and, by the divine aſſiſtance, gained a complete victory [f].

At the beginning of the action, when the Moſlems deſerted their prophet, ſome of the new converts, particularly Abu Sofiân Ebn Harb, Calda, and Safwân Ebn Ommeya, could not conceal their joy, but openly diſcovered their abhorrence both of him and his religion.

After the Hawâzenites gave ground, the Thakîfites defended themſelves with ſo much bravery, that they choſe to be cut in pieces rather than turn their backs. Seventy

[f] Abulfed. Al Jannab. Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin, Ebn Iſh. ubi ſupra. Al Zamakhſhar. in ſect. ix. Al Kor. Moham. ut & ipſe Al Kor Mohammed. ibid.

of

of them were found dead under their colours after the end of the action. However, at last the defeat was general, and all the plain was covered with dead bodies.

Mâlec retires to the castle of Al Tâyef.

Mâlec, the enemy's general, with his principal officers, retired to the castle of Al Tayef; and most of the others that escaped fled to Nakhla; but Doraid Ebn Al Semma, by reason of his great age and infirmities, was obliged to stay at Awtâs. This circumstance occasioned another general action, of which we shall soon give an account.

Al Shîmah taken prisoner.

The principal of the prisoners taken at the battle of Honein, was Al Shîma Bint Al Hâreth, whose mother was Halîma, of the tribe of Saad. She had been foster-sister to the apostle, who had formerly bit her in the back, and the scar of the wound still remained. Upon her shewing him this he gave her liberty to return to her friends as she desired.

The battle of Awtâs.

Mohammed, after the engagement, receiving advice that Doraid Ebn Al Semma was at Awtâs with the Joshmite troops, sent Obaid, surnamed Abu Amer, with a large detachment, to reduce him. Obaid coming up with the enemy in the plain of Awtâs, fell upon them with such fury, that, after a sharp dispute, he entirely defeated them, though he lost his life in the action. However, Abu Musa, who succeeded Obaid in the command of the detachment, pursued the flying enemy, who had taken the route of Nakhla; and Rabia Ebn Rafi', one of Abu Musa's men, put Doraid Ebn Al Semma himself to the sword in the pursuit. Obaid's death greatly affected Mohammed, who, in compliance with his dying request, after having purified himself with the ablution called wodû, offere dup his prayers both for Obaid, and his successor Abu M sa. Whence it appears, that the Moslems considered their prophet as capable of performing the function of mediator or intercessor. As some of Mohammed's men had a scruple of conscience relating to their enjoyment of the female captives taken at Honein and Awtâs, in order to remove this, the prophet had recourse to his usual impious artifice, of pretending to have had a divine revelation, by which the matter was ultimately settled. It was therefore declared, by a passage of the Koran, that it is lawful to marry those who are slaves or taken in war, after they shall have gone through the proper purifications, though their husbands be living. Yet, according to the decision of Abu Hanîfa, it is not lawful to marry women whose husbands shall be taken, or in actual slavery with them. We are also assured by the Koran, that the Moslems were assist-

ed by troops of angels at the battle of Honein, though neither Mohammed nor any of his men perceived them. As to the precise number of these celestial auxiliaries, the commentators differ: some say they were five thousand, some eight thousand, and others sixteen thousand. A great number of proselytes were gained by that battle and the action at Awtâs. After which Mohammed, at their desire, was so generous as to restore the captives to their friends, and offered to make amends himself to any of his men who should not be willing to part with his prisoners; but they all conformed to the will of their prophet in this as well as every other particular [g].

The prophet marches to Al Tâyef;

The prophet being informed that Mâlec, with the shattered remains of his army, was fled to Al Tâyef, resolved to end this bloody and expensive war by the reduction of that place. As he knew the importance of the city, and had foreseen all the difficulties that would attend the siege of a strong fortress, he had provided himself with battering rams, catapults, and all other military machines employed in such operations, together with the most skilful engineers to play them, with which he was supplied by the tribe of Daws, the most famous of all the Arabs for such artificers, and with every thing requisite to bring so hazardous an enterprize to a happy conclusion. For this purpose he dispatched Al Tofail Ebn Amru, the Dawsite, to invite his brethren to embrace Islamism, and to furnish the prophet with a body of troops. He also, at the same time, commanded him, in his way, to destroy the idol called Dhu'l-Caffain, or the *two-handed idol*, made of wood, belonging to Amru Ebn Jamaa. After the execution of those commissions, he was ordered to rejoin the army before Al Tâyef, of which place the prophet proposed immediately to form the siege.

and forms the siege of that place.

Al Tofail having reduced the idol Dhu'l-Caffain to ashes, and brought the tribe of Daws over to Islamism, in pursuance of his orders returned to Mohammed, with a body of Dawsite auxiliaries, amounting to four hundred men, together with a great number of military machines, spades, pickaxes, and other instruments proper for removing the earth and sapping the walls of cities. He arrived in the camp before Al Tâyef four days after the commencement of the siege.

g Abulfed. in Descript. Arab. p. 15. Abu Musa & Abu Borda apud Al Bokhâr. in Sonna, ut & ipse Al Bokhâri ibid. Al Beidawi, Al Kor. Mohammed. sect. ix.

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Al Tâyef was a city of no very large extent, about ſixty miles, or three ſtations to the eaſt of Mecca. It was ſituated, ſays Abulfeda, in a fruitful territory, to the eaſt of Mount Ghazwân, which the Arabs commonly pronounce Aſwân. That mountain is the coldeſt ſpot in the province of Hejâz, the water there being frozen in the clefts of the rocks. It produces excellent raiſins, and is bleſſed with a very ſalubrious air. Al Jannâbi adds, that its territory is ſpacious, capable of cultivation, and abounding with fountains. The word Tâyef ſignifies *turning in a circle*, and was applied to this city, according to Abulfeda, becauſe, at the time of the deluge, the ſpot on which it ſtands was detached from Syria, and after having been continually turned round by the violence of the waters, was at laſt fixed in the place where it ſtill remains; but the inhabitants, if we believe Al Jannâbi, relate, that Gabriel tranſported the ground on which it is now ſeated, as well as the city itſelf, from the neighbourhood of Sanaa, the capital of Yaman, to the place where it at preſent ſtands.

Deſcription of Al Tâyef.

Mohammed departed from Honein on the tenth of Shawâl, to form the ſiege of Al Tâyef; having ſent Khâled Ebn Al Walîd before with the van-guard of the army, to inveſt the place. With the reſt of the troops he marched directly to Nakhla, and made himſelf maſter of that town. From thence he advanced to Karne, afterwards to Al Malih, and then to the tree called Roga, belonging to Labba, where he erected a moſque. Then, leaving the great road, he ruined a caſtle belonging to Mâlec; from whence turning to the left, he encamped at Aliſier, which is likewiſe called Sadera. Afterwards he pillaged and deſtroyed ſeveral caſtles of the Thakifites, and then ſet down before Al Tâyef, taking his quarters on a ſpot directly oppoſite to the caſtle; but as his camp was ſo near the fortifications, being within bow-ſhot of them, the garriſon diſcharged a ſhower of arrows upon his men, by which ſeveral of them were ſlain. This obliged him to change his poſt and retire to a farm, called at this day Salama, at a greater diſtance from the town, where he encamped. Here he cauſed two tents to be pitched, one for his wife Omm Salmah, and the other for Zeinab, who attended him in this expedition. As long as the ſiege continued he conſtantly ſaid his prayers between theſe two tents; and after the Thakifites embraced Iſlamiſm, Amru Ebn Ommeya Ebn Wahab Ebn Matab Ebn Mâlec built a moſque upon the place where Mohammed had prayed.

The ſiege of that place.

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Mohammed forced to abandon the siege.

The prophet having thus secured himself from the insults of the garrison, he besieged the place in form. He opened the trenches regularly before it, planted his rams, and disposed all his other engines of battery in such a manner, that they might play incessantly upon the town. At last, with the assistance of forty military machines, he opened such large breaches in the wall, as enabled the Moslems to make a general assault; but they were vigorously repulsed by the besieged, who terribly galled them with their arrows. This great resistance so shocked the prophet, that he began to doubt of the success of the siege; and therefore, in order to intimidate the garrison, ordered all the vines belonging to the town to be destroyed. He also offered a public manumission to all the slaves that composed part of the garrison, to induce them to desert: but neither of these expedients produced the desired effect, the Thakîfites still defending themselves with unparalleled bravery: so that having spent twenty days in fruitless attacks, and not seeing the least probability of carrying the place by force, he found himself obliged, though with the greatest reluctance and concern, at last to abandon the siege [h].

He arrives with his army at Al Jarâna.

In the last attack, Abu Sofiân Ebn Harb lost one of his eyes; of the other he had been deprived in the battle of Zermouk. In his return, the prophet took his route by Waba, which was filled with riches that belonged to the inhabitants of Al Tâyef. All which Mohammed seized upon, and carried off, besides many camels, oxen, and sheep, that he found also in the place. The treasure he gave to Safwân, who had presented him with a considerable quantity of arms, and attended him in the expeditions of Honein, Awtâs, and the siege of Al Tâyef. From Waba the prophet marched to Karn Al Manzal, repassed by Nakhla, from whence he arrived with his army at Al Jarâna, on the fifth of the month Dhu'lkaada. Here he had left all the spoils and slaves taken from the Hawâzenites after the battles of Honein and Awtâs. This town is situated between Al Tâyef and Mecca, though nearer the latter of those cities, on the road to Irâk and Baghdâd. Having halted here thirteen days, the prophet took an inventory of the spoils, pillage, and slaves, that had fallen into his hands during the siege of Al Tâyef, and the course of his excursions in the territory of that city. He found that he had made six thousand men, women, and children

[h] Abulfed. & al Jannab. ubi supra.

prisoners;

prisoners; and had brought away with him twenty-four thousand camels, forty-thousand sheep, and above four thousand ounces of silver [i].

The tribe of Hawâzen embrace Mohammedism.

During the prophet's residence at Al Jarâna, the deputies from the tribe of Hawâzan arrived in his camp, where they met with a gracious reception. This so exceedingly pleased them, that they immediately declared themselves converts to Mohammedism. They afterwards desired Mohammed to restore their families that had been made slaves, and all their most valuable effects: but the prophet assuring them, that he could not comply with both their requests, offered them a restitution either of the prisoners, or the spoils he had acquired; and they choosing the former, their wives and children were instantly delivered up into their hands [k].

Mâlec harasses the Thakfites.

This grand affair being terminated to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, Mohammed offered Mâlec not only a restitution of his effects, as well as his family, but likewise a present of a hundred camels, if he would forsake his idolatrous worship. Mâlec, not able to withstand such advantageous conditions, immediately turned Mohammedan. This compliance induced the prophet to constitute him commandant of all his brethren that should embrace the new religion. At the head of these he afterwards committed frequent hostilities against the Thakîfites, plundering their territory, and carrying off their beasts in such numbers, that he is said to have reduced them to the last extremity.

The prophet divides the spoils amongst the new converts;

In order the more effectually to conciliate the affections of the new converts, Mohammed divided the remaining part of the spoils amongst them. The principal of these were Abu Sofiân Ebn Harb, with his two sons Yezîd and Moâwiyah, the latter of which was afterwards khalif, Sohail Ebn Amru, Acrema Ebn Abu Jahl, Safwân Ebn Ommeya, Al Hâreth Ebn Heshâm, all of the tribe of Koreish. Abu Sofiân received, for his share, three hundred camels and twenty ounces of silver, and all the others in proportion. Besides these, several strangers belonging to other Arab tribes likewise partook of his liberality; of whom the most considerable were Al Akra' Ebn Hâbes, the Tamîmite, Oiaina Ebn Hasan Ebn Hadna' Ebn Bedr, the Dhaibanite, and Mâlec Ebn Awf, the Hawâzenîte general. Al Abbâs Ebn Mardâs, the Salemite, taking offence

[i] Al Jannab. ubi supra, p. 237, 238. Aut. Lib. Dict. Al Ectera, Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 118. [k] Al Bokhâr. in Sonna.

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at Mohammed's superabundant kindness to Oiaina and Al Akra', at first made great complaints; but he was soon pacified by the prophet's uncommon generosity to him. The Ansârs also expressed some uneasiness at Mohammed's conduct on this occasion, as he had entirely forgotten them in the distribution of the spoils; but, by his address and winning behaviour, he soon likewise calmed the minds of that faithful body. As for Dhu'l Khowaisara, one of the Banu Tamîm, he openly reviled Mohammed for the division he had made; an insult which so incensed Omar, that he would have struck off his head, had he not been expresly prohibited by the prophet.

and arrives at Medina.

On the eighteenth of the month Dhu'lkaada, after the division of the spoils, Mohammed left the camp at Al Jarâna, with a few attendants, in order to visit the sacred places before his return to Medina. For this purpose, he entered Mecca in a pilgrim's habit, made seven circuits round the Caaba, performed the running between Safâ and Merwâ seven times, and shaved his head, according to custom, on such solemn occasions. Then he continued Otâb and Moâdh in their respective posts of governor and imâm, and at night returned to Al Jarâna. Next morning he decamped from thence, and began his march for Medina, where he arrived towards the latter end of the month of Dhu'lkaada, and made his public entry into that place amidst the acclamations of all the people. The public joy was the greater on this occasion, as the inhabitants had been apprehensive that, after the reduction of Mecca, the prophet would make that city the seat of his empire [1].

The Saddites submit to him.

Some days after his arrival at Mecca, Mohammed received a letter from Mondar Ebn Sawa, king of Bahrein, to whom he had sent Al Ola, the Hadhramite, to invite him to Islamism, with advice of his having embraced Mohammedism, together with a good part of his subjects. He also farther informed him, that many people in his dominions still professed the Magian religion; desiring, at the same time, the prophet to direct him how he was to behave to them. Mohammed replied in terms to this effect: "Those who are attached to the Magian superstition must pay tribute; but the Moslems must neither contract alliances with them by marriage, nor eat of their sacrifices." Mohammed afterwards detached a body of four hundred men, under the command of Kais Ebn Saad, to

[1] Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 120. Al Jannabi, ubi supra. p. 240.

attack

attack the Sadâites, on the ſide of Yaman. Of which deſign Zyad Ebn Al Hâreth, the Sadâite, being apprized, he ſubmitted, in the name of his countrymen, to the prophet, deſiring him to revoke the orders he had given. Mohammed, therefore, recalled his troops, that had already advanced to Kanat, fifteen days after the Sadâites had made their ſubmiſſion [m].

His ſon Ibrahim born.

Towards the cloſe of the eighth year of the Hejra, the prophet's daughter Zeinab, the wife of Abu'l As, departed this life; and in the month of Dhu'lhajja, the ſame year, Mary the Copt, that Mohammed had been ſo fond of, bare him a ſon, whom he named Ibrahim. The birth of this ſon gave him ſo much pleaſure, that he cauſed two lambs to be killed, when the child was ſeven days old, for an entertainment; diſtributing at the ſame time as much ſilver amongſt the poor as the hair of the infant weighed. Omm Borda Bint Al Mondar Ebn Zeid, Al Bara's wife, he appointed nurſe to the child, ſometimes eating and drinking with her, that he might have an opportunity of ſeeing it; a circumſtance which cauſed no ſmall jealouſy amongſt his wives. About the ſame time died the famous Hâtem Ebn Abd'allah Ebn Saad, of the poſterity of Tay. He had always profeſſed the Chriſtian faith, in which he perſevered to the end of his life. The Tayites, in general, were of the ſame perſuaſion, though they had ſome few idolaters amongſt them. Hâtem reſided in the province of Najd, at a place called Khâdher, ſituated between the mountains Ajâ and Salma, named by ſome the mountains of Tay. He was the moſt generous and hoſpitable man in the whole peninſula of the Arabs, killing ten camels every day through the month of Rajeb, for the refreſhment of ſtrangers. Hence the Arab proverb, "More liberal than Hâtem." He was likewiſe a moſt celebrated poet, as alſo a perſon of ſuperior ſtrength and bravery. His countrymen ſometimes called him Abu Sofana, that is, *the father of Sofâna*, which ſurname he derived from his daughter's name Sofâna, in conformity to a cuſtom that prevailed amongſt the Arabs. Sofâna Bint Hâtem and Adî Ebn Hâtem, the only children he is ſuppoſed to have left behind him, became proſelytes to Iſlamiſm, after their father's death. We are told that Adi lived to be one hundred and twenty years of age, and died in the 68th year of the Hejra [n].

[m] Ebn Amid, ſive Elmacin. ubi ſupra. Gagn. la Vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 193. [n] Al Jannab. ubi ſupra, p. 242, 243. Al Meidan, in Proverb. Arab. Abu Iſhak & Ebn Al Hobar, Poet. Arab. apud Pocockium, in Not. ad Carmen Tograi, p. 107. ut & ipſe Pocock ibid.

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The Arab tribes in general come in to Mohammed.

The next year, being the ninth of the Hejra, the Mohammedans call the year of embaſſies, or legations: for the Arabs had been hitherto expecting the iſſue of the war between Mohammed and the Koreiſh; but as ſoon as that tribe, the principal of the whole nation, and the genuine deſcendents of Iſhmael, whoſe prerogative none offered to diſpute, had ſubmitted, they were ſatisfied that it was not in their power to oppoſe Mohammed; and therefore they began to come in to him in great numbers, and to ſend embaſſies to make their ſubmiſſions to him, both to Mecca while he remained there, and alſo to Medina, whither he returned the preceding year: among the reſt, Arwa Ebn Maſûd, chief of the tribe of Thakîf, who was not at Al Tâyef when the prophet formed the ſiege of that place, came and profeſſed Mohammediſm; but was afterwards ſlain by an arrow ſhot from the walls of that city, when he went thither with a deſign to draw the inhabitants from their idolatrous worſhip. We are likewiſe told, that Al Hâreth Ebn Abd Colâl, Naîm Ebn Abd Colâl, Al Noomân ſurnamed Dhu Roain, Hamdân, and Moâfer, five kings of Hamyar, about this time ſent ambaſſadors to Mohammed, to notify their converſion to Iſlamiſm. Ebn Iſhâk relates, that the firſt of thoſe princes, to whom Mohammed had before ſent a miniſter, named Al Mohajer Ebn Abu Ommeya, wrote to the prophet, after the expedition of Tabûc, intimating, that he and his ſubjects were become converts to the true religion; and that Mohammed ſent him an anſwer to that letter, in which he congratulated him upon his converſion, and explained to him ſeveral paſſages of the Koran. However, according to Abulfeda, the aforeſaid kings of Hamyar did not embrace Iſlamiſm, or at leaſt did not openly profeſs it, before the beginning of the tenth year of the Hejra.

He puniſhes the Caabites.

About this time, Mohammed ſent Baſhir Ebn Soſiân to the Caabites, a branch of the Khozâites, to receive the legal contribution of alms, or duty, required of them in common with other Mohammedans: but ſo far were they from obeying the prophet's order in this particular, that, at the inſtigation of the Tamimites, they had immediately recourſe to arms, and obliged the collector employed by Baſhir to ſave himſelf by flight. This inſult ſo exaſperated Mohammed, that he ſent Oiaina Ebn Haſan, at the head of five hundred horſe, all new converts, to chaſtiſe the Tamimites; who coming up with a body of them at Sohara, ſoon diſperſed them, taking eleven men, as many women, and thirty children priſoners, whom they conducted to Medina.

Ten

Ten of the principal Tamimites, among whom were Kais Ebn Aſem, Otâred Ebn Hâgheb, Al Zerbekân Ebn Bedr, and Al Akrâ Ebn Hâbes, four great orators and excellent poets, came to make ſatisfaction for the late affront, and to demand a reſtitution of the priſoners. Mohammed, as the aforeſaid Tamimites produced ſome excellent compoſitions both in proſe and verſe, though the prophet's orator and poet exhibited others that excelled them, did not only comply with their requeſt, but likewiſe diſtributed amongſt them rich preſents, and even ſuch as are uſually made to the ambaſſadors of crowned heads.

Mahommed ſent Al Walîd Ebn Okba, in quality of collector of the alms, to the Banu Al Moſtalek another branch of the Kozâites, who received him with great marks of affection, congratulated him upon the happy ſituation of the prophet's affairs, and brought him great abundance of all kinds of refreſhments. Notwithſtanding which, Al Walîd, conceiving that they had a deſign to aſſaſſinate him, was ſeized with a ſudden panic, and returned very precipitately, without excecuting his commiſſion, to Medina, where he gave the prophet a very ill character. This induced Mohammed, who was greatly incenſed at the ſuppoſed diſaffection of the Banu Al Moſtalek, to ſend Khâled Ebn Al Walîd with a body of troops, to puniſh them. That general, upon his arrival among them, finding that Al Walîd, had entertained wrong ſentiments of this people, made a quite different report of their diſpoſition to the prophet. Obâda Ebn Baſhar, therefore was diſpatched to receive the contributions they had raiſed, to inſtruct them more fully in the law, and the rites of Iſlamiſm, and to explain in the cleareſt manner the moſt difficult paſſages of the Koran.

Dhohak Ebn Sofiân invites the Banu Kelâb to Iſlamiſm.

Afterwards the prophet detached Dhohak Ebn Sofiân, to invite the Banu Kelâb to Iſlamiſm. They ſhut themſelves up in the town of Al Dhahina, and would not grant him an interview. The Moſlems, therefore, diſlodged them from thence, and carried off all their effects. At the ſame time, Mohammed receiving advice, that the Ethiopians had made a deſcent near Jodda, a maritime city, where they committed great depredations, he ſent Olkam Ebn Mahraz, with a body of three hundred men, to oppoſe them: but they retiring at his approach, Olkam returned to Medina, without having been able to come up with them [o].

[o] Al Jannab. ubi ſupra, p. 246.

Mohammed

Ali destroys the idol Al Fatas.

Mohammed, actuated by his zeal for the extirpation of idolatry, sent Ali to destroy the idol Al Fatas, that belonged to the tribe of Tay. Foreseeing that this tribe, which was very powerful, might give Ali great obstruction in the execution of his orders, he assigned him a detachment of one hundred and fifty foot, all Ansârs, together with one hundred camels and fifty horses, to support him in the enterprize. With this force he attacked the enemy, defeated them, destroyed the idol, and took a considerable number of prisoners, among whom was Sofâna Bint Hâtem, her brother Adî Ebn Hâtem, chief of the tribe, being then in Syria. This lady was conducted, with the other captives, to Medina, where she met with so gracious a reception from the prophet, that she turned Mohammedan; and her brother Adî, charmed likewise with his polite and generous behaviour, soon followed her example. Ali acquired immense riches in this expedition, and particularly three swords of great value, named Al Rosoub, Al Mokhazzem, and Al Yamâni, that belonged to the idol Al Fatas. The two best of the swords he made a present of to the prophet, and reserved the third to himself. He also distributed the plunder amongst the troops that had attended him in the expedition.

Mohammed receives the foreign ministers with great civility.

The prophet received all the ambassadors sent to him this year with great marks of affection and benevolence; and treated each in a manner suitable to his rank and dignity. The Moslem historians have given us a long detail of these embassies and legations. One of the most remarkable was the deputation of the Banu Honeifa, who inhabited two famous cities, called Al Yamâma and Al Hajr; from the former of which the province, in which they stood, derived its name. At the head of these deputies was the famous Moseilama, Mohammed's competitor, the prince and lord of Al Yamâma, who at that time made public profession of Islamism, though he afterwards apostatized. He arrogated to himself the prophetic function, and pretended to partake of that honour with Mohammed.

Caab Ebn Zohair Ebn Abu Salama pardoned by Mohammed.

Caab Ebn Zohair Ebn Abu Salama, the famous poet, who had been proscribed by Mohammed the preceding year, now returned to Mecca, and afterwards waited upon the prophet at Medina. He took the opportunity of repeating aloud the profession of faith, and the declaration of his being a Moslem, when Mohammed was in the mosque. In order to soften him, he also celebrated his praises in a fine Arabic poem, that he had lately composed,

posed, before the whole congregation; of which a full and ample account has been handed down to us by Al Jannâbi. This adulation so pleased the prophet, that he not only pardoned him, but likewise made him a present of his cloak, which the khalif Moâwiyah purchased afterwards of his family for the sum of (K) forty thousand dirhems. This, by a sort of hereditary right, descended to all the succeeding khalifs, who never failed wearing it on festivals, in public processions, and, indeed, upon all the most solemn occasions.

The expedition of Tabûc.

On the sixth day of the month Rajeb, this year, Mohammed signified his intention of coming to a rupture with the Greeks, who looked with a jealous eye upon his conquests, and seemed determined to attack him. As their forces encreased on the frontiers, and they had a strong camp at Balka, the prophet assembled an army of thirty thousand men, in order to undertake an expedition against them. The Moslems set out on this expedition with great reluctance, as they were to march in the midst of the summer-heats, and at a time of great drought and scarcity. As the soldiers, therefore, suffered extremely, the body of troops now destined to act against the Greeks was called the Distressed Army. Besides, their fruits were just ripe, a circumstance which increased their unwillingness to move from home at this juncture. However, in pursuance of the prophet's orders, they began their march, and, after sustaining great fatigues, arrived at Al Hejr, a territory in the province of Hejâz, between Medina and Syria, where the tribe of Thamûd had formerly dwelt. From Al Hejr they advanced to Wadi'l-Kora, and from thence to Tabûc, the conquest of which place was one of the objects of this expedition. As the Greeks were a very formidable enemy, the prophet was obliged to make extraordinary preparations, and consequently to draw large sums from his followers, to defray the expence of it. Abu Becr presented Mohammed with all he was worth, to enable him to carry on this war; Al Abbâs advanced a large sum of money, on the same occasion; and the other officers, who were rich, likewise contributed to the military chest, in propor-

(K) These dirhems were a small silver coin of the Arabs, about the same weight, though much broader and thinner, as the Greek drachms, from whence they apparently derived their name. Several of them are still preserved in the cabinets of the curious, and particularly a very ancient one in the Bodleian collection of medals at Oxford.

tion to the wealth they possessed: but Othmân Ebn Affân exerted himself almost beyond his abilities, to assist the prophet in setting on foot a powerful army: he supplied the troops with three hundred camels for slaughter, and one thousand (L) dinârs of gold: he is even said to have raised, and maintained at his own expence, three whole regiments, furnishing them with provisions, arms, and all sorts of necessary munition. This zeal extremely pleased Mohammed, who is reported to have observed, that what Othmân then had done would not be of any future disadvantage to him.

The Moslems having surmounted all difficulties, and formed a camp at Tabûc, Mohammed continued about three weeks at that place. Al Ghazâli, Al Ispahâni, Al Kodai, and other Mohammedan writers, pretend, that, soon after his arrival there, he caused such a quantity of water to issue out of a very small fountain near the town, that there was not only enough to quench the thirst of the whole army, and to water all the beasts that attended it, but likewise to enable all the soldiers to perform the sacred ablutions. Which miracle has been undoubtedly invented, in order to draw a sort of parallel between Moses, who, by the divine assistance, caused water to gush out of a rock in the wilderness, sufficient to supply the wants of the whole body of the Israelites, whom he was conducting to the borders of the land of Canaan, and Mohammed.

The troops being plentifully supplied with all sorts of provisions at Tabûc, soon forgot the fatigues they had sustained in their march, and began to think of subduing some of the neighbouring princes. Tabûc was a town situated about half way between Medina and Damascus, having a fountain, and a considerable number of palm-trees, in its neighbourhood.

The neighbouring princes conclude a treaty of peace with Mohammed.

The Moslem army had not been long encamped at Tabûc, before ambassadors came from different powers to make their submission to the prophet; and even some of the neighbouring princes themselves, in person, paid their duty to him. Amongst the rest appeared Yohanna, or John, Ebn Rawba, lord of Ailah, a maritime town on the sea

(L) The dinârs were a gold Arabian coin, that seemed to have weighed about as much as the gold denarii of the Romans, though they are much thinner and broader, from whence they undoubtedly took their name. There are nine very fine ones preserved in the Bodleian collection; their value according to weight, amounts to about thirteen shillings and six pence, English money.

Al

Al Kolzom, mentioned both in ſacred and profane hiſtory. By his name, as well as the tribute impoſed upon him, he muſt have been a Chriſtian. He concluded a treaty with Mohammed, by virtue of which he and his ſubjects were intitled to the prophet's protection, upon the annual payment of three thouſand pieces of gold. The inſtrument of this treaty, which included the trading inhabitants of the interior part of Syria and Arabia Felix, as well as thoſe of the maritime provinces, that might be conſidered as Yohanna's allies, is ſaid to have been ſtill preſerved by the people of Ailah; and the ſubſtance of it has been given us by ſome of the Moſlem writers. The prophet was ſo well pleaſed with it, as well as with Yohanna's ready ſubmiſſion to him, that he made him a preſent of a rich cloak, or mantle, that ſome believe became afterwards the property of the khalifs, having been purchaſed by Abu'l Abbâs Al Saffah for three thouſand dinârs; but according to Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, who flouriſhed towards the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, it fell into the hands of the Turkiſh emperors, or Othmân ſoltâns, and was the very ſame cloak for which a golden cheſt was made, by order of the ſoltan Morâd Khan, the ſon of ſoltan Selim Khan, who mounted the Othmân throne in the year of the Heijra 982, or of Chriſt 1574 [p].

By the tribute impoſed upon Yohanna, as has been obſerved, it appears, that both he and the people of Ailah perſevered in the Chriſtian faith during the life of Mohammed. Ailah was a little town on the ſea Al Kolzom, ſituated in a barren country, that formerly belonged to the Jews; ſome of whom, according to the Koran, were turned into hogs and apes, for having violated the ſabbath, and worſhipped the idol Tâgût. It ſtands on the road frequented by the Egyptian pilgrims, who paſs from their own country to Mecca; and has a tower, or caſtle, where the governor, who is a dependent on the paſha of Egypt, reſides; though, if ſome modern writers may be believed, that caſtle being ruined, he lives in the town, cloſe by the ſea-ſide. According to Sharif Al Edriſi, Ailah is diſtant from Madian, another maritime city, only five ſtations [q].

Mohammed gives the emperor Heraclius a ſecond invitation to Iſlamiſm.

Jarha and Adrah, two cities of Syria, about three days journey diſtant from one another, at this time likewiſe ſent deputies to the prophet; who engaged to protect them,

p Abulfed. ubi ſupra. Abu Zeid Seid in Lib. Splendor. Abulfed. in Deſcript. Arab. p. 41. Sharif Al Edriſi, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Reland. Deſcript Palæſtin. lib. iii. p. 554. q Iidem ibid. Al Kor. Mohammed. ſect. v. v. 69.

on condition that eight of them paid him annually, by way of tribute, two hundred dinârs. He treated all the other cities and towns, that ſent deputies to him, in the ſame manner, impoſing ſmaller or larger tributes upon them, in proportion to the extent of territory they poſſeſſed. Being informed, that the Greeks were ſo far from being able to make an irruption into Arabia, that, upon the firſt news of his approach, they had retired farther from the frontiers, and withdrawn into the interior part of their own dominions, he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for returning home: however, as he had taken poſt on a ſpot of ground belonging to the emperor Heraclius, before his departure he thought proper to write a letter to that prince, couched in very civil terms, wherein he gave him a ſecond invitation to Iſlamiſm. This, the Moſlem writers tell us, the emperor received with marks of reſpect, but did not think fit to anſwer it. About this time died Abd'allah, ſurnamed Dhu'l Najâdain, the Mâzenite, one of the moſt illuſtrious companions of Mohammed, and was interred by night with great funeral pomp; the prophet himſelf, Abu Becr, Omar, Belâl the crier, and Abd'allah Ebn Maſûd, attending the corpſe to the grave. Before the Moſlems began their march, Khâled Ebn Al Walîd, whom Mohammed ſent to Dawmat Al Jandal, took Ocaider Ebn Mâlec, the prince of that place, of the tribe of Kendah, and a Chriſtian, priſoner; and put his brother Haſân to the ſword. As he had been detached from the camp at Tabûc with a body of four hundred and twenty men, and had got Ocaider Ebn Mâlec into his hands, by that prince's aſſiſtance Khâled not only poſſeſſed himſelf of the caſtle of Mâdhen, ſituated at the foot of Mount Tay, the place of his reſidence, but likewiſe of the city of Dawmat Al Jandal, over which Ocaider preſided. At the ſame time, by that prince's conſent, Khâled carried off with him one thouſand camels, eight hundred horſes, and four hundred cuiraſſes; and then conducted Ocaider, with his brother Maſâd Ebn Mâlec, to Mohammed. The prophet took them under his protection, and reſtored to Ocaider his dominions; but exacted from him a certain annual tribute. When Khâled was unwilling to undertake the conqueſt of Dawmat Al Jandal with ſo ſmall a force, according to Al Jannâbi, Mohammed did not only aſſure him of ſucceſs, but likewiſe predicted all the material circumſtances that ſhould attend the expedition; which prediction, if we believe this author, was verified in every particular: but as Al Jannâbi lived near a thouſand years after Mohammed, and,

and, like the other Moſlems, was unreaſonably prejudiced in favour of his pretended prophet, in this point, his teſtimony is of very little weight. Dawmat Al Jandal is a town on the confines of Syria, about five days journey from Damaſcus, and fifteen or ſixteen from Medina. According to Abulfedi and Al Jannâbi, it was occupied, as well as Tabûc, and other places on that ſide, before the birth of Mohammed, and even when he undertook this expedition, by the Banu Calb [r].

He reprehends ſome of his followers for not attending him to Tabûc.

With regard to Abd'allah Ebn Obba, and his hypocritical adherents, as alſo Merâra Ebn Rabî, Helâl Ebn Omeyya, and Caab Ebn Malec, three of the Anſârs, whom Mohammed excuſed, on their requeſt, from going with him to Tabûc, he forbade the other Moſlems to have any converſe or correſpondence with them for the ſpace of fifty days. At the end of which interval, being aſſured, as he pretended, of their penitence, by a paſſage in the ninth chapter of the Koran, that was revealed to him on this occaſion, they were received again into favour. However, he declared to his followers, that he had been reprehended for excuſing them, in another paſſage of the ſame chapter.

The prophet returns to Medina.

Whilſt the prophet was on his march to Medina, he was applied to by the Banu Gânem Ebn Awf, to conſecrate a moſque they had lately built. He accordingly prepared himſelf to go with them; but being afterwards informed, that the Banu Gânem Ebn Awf were Chriſtians, had erected the aforeſaid moſque in oppoſition to that founded at Koba by their brethren, the Banu Amru Ebn Awf, and intended to permit a Chriſtian prieſt, or imâm, to officiate there, he refuſed to comply with their requeſt. Being, as he pretended, forbidden to do this by the immediate revelation of a paſſage in the ninth chapter of the Koran, which diſcovered the hypocriſy and ill deſign of the Banu Gânem Ebn Awf, he ſent Malec Ebn Al Dokhſhom, Maan Ebn Adji, Amer Ebn Al Sacan, and Al Wahſha, the Ethiopian, to demoliſh and burn the moſque he was to conſecrate; a ſervice which they performed, and converted it into a dunghill. He then purſued his march without interruption to Medina; though he was once in great danger of being aſſaſſinated, and would probably have loſt his life, had he not been preſerved by the vigilance of Hodheifa, and Ammâr Ebn Yâſer, who attended

[r] Abulfed. in Vit. Mohammed. p. 125. Al Jannab. ubi ſupra. Saad Al Yamani, Sharif Al Edriſi, Abulfed. in Arab. Ebn Iſhâk, Gagn. ubi ſupra, tom. ii. 209—228.

him, according to one of the commentators on the Koran [s].

The people of Al Tâyef submit to him, and embrace Islamism.

Soon after the prophet's arrival at Medina, he was congratulated upon the success which had attended his arms in the late expedition to Tabûc, by a deputation from the tribe of Thakîf, the inhabitants of Al Tâyef, who insisted on his granting them several very extraordinary privileges, as the terms of their submission. They demanded, that they might be free from the legal contribution of alms, and from observing the appointed times of prayer; that they might be allowed to keep their idol Allât for a certain time; and that their territory might be declared a place of security, not to be violated, like that of Mecca. They added, that if the other Arabs asked him the reason of these concessions, he should say, that God had commanded him to do so. At first they desired, that the worship of Allât might be indulged them for three years; but this indulgence being refused, they asked for their favourite idol only a month's respite: but Mohammed absolutely rejecting their demands, and they being reduced to the last extremity by a body of Moslem troops, which had formed the blockade of their city, the people of Al Tâyef found themselves obliged to surrender at discretion, and embrace Islamism. In consequence of their submission, the prophet sent home with the deputies Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaba and Abu Sofiân Ebn Harb, to destroy the idol; who executed their commission, to the great grief of the inhabitants of Al Tâyef, especially the women, who bitterly lamented the loss of their deity. Allât was a statue of stone, revered in a singular manner by the Thakîfites, and had a temple consecrated to her in a place called Nakhlah. There are several derivations of the word Allât, which the curious may learn from Dr. Pococke. It seems most probably to be derived from the same root with Allah, to which it may be a feminine, and will then signify *the goddess* [t].

Ali promulgates the 9th chapter of the Koran at Mecca.

In the month of Shawal, Mohammed sent Abu Becr to preside over the rites and ceremonies of the pilgrimage at Mecca, the following month of Dhu'lhajja, with three hundred men, and twenty camels, to be sacrificed in the name of the prophet. In the mean time, immediately after the departure of Abu Becr, the prophet, as he pre-

[s] Jalalo'ddin in Al Kor. Moham. sect. ix. Abulf. ubi supra, p. 126. Al Jannab. ubi sup. p. 265. [t] Abulf. ubi sup. cap. lvii. p. 126, 127 Al Jannab. ubi sup. p. 266. Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin. Poc. Not. in Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 90.

tended,

tended, received from heaven the ninth chapter of the Koran, entituled, Barat, that is, *immunity, liberty, exemption*, or a declaration revoking all the edicts published in favour of idolaters, or, as the Koran expresses it, *associators*, and a cessation of all former treaties concluded with them. The word *associators* here includes Sabians, Christians, and Jews, because Mohammed affirmed, that all these associated with God, beings that by nature were not God. The prophet then dispatched Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb, with all possible diligence, after Abu Beer, enjoining him to read this declaration in form, during the solemnity of the pilgrimage at Mecca, to all the Arab tribes assembled there. Ali overtook Abu Beer at Dhu'lholeifa, a town about six miles from Medina, on the road to Mecca, where he signified the purport of his commission to him. They continued their journey together to Mecca; and, upon their arrival, Ali, to whom the promulgation of the preceding chapter was committed by Mohammed, and who rode for that purpose on the prophet's slit-eared camel, called Al Adhba, from Medina, standing up before the whole assembly at Al Akaba, told them, that he was the messenger of the apostle of God unto them. Whereupon they asking him what was his errand, he read twenty or thirty verses of that chapter to them, and then said, "I am commanded to acquaint you with four things, 1. That no idolater is to come near the temple of Mecca after this year: 2. That no man is to presume to compass the Caaba naked for the future: 3. That none but true believers shall enter paradise: and, 4. That public faith is to be kept." The aforesaid chapter was published, and the prophet's intentions were signified to the people on the tenth of Dhu'lhajja, when they slew the victims at Mina; which day is the great feast, and completes the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. Ali having executed his commission, returned with Abu Beer to Medina towards the close of that month [u].

Abd'allah Ebn Obba Ebn Al Hâreth dies at Medina.

About the same time died at Medina Abd'allah Ebn Obba Ebn Al Hâreth Ebn Obeid. He was commonly called Ebn Solûl, his father Obba having been surnamed Solûl. A little before the introduction of Islamism, the

[u] Al Kor. Mohamm. sect. ix. Al Jannab. ubi sup. p. 272. Al Masudi apud Ism. Abulf. ubi sup. cap. lviii. p. 127, 128. ut & ipse Abulf. ibid. Al Bokhari in Sonna, Al Beidawi. Vide etiam Albertum Bobovium de Peregrin. Meccan. p. 15.

tribe of Khazraj put the crown upon his head, and declared him their prince. He fell ill twenty days after Mohammed's return from Tabûc, and died in the month of Dhu'lkaada: in his last illness he desired to see Mohammed; and, when he was come, asked him to beg forgiveness of God for him; requesting that his corpse might be wrapped up in the garment that was next to the prophet's body; and that he would pray over him, when dead. Part of his request was complied with by Mohammed, who sent his shirt, or inner vestment, to shroud the corpse, and was going to pray over it; but was forbidden by an express passage in the Koran, which has been urged as a direct proof of his hypocrisy and infidelity. Some of the Moslem writers, however, maintain, that he died a staunch believer; and that Mohammed offered up prayers at his tomb, for the repose of his soul.

Death of the najashi revealed to Mohammed,

We are told, that when this year was upon the point of expiring, the angel Gabriel brought Mohammed the news of the death of Ashama Ebn Abhar, the najashi, or king of Ethiopia, the very instant that monarch died. This he communicated to all his companions then at Medina; after which communication they marched in procession to the mosque they usually frequented, there repeating four times the form Allah Acbar, &c. The tradition adds, that at the same time they clearly saw from thence the corpse of the najashi, lying in state at his palace.

who sends two lieutenants to Yaman.

The tenth year of the Hejra proved as fortunate and successful to the prophet as any of the preceding. After the return of the ambassadors sent by the five kings of Hamyar already mentioned, Mohammed dispatched two of his companions, whom he could most confide in, to Yaman, in quality of his lieutenants, to govern that great province. One of these was Abu Musa, the Asharite, appointed to command in the country called Mekhlaf, at Zabid and at Aden; and the other, Moadh Ebn Jabal, the prophet's most intimate friend, who had Al Janad assigned him for the place of his residence. Moadh was escorted by a body of Ansârs and Mohâjerîn, and even attended a considerable part of the way by the prophet himself, who walked on foot, and took a final leave of him; telling him, that they should not meet again till the day of resurrection. About the same time, Khâled Ebn Al Walid converted the Abd'al Modânites, a tribe of Najrân, probably with fire and sword, to Islamism; and Joreir Ebn Abd'allah, the Bajalite, destroyed Dhu'l-Khalasa, an idol of the Kathâamites,

mites, ſeated in a diſtrict about four days journey from Mecca. This idol, with many others, was placed in a temple called the Caaba of Al Yamâma, and the Houſe of Idols, which was now demoliſhed [w].

The prophet's ſon Ibrahim dies.

On the tenth day of the Former Rabî, this year, Mohammed's ſon Ibrahim died at Medina, in the ſecond year of his age. We are told, that an eclipſe of the ſun happened on the day he died; which induced the vulgar to think that this eclipſe was occaſioned by his death: but Mohammed failed not to aſſure them, that they were miſtaken in this particular. Others ſay, that the eclipſe happened on the twenty-eighth day of the month, and Ibrahim's death on the tenth. The prophet was ſenſibly afflicted with the loſs of his ſon, he being by this accident deprived of male iſſue, that might have tranſmitted his name down to poſterity; a circumſtance which afforded matter of raillery to his enemies, as the death of his former ſon, Al Kâſem, had done before. On that occaſion he had the nick-name of Al Abtar given him by Al As Ebn Wayel; which either ſignifies *one who has no children*, or *one who has his tail clean cut off*. This injurious reflection ſo affected the prophet, that the angel Gabriel, according to Jallalo'ddin, revealed to him the 108th chapter of the Koran, intitled Al Cawthar, for his conſolation [x].

Firûz, the Perſian, declares himſelf a Moſlem;

At this period Firûz the Perſian, a native of the province of Dailem, came to Medina, and declared himſelf a Moſlem. It was this perſon who ſlew the falſe prophet Al Aſwad Al Anſi, in the eleventh year of the Hejra as will be ſeen in its proper place [y].

as alſo Farwa Ebn Omar.

Mohammed received a letter from Farwa Ebn Omar, of the tribe of Jodhâm, the emperor Heraclius's lieutenant in Syria, and governor of the city of Ammân, or Ammon, the ancient capital of the Ammonites, who derived their name from Ammon the ſon of Lot, according to Scripture. This city, in holy writ, is called Ammon Rabbat, and was afterwards known by the name of Philadelphia. The purport of this letter was to acquaint the prophet, that Farwa was become a Moſlem, and had ſent him a veſt of fine muſlin, a ſuperb bed of ſtate, a beautiful white mule called

[w] Al Jannâb. ubi ſup. p. 273—276. Gagn. la Vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 247, 248. [x] Al Bokhar. in lib. Al Sahih, Al Maſud. apud Iſm. Abulfed. ubi ſup. cap. lxvii. p. 146, 147. ut & ipſe Abulfed. ibid. Moſlem, in alt. lib. Al Sahih. Al Kor. Mohammed. cap. cv iii. Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin, Al Jannâb. ubi ſupra, p. 277. [y] Al Jannâb. ubi ſupra.

Fadha,

Fadha, a horſe named Dhâreb, an aſs called Ya'far, and other magnificent preſents. This Farwa was firſt impriſoned, and afterwards crucified by the emperor's order, becauſe he would not renounce Iſlamiſm; and reproached his maſter for acting the part of a hypocrite in order to preſerve his crown.

Iſlamiſm makes a farther progreſs in Arabia.

In the month of Ramadân the prophet ſent Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb into Yaman, to bring over to Iſlamiſm the infidels that ſtill remained there; which converſion, partly by methods of perſuaſion, and partly by thoſe of compulſion, he at laſt in a great meaſure effected. He converted the whole tribe of Hamdân in one day; and their example was quickly followed by all the inhabitants of that province, except only ſome of thoſe of Najrân, who being Chriſtians, choſe rather to pay tribute. That the greateſt part of the people of Najrân, at this juncture, profeſſed the Chriſtian faith, appears from Barhebræus, a Syriac author cited by Aſſemanus, who informs us, that Said, the prince of Najrân, was a Chriſtian of the Jacobite ſect; and that this prince, with Jeſujab, the Jacobite biſhop of Arzun, waited upon Mohammed, and concluded a treaty of alliance with him. This treaty imported that Mohammed ſhould take the Chriſtians of Najrân, and their prince, under his protection; that they ſhould not be forced to go to war againſt their inclination; that they ſhould be allowed the free exerciſe of their religion; that all their monks and eccleſiaſtics ſhould be exempted from tribute; that amongſt the laity every one of the richer ſort ſhould pay twelve pieces of money annually, and the others four only, by way of tribute; that they ſhould be permitted to build and repair churches, and even be aſſiſted in ſuch work by the other Arabs; and that the poorer ſort of them ſhould be employed as ſervants in the houſes of thoſe Arabs who profeſſed another religion. The Syriac author adds, that Said made the prophet magnificent preſents on this occaſion [z].

Badhân the Perſian dies.

Ali having acquitted himſelf of all his commiſſions to his maſter's entire ſatisfaction, was received by him with marks of great affection upon his arrival at Mecca; whither the prophet was come in order to perform the pilgrimage of valediction. Towards the end of the month Shawâl,

[z] Iſm. Abulfed. ubi ſupra. cap. 59. p. 129. Al Jannâb. ubi ſupra, p. 275. Sale's Prelim. Diſc. p. 56. Joſeph. Simon. Aſſeman. Bibliothec. Oriental. &c. tom. ii. p. 418. Romæ, 1721.

died

died Badhân, the Persian, who was first viceroy of Yaman for Khosrû, and afterwards for Mohammed. The prophet having received the news of his death, divided the government of Yaman between Shahr, the son of Badhân, and six of his own companions, assigning to every one of the latter a particular district in that province.

Mohammed sets out for Mecca to perform the pilgrimage of valediction.

Mohammed having washed and anointed himself, set out from Medina on Saturday the twenty-fifth of the month Dhu'kaada for Mecca, where he now intended to perform the pilgrimage of valediction. He was attended on this occasion by ninety thousand men, or, as some say, a hundred and fourteen thousand, or, as others assert, a much greater number. Nor is this multitude to be wondered at, when it is considered that the people came in crouds from all parts of Arabia, of which he now was absolute master, to accompany him in this peregrination; especially as he had before commanded it to be proclaimed in the most public manner. He took all his wives with him; together with an infinite number of camels, intended for victims, that were crowned with garlands. He lay at Dhu'lholeifa the first night, where he said the vespers or evening-prayers, with two inclinations. From this place, the next day, he advanced to the plain of Baida; where he again, with great solemnity, proclaimed, according to a tradition derived from Ayesha, the pilgrimage of valediction, but not any visitation, as we find asserted by Abulfeda.

As to the rites and ceremonies observed by the prophet in this famous pilgrimage, which served for a model to the Moslems of all succeeding ages, Jâber Ebn Abd'allah has given an exact description of them, such as he found in the Sonna, or collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of the prophet: but before we speak of this pilgrimage, or, which is the same thing, of the time and manner of performing that which answers to it at this day amongst the Mohammedans, it will be proper to give a short account of the temple of Mecca, the chief scene of the Mohammedan worship; in which we shall be the less prolix, as the form and antiquity of that edifice has been already touched upon.

Description of the temple of Mecca.

The city of Mecca is situated in a valley, surrounded by mountains, from whence the stone of which it is built was taken. It is twice as big as Medina, and about ten days journey south of that city. The temple stands in the midst of the town, and is honoured with the title of Masjad Al Harâm, i. e. *the sacred* or *inviolable temple.* What is principally

cipally reverenced in this place, and gives ſanctity to the whole, is a ſquare ſtone building, called the Caaba, as ſome fancy, from its height, which ſurpaſſes that of the other buildings in Mecca, but more probably from its quadrangular form, and Beit Allah, i. e. *the houſe of God*, being peculiarly hallowed and ſet apart for his worſhip. This ſeems to have been erected by ſome of the patriarchs deſcended from Iſhmael, and was held in the higheſt veneration by the Arabs of ſucceeding ages, even long before the birth of Mohammed. It was probably at firſt only a houſe or habitation made uſe of by the founder, which, in after-ages, attracted the regard of the people of Mecca, either on account of its antiquity, or the perſon who built it, and at laſt came to be conſidered as a building appropriated to the ſervice of the Pagan Arab divinities; for, that it was not originally a temple ſeems to appear from hence, that the door was not placed in the middle of the ſtructure, and that, for many ages, there was no divine worſhip performed in it, though the Pagan Arabs frequently went in proceſſion round it. Thus the tent, or pavilion, Jacob lived in, remained at Edeſſa, according to Syncellus, till the time of Elagabulus; and the houſe that firſt belonged to Cadmus, was afterwards converted into the temple of Ceres, as we find aſſerted by Pauſanius. The length of the Caaba, from north to ſouth, is twenty-four cubits, its breadth, from eaſt to weſt, twenty-three cubits, and its height twenty-ſeven cubits. The door, which is on the eaſt ſide, ſtands about four cubits from the ground; the floor being level with the bottom of the door. In the corner next this door is the black ſtone ſo celebrated amongſt the Mohammedans. On the north ſide of the Caaba, within a ſemicircular incloſure fifty cubits long, lies the white ſtone, ſaid to be the ſepulchre of Iſhmael, which receives the rain-water that falls off the Caaba by a ſpout, formerly of wood, but now of gold. The black ſtone, if we believe the Mohammedans, was brought down from heaven by Gabriel, at the creation of the world, and originally of a white colour, but contracted the blackneſs that now appears on it from the guilt of thoſe ſins committed by the ſons of men. They alſo relate, that, at the time of the deluge, it was taken up into heaven again, and carried from thence a ſecond time by Gabriel, when Abraham built the Caaba. The double roof of the Caaba is ſupported within by three octangular pillars of aloes wood; between which, on a bar of iron, hang ſome ſilver lamps. The outſide is covered with rich black damaſk, adorned

adorned with an embroidered band of gold, which is changed every year, and was formerly ſent by the khalifs, afterwards by the ſoltâns of Egypt, and is now provided by the Turkiſh emperors. At a ſmall diſtance from the Caaba, on the eaſt ſide, is the ſtation or place of Abraham, where is another ſtone, much reſpected by the Mohammedans, where they pretend to ſhew his footſteps, telling us he ſtood on it when he built the Caaba. For which reaſon it is ſtill called by the pilgrims who viſit the temple we are deſcribing, the Stone in Abraham's Place.

We ſhall next obſerve, that the Caaba, at ſome diſtance, is ſurrounded, but not entirely, by a circular encloſure of pillars, joined towards the bottom by a low baluſtrade, and near the top by bars of ſilver. Without this inner incloſure, on the ſouth, north, and weſt ſides of the Caaba, are three buildings, which are the oratories or places where three of the orthodox ſects aſſemble to perform their devotions; the fourth ſect, that of Al Shâfei, making uſe of the ſtation of Abraham for that purpoſe. Towards the ſouth-eaſt ſtands the edifice which covers the well Zemzem, the treaſury, and the cupola of Al Abbâs.

The ſquare colonade, or great piazza, which, at a conſiderable diſtance, incloſes the magnificent buildings above mentioned, conſiſts, according to Al Jannâbi, of four hundred forty-eight pillars, and has thirty-eight gates. Mr. Sale compares this piazza to that of the Royal Exchange, but allows it to be much larger. It is covered with ſmall domes, or cupolas, from the four corners of which riſe as many minârets, or ſteeples, with double galleries, adorned with gilded ſpires and creſcents, after the Turkiſh manner, as are alſo the cupolas which cover the piazza and the other buildings. Between the columns of both incloſures hang a great number of lamps, which are conſtantly lighted at night. The firſt foundations of this outward incloſure were laid by Omar, the ſecond khalif, who built only a low wall, to prevent the court of the Caaba, which before lay open, from being incroached on by private buildings. This court is in a peculiar manner ſtyled Al Masjad Al Haràm; which appellation is alſo frequently applied to the whole ſtructure of the Caaba. The edifice here deſcribed made no very ſplendid appearance in the time of Mohammed, nor even in the reigns of his two immediate ſucceſſors, Abu Becr and Omar; but the ſtructure has been ſince raiſed, by the liberality of many ſucceeding princes, and great men, to its preſent luſtre. However, the form of the whole has undergone

no

no very material alteration ſince the year of the Hejra 74[a].

The whole territory of Mecca, as well as the Caaba and the city, is frequently dignified with the title of Al Maſjad Al Haràm, and ſurrounded by a third incloſure, diſtinguiſhed at certain diſtances by ſmall turrets, ſome five, ſome ſeven, and others ten miles diſtant from the city. Some think, that the moſt ſacred part of the city, including the ſite of the Caaba, and a ſpot of ground contiguous to it, was called by the Arabs Becca, from remote antiquity; and that this name was never communicated to the other parts of the town; but others are of a different opinion. Within the compaſs of ground ſurrounded by the third incloſure, it is not lawful to attack an enemy, or even to hunt or fowl, or cut a branch from a tree[b].

The Mohammedans affirm the Caaba to be almoſt coeval with the world. They pretend, that Adam, after his expulſion from paradiſe, implored of God that he might erect a building like that he had ſeen there, called Beit Al Mamûr, or *the frequented houſe*, and Al Dorâh, or *the remote houſe*, towards which he might direct his prayers, and which he might compaſs, as the angels do the celeſtial manſion. In compliance with this requeſt, God exhibited a repreſentation of that houſe in curtains of light, and ſet it in Mecca, perpendicularly under its original, ordering the patriarch to turn towards it when he prayed, and to compaſs it by way of devotion. After Adam's death, his ſon Seth built a houſe in the ſame form, of ſtones and clay, which being deſtroyed by the deluge, was rebuilt by Abraham and Iſhmael, at God's command, in the place where the former had ſtood, and after the ſame model, they being directed by revelation. Abu Horeira pretends, that this model, or, which is the ſame thing, the celeſtial building from whence it was taken, was a thouſand years older than Adam; and that the angels began to form that heavenly edifice the ſame number of years before the creation of the world[c].

[a] Poc. ubi ſupra, p. 116. Sale, ubi ſupra, p. 115. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 99. Pitt's Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mahometans. [b] Al Mogholtai in Vit. Mohammed. Al Jannab. Al Beidawi, in Al Kor. ſect. ix. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 445. Euthymius Zigabenus, in Panoplia Dogmatic. inter Sylburgii Saracenic. [c] Al Shahreſtani, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, ubi ſup. Abu Horeira, Al Firauzabad. in Kam. Al Zamakſhar, ubi ſup. Al Kor. Mohammed. ſect. ii. Al Juzi, ex Tradit. Ebn Abbâs. Gagn. Not. ad Abulfed. ubi ſup. p. 37. 38.

The

The Koreiſh rebuilt the Caaba, after the birth of Mohammed; it was afterwards repaired by Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir, the khalif of Mecca; and Yuſof, ſurnamed Al Hejâj, in the ſeventy-fourth year of the Hejra, put it in the form in which it now remains.

1. The celebrated black ſtone is ſet in ſilver, and fixed in the ſouth-eaſt corner of the Caaba, looking towards Baſra, about two cubits and one-third, or ſeven ſpans, from the ground. The pilgrims kiſs this ſtone with great devotion, and ſome even call it the right hand of God. The Moſlems pretend, that it was originally one of the precious ſtones of paradiſe, and fell down to the earth with Adam. 2. The ſtone in Abraham's Place, on which the Moſlems believe that patriarch ſtood, whilſt the wife of his ſon Iſhmael waſhed his head, was incloſed in an iron cheſt, and had a cavity in it, in the time of Ahmed Ebn Yuſef; who ſays, that he drank ſome of the water of the well Zemzem out of it, and not out of the iron cheſt, as Mr. Sale has wrongly affirmed. Some of the Moſlems, according to Euthymius Zigabenus, formerly believed, that Abraham lay with Hagar on this ſtone, and eſteemed it highly on that account. Mohammed enjoined his followers to pray before it, in the ſecond chapter of the Koran. 3. The well Zemzem is on the eaſt ſide of the Caaba, and covered with a ſmall building and cupola. Many ſtrange things are related of the water of this well. According to a tradition, derived ultimately from Mohammed, but immediately from the khalif Omar, the water of this celebrated well is medicinal, and, drank moderately, will cure many bodily diſtempers. The ſame tradition adds, that, if it be taken copiouſly, it will heal all ſpiritual diſorders, and procure an abſolute remiſſion of ſins. No wonder then, that it ſhould not only be drank with ſuch particular devotion by the pilgrims, but alſo ſent in bottles, as a great curioſity, to moſt parts of the Mohammedan dominions. 4. The White Stone, or ſepulchre of Iſhmael, has been taken particular notice of by Sharif Al Edriſi; whence we may conclude, that it has continued many years in its preſent ſituation; and that it was probably held in conſiderable repute even amongſt the pagan Arabs, many of whom acknowleged Iſhmael to have been their great progenitor. Be that as it may, this ſtone, on account of its antiquity, merits the attention of the curious, and has therefore been mentioned, in the deſcription of the Caaba, by the moſt celebrated modern writers [d].

When

[d] Al Jannabi, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, ubi ſup. Poc. ubi ſup. p. 115, 116, 117, 118. Al Ghazai, Shahaboddin, Safioddin, Al Zamakſhar.

Mohammed performs the ceremonies of the pilgrimage.

When the prophet arrived at Mecca, his men having occupied the ſame poſts, he entered the city in the ſame manner as when he firſt took poſſeſſion of it. Deſcending from the heights on the ſide of Cada, he advanced to the mountain Al Hajun, and went directly from thence to the Caaba, about day-break, on the fourth day of the month Dhu'lhajja. Here he kiſſed, with great devotion, the corner of the black ſtone; after which ſalutation, he made ſeven circuits round the Caaba, the three firſt in a light nimble ſtep, and the four laſt with a graver pace. Then he approached the place, or ſtation, of Abraham, and returned from thence to the black ſtone, which he ſaluted a ſecond time. He afterwards went out of the city by the gate of the Banu Mahdom, aſcended the hill Al Safâ, from the top of which he took a view of the Caaba, and turning towards the Kebla, pronounced the profeſſion of the unity of the Divine Nature, contained in the following words: "God is great: there is no God but God: he has no companion: he is the only ſupreme governor: he only ought to be praiſed: he is powerful above all things: there is no God but God: he has no companion: he only is ſtrong: he has ſuccoured his ſervant; and he alone has put to flight legions of his enemies." From thence he went to Al Merwâ, and ran ſeven times between that mountain and the other of Al Safâ. He performed this ceremony, ſometimes looking back, and ſometimes ſtopping, like one who has loſt ſomething, to repreſent Hagar ſeeking water for her ſon. From whence it is plain, that the Moſlems conſider this ceremony to be coeval with Hagar, and conſequently believe that it was obſerved by the ancient Arabs many centuries before the birth of Mohammed.

From the mountains Al Safâ and Al Merwâ the prophet paſſed to mount Arafat, a little before ſun-ſet, where he made an harangue to the people, ſtanding, and inſtructed them in the rites and ceremonies of the pilgrimage, which continued till ſun-ſet. Then he went to Mozdalifa, an oratory between Arafat and Mina, where he repeated the evening prayers, and gave the pilgrims an exhortation, or ſhort moral diſcourſe, with two aſſurrections. Then he laid himſelf down on the ground, and ſlept till morning, when he repeated the prayer uſed by the Mohammedans before ſun-riſe. He afterwards poſted himſelf in the middle

ſhar. ubi ſup. Euthym. Zigaben. apud Pocockium, ubi ſup. p. 120. ut & ipſe Poc. ibid. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 927, 928. Sharif Al Edriſi, Sale, ubi ſup. p. 118.

of

of the Caaba, and prayed ſtanding till the ſun was upon the point of making its appearance. Then he haſted by the valley of Mohaſſer to that of Mina, where he threw ſeven ſtones at three marks, or pillars, in imitation of Abraham, who meeting with the devil in that place, and being diſturbed in his devotions, or tempted to diſobedience, when he was going to ſacrifice his ſon, was commanded by God to drive him away, by throwing ſtones at him; though others pretend this rite to be as old as Adam, who alſo put the devil to flight in the ſame place, and by the ſame means. Every time the prophet caſt a ſtone at Satan, he repeated the formula "Allah Acbar," &c. *God is great*, &c. and then went to the place in the valley of Mina, where the pilgrims at this day ſlay the victims, and give the remains of them to the poor, after they with their friends have fed upon them. The pilgrims at preſent, in imitation of Mohammed, on the ninth of Dhu'lhajja, after morning prayer, leave the valley of Mina, whither they came the day before, and proceed in a tumultuous manner to mount Arafat, where they ſtay to perform their devotions till ſun-ſet, and from thence go to Mozdalifa, paſſing the night in prayer and reading the Koran; from whence the next morning, by day-break, they viſit Al Maſher Al Harâm, or *the ſacred monument*, and paſs by Batn Mohaſſer before ſun-riſe, to the valley of Mina, where they perform the operation with the ſtones. The ſacrifices being over, they ſhave their heads, and cut their nails, burying them in the ſame place: after which ceremonies, they look upon the pilgrimage as completed; though they again viſit the Caaba, to take leave of that ſacred place. In all which particulars they follow the example of their prophet, who performed all theſe mummeries on the like occaſion.

When Mohammed came to the place where the victims were to be ſlain, he made a ſpeech to the people, explaining the rites and ceremonies of the immolation. At this juncture the following paſſage of the Koran, according to the pretended prophet, deſcended from heaven: "On this day, wo unto thoſe who have apoſtatized from their religion; therefore fear not them, but fear me. This day have I perfected your religion for you, and have completed my mercy upon you; and I have choſen for you Iſlam, to be your religion." Which words being heard by Abu Becr, if we may depend upon Al Jannâbi, he burſt into tears, as he underſtood from them how far he was from being arrived at a ſtate of perfection. However, he com-

forted himſelf with this pleaſing reflection, that the prophet was his friend, and that he would not fail making perpetual interceſſion for him.

We are likewiſe told by the ſame hiſtorian, that the deſcent of this famous paſſage was attended, or rather followed, by a moſt illuſtrious miracle: the camel Al Kaſwa, on which the propet rode, ſays he, hearing theſe celeſtial words, fell down on her knees, through the power of the divine revelation, and out of the profound reverence ſhe had for the Koran. And this Moſlem aſſures us, that the very ſpot on which this miraculous fit of devotion happened to the camel, after it had lain hid for many ages, was at laſt diſcovered, and that by a miracle too, in the year of the Hejra 964, or of Chriſt 1557, in the following manner: Al Waled, the great kadî of Mecca, celebrating the pilgrimage, or grand feſtival, was extremely deſirous of ſeeing the place where the prophet's camel fell down on her knees, when the famous paſſage in the beginning of the fifth chapter of the Korân was revealed; in order, therefore, to diſcover this, he rode on his camel over every part of the town, and was at laſt met by ſheikh Hoſein, a moſt pious and devout perſon, favoured with frequent revelations, who told him, that the apoſtle of God had appeared the preceding night, and aſſured him, that the place he then ſtood on was the very ſpot of ground he ſought after. Al Waled's camel at that inſtant fell down on her knees, oppoſite to the building then called the houſe of Adam; which freſh miracle put the ſheikh's veracity in the point before us beyond all manner of doubt.

Before the concluſion of the preceding ſolemnity, Ali returned from Yaman, where he had been upon ſome particular buſineſs, and deſired to be permitted to partake of it, and to celebrate the praiſes of God, with the prophet and his other companions. Then the prophet ſlew with his own hands ſixty-three camels, which anſwered to the years of his own age, and ſacrificed them in the valley of Mina. Thirty-ſeven more he gave to Ali for immolation, that he might complete the number of victims to a hundred. Part of theſe the prophet brought with him from Medina, and the other part Ali procured in Yaman. Afterwards Mohammed ſhaved his head, and threw the hair on a tree or ſhrub called Talha, that the wind might blow it amongſt the people. Moſt of the fore-locks were ſeized by Khaled Ebn Walîd, who tied them to a turban that he wore in all his future wars; and hence it came to paſs, ſays a Moſlem author, that this general was ſo powerfully

aſſiſted

assisted in every future engagement, or, in other words, that he was so constantly victorious [e].

After the prophet had taken his repast, in company with Ali only, he remounted his camel, and proceeded directly to the Caaba. Then he said the prayer used after the sun begins to decline from the meridian, took several large draughts of Zemzem water, compassed the temple seven times, and ran as before between Al Safâ and Al Merwâ. On the ninth day of the festival, he performed his devotion on Mount Arafat, about a mile from Mecca, a place held in high veneration by the Moslems. For they say, that when Adam and Eve were cast out of paradise, Adam fell on the isle of Ceylon, or Serendib, and Eve near Joddah, the port of Mecca, in Arabia; and that after a separation of two hundred years, Adam was, on his repentance, conducted by the angel Gabriel to a mountain near Mecca, where he found and knew his wife, the mountain being on that account named Arafat. They add, that he afterwards retired with her to Ceylon, where they continued to propagate their species. This mountain, the Moslems pretend, has always been more immediately dedicated to the service of Almighty God; and here, according to Al Jannâbi, the prophet acquitted himself of his duty with great humility on the present occasion, imploring the divine clemency, and begging pardon, with great fervor, both for his own sins, and those of all his followers. With this penitential act, and the reformation of the Arab kalendar, of which we shall here subjoin a short account, he concluded the pilgrimage of valediction.

Mohammed reforms the Arab kalendar;

It has been already observed, that the pagan Arabs esteemed four months in the year as sacred, during which they believed it unlawful to wage war, and therefore ceased then from all incursions, and other hostilities. However, in process of time, some of them being weary of sitting quiet at home, transferred the observance of a sacred month, when it suited their conveniency, to the succeeding profane month. Thus, for example, they put off the observance of the month Al Moharram to the following month Safar, which, in that case, was esteemed sacred. This translation, or transferring, of the observance of a sacred, to a profane month, is imported by the Arabic word *al nasî*, and was absolutely condemned as an impious innovation, first introduced by Jonâda Ebn Awf, of the tribe

[e] Al Damir. in Lib. Dict. Vit. Animal. Al Jannab. ubi supra, p. 283. Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 131, 132. Jallalo'ddin, Al Shafa.

of Kenâna, in a paſſage of the Koran; as was alſo the intercalation of a month every third or ſecond year, which the Arabs had learned of the Jews, in order to reduce their lunar to ſolar years. Thus they fixed, contrary to the original inſtitution, the time of the pilgrimage, and of the faſt of Rammadân, which ought to be ambulatory, to a certain ſeaſon of the year. Theſe ordinances relating to the months, were promulgated by Mohammed himſelf at the pilgrimage of valediction, ſo called either becauſe the prophet, after this, never ſaw Mecca, or becauſe, in the laſt ſermon he preached to the people, he took his leave of them in a formal manner.

Thus we have given our readers a particular account of the laſt pilgrimage performed by Mohammed, ſtyled by the principal Arab writers, who have mentioned it, the pilgrimage of valediction, by the prophet intended to ſerve as a model for the celebration of this great ſolemnity, to the Moſlems of all ſucceeding ages. Without ſuch a deſcription, we could not ſufficiently underſtand ſeveral paſſages in the hiſtory of the khalifs, as well as that of Mohammed, and other Moſlem princes, that will hereafter occur, and allude to the celebration of the feſtival here deſcribed. The Mohammedans hold the pilgrimage to Mecca to be ſo neceſſary a point of practice, that, according to a tradition of their prophet, he who dies without performing it, may as well die a Jew or a Chriſtian. To the Caaba, therefore, every Moſlem, who has health and means ſufficient, ought once, at leaſt, in his life to go on pilgrimage, and put on the ihrâm, or ſacred habit; nor are even the women excuſed from the performance of ſo neceſſary a duty [f].

and ſends an embaſſy to the Al Nakhaites.

The following year, being the 11th of the Hejra, a numerous embaſſy was ſent by the Al Nakhaites, a tribe of Arabs ſettled in Yaman, to Mohammed, which arrived at Medina, where he then reſided, about the middle of the month of Al Moharram. The perſons that compoſed this embaſſy, to the number of a hundred, had before been initiated in the rites and myſteries of Iſlamiſm; and had likewiſe taken the oath of allegiance to the prophet, which was adminiſtered to them by Moadh Ebn Jabal. They met, therefore, with a very gracious reception from Mohammed; who, on the 25th of the month Safar, nominated Oſâma, the ſon of Zeid, who was killed in the battle of

[f] Albertus Bobovius & Pitts, ubi ſupra. Al Kor. Mahammed. f. iii. Al Beidawi.

Mûta,

Mûta, a youth of about twenty years of age, to command a body of troops in an expedition, projected by the prophet, to revenge his father's death. Osâma having assembled his forces, consisting entirely of Mohâjerîn and Ansârs, and received the standard from the prophet himself, departed from Medina the 28th, attended by Abu Becr, Omar, and Saad Ebn Abu Wakkâs, who were all appointed to command under him. The first day he only advanced to Jorf, a place about a parasang distant from Medina, where he encamped the following night [g].

Mohammed falls sick.

The prophet, who had been attacked the day before by a violent pain in the head, attended by a fever that afterwards brought a delirium upon him, in the apartment of Zeinab Bint Jahash, one of his beloved wives, found himself something better before the departure of the army. But soon after, his disorder was heightened by intelligence he received of the revolt of two notorious impostors, who had commenced prophets in the provinces of Al Yamâma and Najrân. These two competitors in the prophetic office were Moseilama and Al Aswad, whom the Mohammedans usually call the two lyers. The first of these was of the tribe of Honeifa, who inhabited the province of Yamâma, and a principal man amongst them. He had headed an embassy sent by his tribe to Mohammed, in the 9th year of the Hejra, and then professed himself a Moslem; but being desirous of raising himself to a greater degree of power, the next year he pretended to be a prophet. As he survived Mohammed, and even grew formidable after his death, we shall give a farther account of him in our history of the khalifat of Abu Becr, to which place such an account more properly belongs.

Al Aswad, the false prophet, cut off in Mohammed's life time.

Al Aswad Ebn Caab, the other impostor, was of the tribe of Ans, and governed that and the other tribes of Arabs descended from Madhaj, the prince of Sofâr, a city of Yaman. This man was likewise an apostate from Mohammedism, and began to act the part of a prophet the very year that Mohammed died. He had acquired great power and authority over all the Arab tribes settled in Yaman. Abulfeda relates, that he was surnamed Dhu'lhemâr, or *the Master of the Ass*, because he used frequently to say, the master of the ass is coming unto me; and published, that he received his revelation from two angels, named Sohaik and Shoraik. The first of these, as he asserted, sold him an ass, that he had taught to play all

[g] Al Jannab. ubi supra, p. 284.

manner of tricks, and when he ſaw him at any time appear, he immediately ſaid, here comes the maſter of the aſs; from whence he was diſtinguiſhed by this appellation. The latter, as he ſaid, frequently exhibited to his view a vaſt variety of ſpectres, or phantoms, ſo glorious that they dazzled his eyes. Being dexterous at legerdemain, and having a ſmooth tongue, he gained greatly on the multitude by the ſtrange feats which he performed, and the eloquence of his diſcourſe; which, to render the more engaging, he aſſured the people was derived from the two angels above mentioned, who moved his tongue as they pleaſed. By theſe means he increaſed his power, and having made himſelf maſter of Najrân, and the territory of Al Tâyef, on the death of Badhân, the governor of Yaman for Mohammed, he ſeized that province alſo, killing Shahr, the ſon of Badhân, and taking to wife his widow, whoſe father, the uncle of Firuz the Deilamite, he had alſo ſlain. The news of ſo conſiderable a progreſs being brought to Mohammed, he was very uneaſy; eſpecially as the ſame expreſs informed him, that Al Aſwad had poſſeſſed himſelf of Sanaa, the capital of Yaman, and appointed Amru Ebn Moadh his lieutenant over the tribe of Madhaj. He, therefore, diſpatched a courier to ſome of the leading men of the tribes of Hamyar and Hamdân, with ſecret orders to cut him off, either by ſurprize or open force; which orders were effectually executed.

The prophet grows worſe.

In the mean time, the prophet's diſtemper, which began with a violent and acute pain in the head, increaſed to ſuch a degree, that his life was ſoon apprehended to be in danger. This malady was occaſioned by the poiſon he received at Khaibar, which, at certain intervals, had greatly diſordered his ſenſes, ever ſince the reduction of that place; and, having diffuſed itſelf over the whole maſs of his blood, and by its extreme malignity affected every vein, produced the uncommon head-ach, and fever attending it, which now put a period to his days. As ſoon as he found that his diſtemper was likely to prove fatal, he ſent for all his other wives to the apartment of Maimûna Bint Al Hâreth, and deſired that they would allow Ayeſha to take care of him in his ſickneſs; which propoſal they agreeing to, he was immediately carried to her apartment. Here he is ſaid to have attributed his death to the poiſon given him at Khaibar, in the preſence both of Ayeſha and the mother of Baſhar Ebn Al Bara, who was likewiſe poiſoned there. We are told, that, in the diſcourſe which

paſſed

paſſed between the prophet and his wife Ayeſha, ſome pleaſantries were made uſe of at this ſorrowful juncture, which ſeemed a little to alleviate his pain. Afterwards, the fever raged to ſuch a degree, that he thought himſelf on fire. No one could feel his pulſe, or put his hand on his ſtomach, without being ſenſible of a moſt intenſe and inſupportable heat; which made him break out into the following exclamation: "Oh! none of the prophets ever ſuffered ſuch torments as I now feel; but the greater my preſent affliction is, the more glorious will be my future reward." Then, at his requeſt, his wives threw a large quantity of cold water upon his body, in order to abate the heat with which he was conſumed; which, ſays one of the Moſlem writers, wonderfully refreſhed him [h].

This affuſion ſeemed to have produced not only preſent eaſe, but a much more extraordinary effect upon him; for he found himſelf ſo much better the next day, that he went to a moſque, though ſupported by Fadhl Ebn Al Abbâs and Ali, where he celebrated the praiſes of the Almighty, and implored pardon of God, in a moſt devout manner, for all his ſins. Then he mounted a pulpit, or ſeat erected for him, from which he harangued the people aſſembled to ſee him, in the following words: "O men, if I have ever ſcourged any perſon with ſeverity, let me endure the ſame ſtripes; if I have ever wounded any perſon's reputation, let mine be treated in the ſame manner; if I have taken money from any one unjuſtly, I am ready here to return it. Nor let ſuch a perſon be afraid to demand what is due; it is not diſagreeable to my genius and diſpoſition to reſent his demand." After this declaration, he came out of the pulpit, ſaid the prayer uſed when the ſun begins to decline from the meridian, remounted his pontifical chair, and reſumed his diſcourſe; but was prevented from continuing it, by a man who demanded three dirhems, which he pretended were due to him. This ſmall ſum the prophet immediately paid him, ſaying, "It is better to ſuffer diſgrace in this world than in that which is to come." Then he prayed to God for the martyrs that had been ſlain in the battle of Ohod, and for all thoſe interred in the burial place called Al Baki; interceding for them, ſays Al Jannâbi, according to the covenant and communion ſubſiſting between the living and the dead. He added, "God has given one of his

[h] Iſm. Abulfed. ubi ſup. p. 134, 135. Al Bokhâri, Al Jannabi, ubi ſupra, p. 290. Moſlem, Gagn. Not. ad. Abulfed. ubi ſup. p. 134, 135.

ſervants the choice either of this world, or of that which is to come; (and he, meaning himſelf) has choſen the latter." Upon which, Abu Becr burſt forth into tears, and ſaid to him, "We have given you abſolute power over our ſouls [1]."

Mohammed gives his laſt orders to the Anſârs.

Finally, the prophet gave his laſt orders to the Anſârs, the moſt zealous and faithful of his companions. Theſe orders have even to this day been regarded by the Moſlems as the moſt eſſential articles of Mohammed's will; and are the three following: 1. They were commanded to drive all idolaters out of Arabia. 2. To grant proſelytes all the privileges that they themſelves enjoyed. 3. To apply themſelves conſtantly to prayer. The firſt of which orders has always been ſo punctually and rigorouſly obſerved, that no religion but Iſlamiſm has, from the death of the prophet, been tolerated in Arabia; though the Chriſtians, Jews, Sabians, and Magians, who are conſidered as idolaters, are permitted to exerciſe their religion, upon the payment of an annual tribute impoſed upon them, in all other parts of the Mohammedan dominions. The ſecond order, relating to proſelytes, has always, as it is at preſent, been perfectly complied with by the Moſlems, who, have never failed to fill their principal employments with new converts, as well as with thoſe who were educated in the Mohammedan religion. As for the third, nothing is more expreſly injoined in the Koran than prayer. It is, indeed, one of the five fundamental articles of the Moſlem faith; and was by Mohammed thought ſo neceſſary a duty, that he uſed to call it the pillar of religion and the key of paradiſe.

He officiates in the moſque till within three days of his death.

Mohammed, as long as he was able, conſtantly ſaid prayers in the moſque to the people; but the three laſt days preceding his death, he was ſo extremely ill, that he was obliged to confine himſelf entirely to Ayeſha's apartment, where he entertained his friends with diſcourſes on religious topics. Then he gave them inſtructions how to behave to him, both before and after his death, and manumitted a great number of ſlaves. Growing delirious through the violence of the paroxyſm that ſeized upon him, he called for pen, ink, and paper, in order to write a book to deliver to his followers, for the better regulation of their future conduct. This demand was oppoſed by Omar, who rightly attributed ſo unſeaſonable, as well as abſurd a motion (eſpecially as the prophet

[1] Abulfed. ubi ſup. p. 135. Al Jannab. ubi ſup.

had

had always been illiterate, and incapable of either reading or writing) to the violence of his diſtemper; ſince, as he juſtly obſerved, the Koran, which they had received from heaven, was of itſelf ſufficient to direct them in all ſpiritual matters. However, a diſpute ariſing, Mohammed, with ſome emotion, ordered all the company to withdraw, telling them that it was not proper for them to diſpute in the preſence of a prophet.

Gabriel brings the agreeable news of Al Aſwad's death.

At this juncture Gabriel, according to the Moſlem hiſtorians, viſited the prophet, and brought him the agreeable news of his competitor Al Aſwad's death. This was effected by a party of Mohammed's friends, to whom he had written on occaſion of that impoſtor's revolt, and ſome of the Arabs of Hamdân. Theſe conſpiring with Kais Ebn Abd'al Yaghûth, who bore Al Aſwad an antipathy, and with Firûz and Al Aſwad's wife, broke by night into his houſe, where Firûz ſurpriſed him, and cut off his head. While they were diſpatching him he roared like a bull, and his guards came to the chamber door, but were ſent away by his wife, who told them that the prophet was only agitated by the divine inſpiration. This fact was perpetrated a day or two before Mohammed died. Next morning the conſpirators cauſed the following proclamation to be made, "I bear witneſs that Mohammed is the apoſtle of God, and that Aihala is a liar;" and letters were immediately diſpatched to Mohammed with an account of what had been done: but the meſſenger from heaven, according to Abulfeda and Al Jannâbi, outſtripped them, and acquainted the prophet with the news, which he imparted to his companions but a little before his death; the letters themſelves not arriving till Abu Becr was choſen khalif. It is ſaid that Mohammed, on this occaſion, told thoſe who attended him, that before the day of judgment thirty more impoſtors, beſides Moſeilama and Al Alſwad, ſhould appear, and every one of them ſet up for a prophet. He alſo informed them, that the defection of the princes of Al Yamâma and Sofâr, that is, Moſeilama and Al Aſwad, had been ſignified to him on the night Al Kadr, when he was honoured with his firſt revelation, and the Koran deſcended from heaven [k].

Some of Oſâma's officers come to viſit the prophet.

Early on Saturday morning ſome of Oſâma Ebn Zeid's officers came to pay their duty to the prophet, having been informed of his indiſpoſition, and returned, immediately

[k] Al Jannâb. ubi ſup. p. 293. Abulfed. ubi ſup. p. 159. Aut. Lib. Dict. Al Montek. Al Makin. ubi ſup. Vide etiam Ludovicum Marraccium, in Prodr. par. ii. p. 48. col. 2. Patavii, 1698.

after

after they had taken their leave, to the camp at Jorf. The general himself also visited him the next day, and found him in a fainting fit; out of which, when he recovered, he gave him his benediction, and recommended him to the divine favour. The day following, Osâma had given the signal to his soldiers to begin their march, when news were brought him by a courier of the apostle's being at the point of death. This intelligence obliged him to alter his measures, and to defer, for the present, the intended expedition.

Mohammed's death.

At last, after many struggles and agonies, the prophet departed this life on Monday the twelfth day of the former Rabî, about noon, in the eleventh year of the Hejra. Ebn Abbâs pretends, that the principal events of his life happened on Monday, or the same day of the week on which he died. He was, according to this tradition, born on Monday. He also entered upon his prophetic function, fled from Mecca to Medina, made his first entrance into the latter city, and took Mecca on the same day of the week, if Ebn Abbas may be credited, though others are of a different opinion. Abulfeda and Al Jannâbi relate, that the first words the prophet spoke were "Allah acbar," *God is great*; and the last, which were uttered in the presence of Ayesha, "Yea with the celestial companions;" that is, *let me be with the spirits above*. After which, having sprinkled his face with some water, adds the former of these writers, he immediately expired [1].

Authors are, however, not exactly agreed with regard to the day, nor even the year, on which Mohammed died. Said Ebn Batrik, or Eutychius, says he died on the second day of the Former Rabî, and the eleventh year of the Hejra. Abu'l-Faraj affirms, that he departed this life on the twenty-eighth day of the month Safâr, and the eleventh year of the Hejra. Dionysius Telmarensis maintains, that he died in the year of Christ 627, or of the Greeks 938, after he had governed the Arabs only seven years; but Al Makin, in conformity with the generality of the Arab historians, who certainly must be allowed to have been the best acquainted with this event, asserts the decease of Mohammed to have happened on the twelfth day of the Former Rabî, in the eleventh year of the Hejra, or the seventeenth of June, in the year of Christ 632, after he had presided over them ten lunar years and seventy-one days, or nine

[1] Ayesha, apud Al Bokhâr. in Son ut & ipse Al Bokhâr. ibid. Al Soheili apud Gagn. in Not. ad Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 136, 137, 138.

solar

ſolar years and eleven months, wanting only one day. This opinion, therefore, cannot but be the moſt acceptable to our curious and learned readers; for which reaſon we have not ſcrupled to follow it [m].

A commotion amongſt his followers after his death.

Some of the Mohammedan writers pretend, that juſt before the prophet died, the angel of death, named Azraïl, in company with Gabriel, appeared to him, and aſked his leave to ſeparate his ſoul from his body; which he aſſured him he could not do without his expreſs permiſſion. And he gave him, as they tell us, his choice of life or death; which the Moſlem doctors venerate as one of the moſt ſingular and illuſtrious prerogatives of the prophet. Whereupon Mohammed, continue theſe authors, having preferred death, and deſired the angel to execute his office, he was immediately thrown into agonies that terminated with his life. A great part of the people, however, for ſome time, would not believe him dead, but affirmed him to be tranſlated to heaven, as was Iſa, or Jeſus, the laſt great prophet that preceded him. In conſequence of this notion, which, with uncommon obſtinacy, was at firſt inſiſted upon by Omar, they would not ſuffer him to be interred till Al Abbâs, the prophet's uncle, had publicly declared that he had taſted of death. But nothing contributed ſo much to calming the minds of the populace as the preſence of Abu Becr: who, upon advice of Mohammed's deceaſe, came from that part of the city called Al Sonoh, or the Upper Town, and convinced every body of the reality of that event, not only by expoſing the corpſe to the view of all the people, but likewiſe (which had a greater effect upon them) by demonſtrating, from two expreſs paſſages of the Koran, that the prophet was not to be exempted from death.

Oſâma arrives at Medina after the prophet's deceaſe.

When the prophet lay at the point of death, an expreſs was diſpatched to the camp at Jorf, with advice that he was drawing towards his end, his extreme parts being already perfectly cold. Oſâma, upon the arrival of this intelligence, countermanded the march of the troops to the borders of Syria, and returned to Medina, where he arrived a little after the ſun began to decline from the meridian, but found the prophet juſt expired. Notwithſtanding which event, he ordered Yerida Ebn Hoſaib his

m Eutych. Patriarch. Alexandrin. Annal. tom. ii p. 251. Oxon. 1656. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi ſup p. 164. Joſeph. Simon. Aſſeman. Bibliothec. Orient. tom. ii. p. 102. Romæ, 1721. Al Makin. in Hiſtor. Saracen. cap. 1. p. 9. Vide etiam Abulfed. & Al Jannab. ubi ſupra.

ſtandard-

ſtandard bearer, to plant the great ſtandard, or ſtandard of Iſlamiſm, directly before his door, and aſſigned all the officers of the army their reſpective poſts. This precaution preſerved the public tranquility, and enabled the Moſlems to proceed to the election of a khalif, or ſucceſſor to Mohammed, without interruption or delay.

Al Kedr, or Elias, comforts Mohammed's family.

Al Jannâbi pretends, that the prophet Al Khedr, or Elias, with an audible voice, though he did not appear, and words full of conſolation, comforted Mohammed's diſconſolate family after he was taken from them. He alſo relates, that Aſma Bint Omaïs, examining the prophet's ſhoulders, found that the ſeal of prophecy was vaniſhed; from whence ſhe concluded, that he muſt be infallibly dead.

His age.

As to the prophet's age, ſome of the Arab writers make him to have been ſixty, and others ſixty-five years old, when he died; but the moſt authentic ſay that he was then ſixty-three years of age.

His interment;

The ferment among the populace, ſupported in a great meaſure by Omar, and occaſioned by the almoſt general diſbelief at firſt of the prophet's death, together with ſome diſputes relating to the election of his ſucceſſor, obliged his family, and the Moſlem leaders, to defer his interment till the Thurſday following. Then the care of the funeral was committed to Al Abbâs, the prophet's uncle, who, with his two ſons, Al Fadhl and Kothâm, Oſâma Ebn Zeid, Mohammed's intimate friend, and Shokrân, his enfranchiſed ſlave, ſaw Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb waſh the body, which was depoſited in the middle of a magnificent tent, erected for that purpoſe, with the moſt pure and limpid water that could be procured. Afterwards they embalmed it with camphor, anointed the ſeven parts applied to the earth in adoration with an aromatic compoſition, and performed upon the face, arms, palms of the hands, and ſoles of the feet, the wodû or ſacred ablution. Ali performed the operation of the firſt ablution, by virtue of the power given him by the prophet ſome time before his death, and at his particular requeſt took care not to caſt his eyes upon that part which nature has ordered to be concealed. According to a tradition derived originally from Omm Salma, one of the prophet's wives, the corpſe emitted an odour reſembling that of muſk, but in fragrancy much exceeding it, till it was inhumed. The Moſlems wrapped it in three garments, two of which were white, and one ſtriped, after the manner of Yaman. They alſo placed around it ſome pieces of odoriferous wood, and a compoſition of amber, muſk, and other perfumes. After which

which preparation, the prophet's family, with Al Abbâs and the Hâshemites, began the prayers for the deceased; and were followed by the Mohâjerîn and Ansârs, as they were by the principal citizens of Medina, the populace, women, and children, the whole ceremony being conducted with so much decency and regularity, that not the least disorder was committed. The form of prayer used on this occasion was founded upon the following words contained in the thirty-third chapter of the Koran: "Verily God and his angels bless the prophet: O true believers do you also bless him, and salute him with a respectful salutation."

and sepulchre.

There happened some dispute amongst his followers in relation to the place where the prophet's remains were to be deposited. The Mohâjerîn insisted upon his being buried at Mecca, the place of his nativity; and the Ansârs at Medina, the place of his residence during the last ten years of his life. Others were for transporting him to Jerusalem, and erecting a monument for him amongst the sepulchres of the prophets; but his successor, Abu Becr, decided the affair at once, by declaring, that a prophet ought to be interred in the place where he died; and that he had heard Mohammed, in his life-time, own himself to be of this opinion. In consequence of this declaration the body was buried in a grave dug under the bed on which he died, in the apartment of Ayesha, his best-beloved wife, at Medina. Ali first descended into the grave after the corpse was deposited therein: and all the others concerned in the management and direction of the funeral followed him. Kothâm Ebn Al Abbâs was the last that approached the prophet, and Abu Telha, the Ansâr, dug his grave; the bottom of which was paved with nine bricks, and earth thrown on all sides the coffin, in order to fill up the cavities. Ahmed Ebn Yusef relates, that the tombs of Abu Becr and Omar, the two first khalifs, or immediate successors of Mohammed, are placed near that of the prophet; and that his is the most anterior of the three towards the Kebla; that is to say the *south*, the city of Mecca standing in a southern direction with respect to that of Medina. Be this, however, as it may, the body of Mohammed lies interred at Medina in a magnificent building, covered with a cupola, and adjoining to the east side of the great temple, which is built in the midst of the city [n].

[n] Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra. p. 165. Poc. Not. in Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 180. Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Al Bokhâr. Al Makin. Hist. Saracen p. 35. Al Jannâb. ubi sup. p. 300—304. Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 141. & de Script Arab. p. 40. Al Beihaki, Golii Not. ad Alfrag. p. 97. Gagn. ubi sup. p. 141. Sale's Prelimin. Disc. p. 5.

As

Description of his person.

As to his perſon, Mohammed was of a middle ſtature, and ruddy complexion. He had a large head, and a thick buſhy beard. The palms of his hands, and ſoles of his feet, were rough and ſtrong. He had large black eyes, and ſmooth lank hair of the ſame colour. His bones were big and ſolid, the turn of his jaws agreeable, even, and well proportioned, and his neck, according to Ali's deſcription, reſembled a ſilver ewer. Though he was ſixty-three lunar, or about ſixty-one ſolar years old at his death, ſcarce any grey-hairs, or other ſigns of age, appeared upon him. He was corpulent, had a clear fair ſkin, and large though regular features. He had round full cheeks, an extended prominent forehead, and long ſmooth eye-brows, that mutually approached each other, but did not entirely meet; between which there appeared a vein, whoſe pulſe was quicker and higher than uſual, when he was angry. He had an aquiline noſe, a large wide mouth, and the upper foreteeth placed at ſome diſtance from one another. All his teeth were bright, pointed like a ſaw, and ranged in a beautiful order. When he laughed, he diſcovered them, and they appeared then like hail-ſtones, or little white pearls. Even his laughter itſelf was full of majeſty, and when he ſmiled, he contracted his mouth in a very agreeable manner. On his lower lip he had a little black ſpot, or excreſcence, that did not appear at all unſeemly, but rather gave an additional grace to his countenance: he had a good ear, and a fine ſonorous voice: he was well furniſhed with hair, which partly fell in ringlets about his ears, and partly hung down ſtrait between his ſhoulders. To this, by the application of al aenna, or Cyprus indigo, and the herb al catam, he gave a reddiſh ſhining colour; in which he is imitated by the Scenite Arabs at this day. Every Thurſday night he ſhaved himſelf, and pared his nails. As no prophet's head, according to a maxim in the Sonna, was ever white, the hair being by the Moſlems ſuppoſed to receive that colour from Satan, he had very few white or grey hairs at his death: he had a free open air, a majeſtic port, and a very engaging addreſs [o].

But here we muſt not omit mentioning the ſeal of prophecy, though a mere fiction of the Moſlems, ſaid to have

[o] Abulf. ubi ſup. cap. lxv. lxvi. p. 142—146. Al Jannab. ubi ſup. Anas Ebn Malec, Gagn. la Vie de Moham. tom. ii. p. 312—325. Prid. Life of Moham. p. 79, 80, &c. Lond. 1718. Sale's Prelim. Diſc. p. 38—43. Al Makin, lib. i. cap. 1. Abunazar, Al Kodai, Schikhard. Tarikh. p. 32.

appeared

appeared between the ſhoulders of Mohammed, which is ſo much inſiſted upon by the Arab writers. This, according to Abulfeda, was a protuberance of fleſh, either of a whitiſh or red colour, ſurrounded with hair, and about the ſize of a pigeon's egg. This excreſcence having been once ſeen by Abu Rothama, an Arab phyſician, who was an idolater, he deſired the prophet would ſuffer him to remove it; from whom he received for anſwer, that he who created this would in due time take it away: and, in proof of the veracity of this moſt celebrated prediction, we are told, that the tumour, or illuſtrious argument of Mohammed's gift of prophecy, was really perceived to have totally diſappeared, and to have been entirely effaced, after his death. It has alſo been remarked by the Moſlem doctors, that the ſeal of prophecy was predicted by the following words of the prophet Iſaiah: "For unto us a child is born, unto us a ſon is given, and the government ſhall be upon his ſhoulder."

The ſeal of prophecy viſible on him.

The Mohammedan writers are exceſſively laviſh in their commendations of their prophet's religious and moral virtues. They extol his piety, veracity, juſtice, liberality, clemency, humility, and abſtinence; in which, according to them, he may be conſidered as a perfect pattern to all his followers. His charity, in particular, they ſay, was ſo conſpicuous, that he had ſeldom any money in his houſe, keeping no more for his own uſe than was juſt ſufficient to maintain his family; and he frequently ſpared even ſome part of his own proviſions, to ſupply the neceſſities of the poor; ſo that before the year's end he had generally little or nothing left. He had a very piercing and ſagacious wit, and was thoroughly verſed in all the arts of inſinuation: he poſſeſſed an excellent judgment, and a happy memory; and theſe natural parts were improved by great experience and knowlege of men, and the obſervations he had made in his travels. They ſay he was a perſon of few words, of an even chearful temper, pleaſant and familiar in converſation, of inoffenſive behaviour towards his friends, and of great condeſcenſion towards his inferiors. To all theſe amiable qualities were joined an agreeable perſon, and a polite addreſs; accompliſhments of infinite ſervice in prejudicing thoſe in his favour, whom he attempted to perſuade.

But notwithſtanding the excellency of his parts, it does not appear from the writers of his life, that he was at all verſed in any branch of literature. This defect, however, was ſo far from being prejudicial to him, or defeating his

design, that it greatly facilitated the execution of it. He pretended, that the writings he produced, as revelations from God, could not possibly be a forgery of his own; because it was not conceivable that a person, who could neither write nor read, should be able to compose a book of such excellent doctrine, and in so elegant a style; thinking thereby to obviate an objection that might otherwise have been offered to the authority of the Koran. His followers, instead of being ashamed of their master's ignorance, gloried in it, as an evident proof of his divine mission, and scrupled not to call him, as he is indeed called in the Koran itself, the Illiterate Prophet. On the whole, Mohammed's ambition, which knew no bounds, was influenced, animated, and impelled by a spirit of fanaticism which supplied every want, and surmounted every difficulty. He was a hypocrite from policy, and an enthusiast by nature; and indeed so violent in all his passions, that he scrupled not to gratify them at the expence of truth, justice, friendship, and humanity [p].

His children.

Mohammed had four sons and four daughters by his first wife Khadîjah, and no children by any of the others; though his concubine, Mary the Copt, brought him a son, whom he named Ibrahim. The four sons he had by Khadîjah, namely, Al Kâsem, Al Tayeb, Al Tâber, and Abd'allah, from the first of whom the prophet derived his name of Abu'l Kâsem, all died in their infancy. The daughters she bore him were Zeinab, Rakîah, Omm Kolthûm, and Fâtema. Zeinab was married to Abu'l As, and died of a hurt she received from Al Howaireth Ebn Nokaid Ebn Wahab, which occasioned first a miscarriage, and afterwards her death; for which he was solemnly proscribed by the prophet, after the surrender of Mecca. Rakîah was first married to Otba Ebn Abu Laheb, and afterwards, having been repudiated from her former husband, to Othmân, with whom she first fled into Ethiopia, and then to Medina. She bore Othmân a son, called Abd'allah, from whom he was named Abu Abd'allah; and died in the second year of the Hejra, whilst her father was engaged in the Bedr expedition. Abd'allah had one of his eyes struck out by a cock, when he was about six years of age, in the fourth year of the Hejra, which accident occasioned his death. Omm Kolthûm, whom Othmân took to wife after Rakîah's decease, died without issue. Fâtema, whom Abulfeda makes the eldest of Mohammed's daughters, was

[p] Al Kor. Moham. sect. vii. Al Beidawi, Sale, ubi sup. p. 42.

esteemed

eſteemed by the Moſlems as one of the four women, who, according to Mohammed, were ſuppoſed to have attained perfection. About the beginning of the month Ramadân, in the ſecond year of the Hejra, ſhe was eſpouſed by Ali. Her dower, according to Al Jannâbi, amounted to four hundred and eighty dirhems. She was in the ſixteenth year of her age, or, as others aſſert, about eighteen, when Ali took her to wife. Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, from a pretended tradition of Ebn Abbâs, almoſt of divine authority with the Moſlems, gives us a fabulous account of Khadijah's miraculous conception of Fâtema, and of the latter's introduction to the bridal-bed by Gabriel and Michael, at the head of ſeventy thouſand angels, who celebrated the divine praiſes till morning appeared. She attended the prophet in his laſt illneſs, and ſurvived him but a few months, dying likewiſe without iſſue. His ſon Ibrahim departed this life on the tenth day of the Former Rabî, to the unſpeakable grief of the prophet, and all his companions.

His wives.

The Moſlem authors are not agreed with reſpect to the number of the prophet's wives, according to Al Kodai. Some aſſign him thirteen, and tell us that he lay with eleven of them; others fifteen, who ſay that he knew only twelve of theſe; and others again make them amount to ſeventeen, beſides the concubines that he enjoyed: but if Gentius may be credited, he had no leſs than one-and-twenty wives, beſides concubines; which number others increaſe to twenty-ſix. Abulfeda relates, that the prophet had fifteen wives, eleven or twelve of which he lay with, and never touched the reſt: be that as it may, it is agreed on all hands, that he had more than four, the number allowed every Moſlem by the Koran; he having been left at liberty, by another paſſage of that book, to take as many wives as he pleaſed; though this peculiar privilege was qualified with ſome reſtrictions.

The firſt he married was Khadîjah Bint Khowailed Ebn Aſad, of the tribe of Koreiſh, a widow, who had had two former huſbands. She was the firſt who embraced Iſlamiſm; and therefore had the honourable appellation given her of the Mother of the Faithful. The prophet lived with her twenty-four years, five months, and eight days. She died in the tenth year of his miſſion, and about three years before the commencement of the Hejra; being then, according to Al Jannâbi, in the ſixty-fifth year of her age.

His ſecond wife, Sawda Bint Zamaa, who had been nurſe to Fâtema, he eſpouſed ſoon after the deceaſe of

Khadîjah. She fled with her former husband Sokrân, one of the Moslem refugees into Ethiopia; and, upon her return to Mecca, after his death, was married to Mohammed. She died, according to Al Kodai, in the khalifat of Omar.

Ayesha Bint Abu Beer was his third and best-beloved wife, whom he married in the first year of the Hejra. The story of her accusation our readers will find related above. This affair gave the prophet so much inquietude, that he consulted with Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb and Osâma Ebn Zeid about the propereſt method of restoring peace to his family; when Osâma vindicated, in the strongest terms, Ayesha's innocence; but Ali seemed, on the other hand, fully convinced of her infidelity. Some believe, that Ali was the person who discovered her incontinency to Mohammed; and that hereupon she conceived such a prejudice against him, that she afterwards employed all her interest to exclude him from the khalifat, though, as son-in-law to the prophet, he had the fairest title to that dignity. She also was honoured with the title of the Mother of the Faithful. Mohammed thundered from the pulpit against those who had accused Ayesha, whom some represent as a most accomplished woman, extremely well versed in Arab literature, and the antiquities of her country, which had almost occasioned great effusion of blood amongst his followers; but the pretended revelation from heaven of her innocence silenced all the clamours that had been raised.

The next wife, mentioned by the Oriental writers, was Ghozîa Bint Jâber, furnamed Omm Shoraic, from her son Shoraic, which she had by Abu'l Acr Ebn Somai, her first husband. She was the only one of the prophet's wives that he divorced, after the consummation of marriage.

The fifth was Hafsa Bint Omar, of the tribe of Koreish, and widow of Hobaish Ebn Khodafa. To her custody Abu Beer committed a transcript of the Koran, after he had completed it, as has been already observed. Some say she died in the khalifat of Othmân, about the 27th year of the Hejra; and others, in the khalifat of Moâwiyah, and the 45th year of that æra. According to Gentius, she was about sixty years of age at her death, and at least forty when the prophet died.

The prophet's sixth wife was Zeinab Bint Khozaima, the Helâlite, the widow of Tofail Ebn Al Hâreth. He espoused her in the month of Ramadân, and the fourth year of the Hejra. She was given in marriage to him by Kobeisa Ebn Amru, had four hundred dirhêms assigned

her

her for a dower, and was the only one of the prophet's wives, besides Khadîjah, that died before him.

His seventh wife was Omm Salma Bint Ommeya, whom he espoused after the death of her former husband Abu Salma Ebn Abd'allah, of the tribe of Makhzûm, in the month of Shawâl, and the fourth year of the Hejra. Some say, that her maiden name was Hend; and that her mother was the prophet's aunt. She died in the khalifat of Yezid Ebn Moâwiyah, after she had lived eighty-four years, and the 59th year of the Hejra.

The eighth wife of Mohammed was Zeinab, or Zenobia Bint Jahash. Her father was of the tribe of Asad; and her mother, Amîma Bint Abd'almotalleb, the prophet's aunt. He married her in the month of Dhu'lkaada, and the fifth year of the Hejra, after she had been separated from Zeid Ebn Hâretha, his freedman, and adopted son, as has been already observed. She died in the khalifat of Omar, about the twentieth year of the Hejra, after she had completed the fifty-third year of her age.

His ninth wife was Omm Habiba Bint Abu Sofiân, of the tribe of Koreish. She was the widow of Obeid'allah Ebn Jâhash, who had by her a son, named Habiba; from whence she derived the prænomen of Omm Habiba. Her true name, according to some, was Ramla, or, as others say, Hend. She was with her first husband in Ethiopia at the time of his death, which happened in the beginning of the sixth year of the Hejra. Mohammed receiving advice of this accident, immediately dispatched an express to the najâshi, to intreat that he would do him the honour to marry him to Omm Habiba; which request that prince immediately complied with, and performed the nuptial ceremony with great pomp and solemnity. She died, according to Al Kodai, in the khalifat of Moâwiyah, and the 44th year of the Hejra [1].

Mohammed's tenth wife was Joweira Bint Al Hâreth, the Khozaite. Her father Al Hâreth Ebn Abu Dharâr was the general of the Mostalekites, whom the prophet subdued in the manner already related. Some authors tell us, that Joweira's true name was Barra. She was the widow of one of her cousin-germans, and fell into the hands of Thâbet Ebn Kais, having been taken prisoner in the battle of Moreisi. The prophet first paid her ransom, and then espoused her, in the month of Shaabân, and the sixth year of the Hejra. Al Kodai informs us, that she

[1] Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 91, 92, 151. Mohammed Ebn Abda'l Baki, Al Kodai.

died in the khalifat of Moâwiyah, and the 45th year of the Hejra, being then about sixty-three years of age [m].

The eleventh was Safiya Bint Hoyai, a Jewess, descended, as her family pretended, from Aaron. She was the wife of Kenâna Ebn Al Rabi, the principal Jew of Khaibar, whom Mohammed slew after the reduction of that city. He espoused her in the month of Safar, and the seventh year of the Hejra. She died, according to Al Kodai, in the khalifat of Moâwiyah, and the 56th year of the aforesaid æra [n].

The twelfth and last wife married by the prophet was Maimûna Bint Al Hâreth, whom he espoused on his return to Medina from the sacred visitation called al kada, or *the completion*. The nuptial ceremony was performed by his uncle Al Abbâs, in the month of Dhu'lkaada, and the seventh year of the Hejra. She was the widow of Raham Ebn Abda'l Uzza, and became Mohammed's wife whilst he was clothed with the ihram, or sacred habit; but the marriage was not consummated till after he had quitted that habit. She died at Shorf, near Mecca, if we believe Al Kodai, about the 38th or 40th year of the Hejra.

Besides these wives, Mohammed married two others, whom he never enjoyed. The first of these was Asma Bint Al Nooman, the Kendite, who was infected with the leprosy, and therefore not suffered to approach the prophet's bed; and the other, Amru Bint Yezid, the Kelâbite, who, relapsing into idolatry, was so detested by her husband, on that account, that he could not prevail upon himself to come near her.

His concubines.

As for the female captives, or slaves, of the prophet, as well those which, according to the style of the Koran, his "right-hand possessed," that is, part of his share of the plunder acquired in war, as well as those which he purchased with his own money, or had been sent as presents, they were in number eleven; the principal of whom seem to have been the five following:

Rihana, or Raihana, Bint Amru, of the tribe of Koreidha, a most celebrated beauty, who fell into his hands when he reduced the fortress of that tribe. She persisted in the profession of Judaism, for some time after she became his property; but, at last, being overcome by Mohammed's importunity, she embraced Islamism. She remained in his possession as long as he lived; but at his death, he presented both her and all the rest of his slaves with their liberty [o].

[m] Al Jannab. [n] Al Beidawi, Disputat. Christian. cap. v.
[o] Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 79. Al Jannab. Ebn Ishâk.

Shiri

Shirin, a beautiful Copt, ſent the prophet by Mokawkas, governor of Egypt. What became of her after Mohammed's death, or whether ſhe ſurvived the prophet, we are not informed by any Oriental author.

Mary, the Copt, a preſent likewiſe from Mokawkas, was the prophet's concubine, by an expreſs permiſſion contained in the ſixty-ſixth chapter of the Koran, and the ſiſter of Shiran. She lived at Medina about five years after her maſter's death; and was interred in the burying-place called Al Bakì, in the ſixteenth year of the Hejra; where the remains of her ſon Ibrahim had probably before been depoſited.

Beſides Mary and Shirin, Mokawkas ſent the prophet two other beautiful Egyptian, or Coptic, girls: but how he diſpoſed of them, after they ſettled with him at Medina, what were their names, or when and where they died, we have not been informed by any of the Moſlem hiſtorians.

His ſecretaries, or amanuenſes.

As Mohammed was altogether illiterate, and conſequently could neither write nor read, it is ſelf-evident that he himſelf did not commit to writing the ſcheme of religion which he had framed; nor conſequently pen thoſe written revelations, as he pretended them to be, which compoſe the Koran. Beſides, whatever proficiency he might have made in literature, this would certainly have been beneath his dignity, whether we conſider him as a prophet, or a great and powerful prince. He muſt therefore have had ſome ſecretaries to aſſiſt him in tranſmitting to poſterity his deciſions, as well as to take down in writing the orders and directions that he found neceſſary to publiſh, from time to time, on a great variety of occaſions.

Othmân Ebn Affan and Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb, whom we have ſo frequently mentioned in this hiſtory, were the prophet's principal amanuenſes in committing to paper his pretended revelations; for which reaſon we find them ſtyled by Al Kodai, the Scribes, or Secretaries, of the Divine Revelation.

Obba Ebn Caab and Zeid Ebn Thâbet, in their abſence, ſupplied the places of the former amanuenſes, and were greatly confided in by the prophet. If they were at any time abſent, he employed ſome of the inferior ſcribes, ſays Al Tabari, and particularly Moâwiay Ebn Abu Soſiân, who was afterwards khalif, Khâled Ebn Said Ebn Al As, Al Ala Ebn Al Hadhrama, and Khantala Al Rabi. However, he took care not to impart his pretended revelations to any but thoſe in whom an entire confidence might be repoſed.

He likewiſe employed, on ſome occaſions, Abd'allah Ebn Saad Ebn Abu Sarah, who corrupted the Koran by his interpolations, and was for that reaſon proſcribed after the reduction of Mecca.

His companions.

As for thoſe perſons who had an undoubted right to the honourable title of Sahabi, or Sahaba, or to be conſidered as proper companions of the prophet, we cannot pretend to determine the number with any tolerable preciſion, as authors are divided in their ſentiments on this ſubject. Said Ebn Al Masîb, one of the ſeven great doctors ſkilled in the law, who lived in the times immediately ſucceeding the age of Mohammed, maintains, that no perſon ought to be ranked amongſt the companions of the prophet, who had not converſed with him a year or more before his death, and even fought under him, in ſome ſacred war againſt the infidels. Some, however, extend this title to all who ever had any diſcourſe with him, embraced Iſlamiſm, in his life-time, or even ever ſaw him in public. Such a one they affirm to have been a proper companion of the prophet, though he ſhould never have been above a ſingle hour in his company. Laſtly, others aſſert, that this honour belongs only to thoſe whom Mohammed himſelf received into the number of his companions, and inrolled amongſt his troops; who conſtantly afterwards adhered to him, remained always cloſely attached to his intereſt, and attended him in his expeditions. Such companions as theſe, to the number of ten thouſand, acted under his conduct, when he made himſelf maſter of Mecca; with twelve thouſand of them he fought the battle of Honein; above forty thouſand accompanied him in the pilgrimage of valediction; and, at the time of his death, according to an exact liſt of thoſe who went under that denomination, the number of his Moſlem companions amounted to one hundred and twenty-four thouſand effective men[p].

Amongſt the prophet's companions, the Mohâjerîn, or thoſe who attended him in his flight to Medina, held the firſt rank. The next to theſe in point of dignity, were the Anſârs, or thoſe auxiliaries who immediately joined him upon his expulſion from Mecca. However, theſe took precedence of the later Mohâjerîn, or refugees, who came in after Mohammed's ſettlement at Medina.

The moſt illuſtrious of the prophet's friends were Abu Becr, Omar, Othmân, and Ali, the four firſt khalifs

[p] Abulfed. ubi ſup. cap. lxxii. p 156, 157.

who were his immediate ſucceſſors. He afterwards alſo contracted a very great intimacy with Jaafar, Abu Dhar, Mokdad, Salmân the Perſian, Hodeifa, Ebn Maſud, Amer Ebn Yaſer, and Belâl, his public crier. Amru Ebn Omm Mactum, who acted jointly with Belâl in the capacity of crier, Saad the Koradhite, the public crier of the moſque of Koba, and Abu Makhdura, who officiated in that quality at Mecca, during the abſence of Belâl, had likewiſe a very conſiderable ſhare of his favour. Beſides whom, he had ſeveral favourites amongſt his domeſtics, officers, judges, ſlaves, and poets [q].

The prophet's friends, officers, ſervants, &c.

Among theſe were the following: Anas Ebn Malec Ebn al Naſr, one of the ſix authors of the moſt authentic Moſlem traditions, who ſerved Mohammed nine or ten years in quality of head-porter, apparitor, or maſter of his houſhold. He died at Boſtra, about the year of the Hejra 93, after he had completed the one hundred and third year of his age, and had begotten one hundred children, in conformity to his maſter's prediction. He ſurvived all the prophet's other real companions, who were dignified and diſtinguiſhed with the title of Sâhaba.

Okba Ebn Omer, the prophet's muleteer, extremely well verſed in the Koran, or divine book, as it is called by the Moſlems; and perfectly underſtood all the rites, ceremonies, and ordinances, of the law. He was alſo a very celebrated poet, and was made governor of Egypt by the khalif Moâwiyah.

Omm Aiman, Oſâma, Omm, Khawla, Omm Râfe, Maimûna, and Omm Abbâs, the prophet's chamber-maids.

Zeid Ebn Haretha Ebn Shorheil, who was killed in the battle of Mûta; Oſâma Ebn Zeid, whom the prophet conſtituted general of the army deſtined to act againſt the Greeks in Syria, juſt before his death.

Caab Ebn Zohair, who died in the khalifat of Moâwiah; Abd'allah Ebn Rawâha; Haſan Ebn Thâbet, the Anſâr, who lived one hundred and twenty years, Amru Ebn Al Acwa, the Aſlamite, and Anjaſha, Mohammed's groom of the ſtable, were the prophet's poets, after the eſtabliſhment of Mohammediſm in Arabia [r].

His horſes, mules, aſſes, camels, &c.

That he had twenty-two fine horſes, we learn from Al Termedi; the ſeven principal of which, according to Al Hâfedh Abd'al Mûmen of Al Damiati, were Sacab, *the light* or *nimble*, Lahîff, *that covered the ground with his tail,*

[q] Al Makin. Al Jannab. [r] Al Jannab. ubi ſup. p. 287, & alib. Elmacin.

Al Sabba, *the magnificent*, Al Dhareb, *ſhaking the earth with his hoof*, Al Lazâz, *the ſwift*, Al Mortajez, *the thunderer*, and Al Ward, *the red*. His mules of greateſt note, according to the ſame Al Termedi, were Al Daldal, *the trembler*, and Fadda, *ſilver*; the former of which he received as a preſent from Mokawkas, governor of Egypt, and the latter from Farwa Ebn Amrû, the Jodhamite, in the tenth year of the Hejra. The prophet himſelf was mounted on Al Daldal at the battle of Honein, and his uncle Al Abbâs on Fadda, the night before the ſurrender of Mecca. His principal aſſes were Ofair, *that rolled himſelf in the duſt*, and Yafûr, *the brave*, *the hardy*, or *the roe-buck*, that was given him by Mokawkas. The latter of which, as the Moſlems pretend, threw himſelf headlong into the well, called the well, or fountain, of Abu Hotham, out of grief and ſorrow for the prophet's death. The chief of his camels were Al Kaſwa, *that had the tip of one of his ears cut off*, Al Adhba, *the mutilated*. Al Jadha, *the ſhort* or *ſlit-eared*, and another that he bought for eighty dirhems of the Banu Koſhair. The firſt of theſe fell down upon his knees upon the ſpot of ground where the great moſque was afterwards erected at Medina; and alſo, according to Al Jannâbi, underſtood the words of the Koran revealed at the pilgrimage of valediction. The ſecond Ali rode, when he publiſhed to the people of Mecca the ninth chapter of the Koran. Beſides theſe, the prophet had twenty milk-camels, that ſupplied him every day with a large quantity of milk, which he diſtributed among his women. He had alſo a hundred ſheep, and ſix or ſeven milch goats, that were fed and milked by his nurſe Omm Aiman. As for his white cock, of an immenſe ſize, that has been ſo pompouſly and magnificently deſcribed by Al Tremedi, it ought to be coſindered as an animal purely imaginary; and therefore the account of it given us by that writer, which is entirely fabulous, merits not the leaſt attention [s].

His arms. We have likewiſe a liſt of the ſwords, lances, bows, cuiraſſes, ſhields, helmets, pikes, and military enſigns, that the prophet left behind him. His ſwords were in number nine; Mâbûr, *the ſharp*, Al Adhab, *the pointed*, Dhu'l Fakar, *the piercing*, the Kolaite, Al Battâr, *the cutting*, Al Hatf, *ruin*, Al Mehdham, *the keen*, Al Roſûb, *the penetrating*, and Al Kadîb, *the thin*, or Al Mokhazzem, *the pierc-*

[s] Al Termed. in Lib. Dict. Haiwato'lHaiwân, Al Hafedh Abda'l Mumen Al Damiati, Al Jannab. Abulfed. Al Beidawi, Al Kodai, Gagn. Not. ad Abulfed. ubi ſupra, p. 153—156.

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ing. The third of which, Dhu'l Fakar, the prophet had allotted him as part of the ſpoil after the battle of Bedr. It belonged to Monba Ebn Al Hahâj, who was killed in the action; and, after the death of Mohammed, who uſed it in all his future engagements, it fell into the hands of Ali. The fourth ſword, called the Kola'ite, was ſo denominated from the city of Kola', near Holwân, in Aſſyria, a place famous for making excellent ſword-blades. The ſeventh, Al Mehdham, was taken from the Banu Kainoka'; and the two laſt were found amongſt the treaſures belonging to the idol Al Fatas, when Ali completed its deſtruction. He alſo took from the Banu Kainoka' two lances, called Al Montha wiand Al Monthari, *the deſtroying* and *the diſperſing*; and the three bows, one of which had the name of Al Catûm, or *the ſolid.* His quiver he denominated Al Jama', or *the collection.* His cuiraſſes went under the appellation of Dhât Al Fodhûl, *the excellent*, or *full of excellencies*, Dhât Al Weſhah, *fortified with a leathern belt*, Dhât Al Hawâſhi, *adorned with a border and fringes*, Al Betrâ, *the interſected*, Al Khernâ, ſo called, perhaps, from the hare's ſkin with which it was covered, or which it reſembled in lightneſs, Al Sa'adia, the Saadite, that he found amongſt the ſpoils taken from the Banu Kainoka', and was ſaid to be that which David had on when he ſlew the giant Goliath, and Al Fadda, *the ſilver*, or *waſhed with ſilver*, which he likewiſe acquired in his expedition againſt the Banu Kainoka'. His three ſhields, Al Zaîûk, *the repellant*, Al Razîn, *the ſtrong* or *firm*, Al Fatûk, *the brilliant*, he alſo took from his enemies. He had two helmets, an interior and exterior one; the latter of which, called Al Mawaſhah, *the fillet*, *wreath*, or *wreathed garland*, he wore at the battle of Ohod. The longeſt of his pikes had the name of Baidha, *the white*; his three half-pikes, the firſt of which was preſented to Zobeir Ebn Awâm by the najâſhi, were denominated Atra, Al Nab'a, and Al Haſr. Beſides which, he had a ſtick, or rod, called Mamſhuk, and another crooked one that he carried in his hand at the ſurrender of Mecca; together with a little cane that went under the appellation of Orjûn. The great ſtandard of Iſlamiſm, as well as his other larger military enſigns and colours for the moſt part, was white; though ſome of the latter have a mixture of black in them. They were generally adorned with the double profeſſion of the Mohammedan faith, contained in the following words: THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD; MOHAMMED IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD.

We

The prophet's skill in physic.

We find in the Bodleian library at Oxford an Arabic manuscript, intitled, the Prophetic Physic, or, more simply, the Physic of the Prophet; wherein the anonymous author undertakes to prove, from the most authentic traditions, that Mohammed was perfectly well versed in every branch of physic. He remarks, after Al Khattabi, that, in the time of the prophet, physic, or the medicinal art, was divided into methodic and empiric. The former was founded upon reasoning, and practised over a great part of the world; the latter depended entirely upon experience, and was then in estimation amongst the Arabs and the Indians. This was the species of physic followed by the prophet, who regulated his practice by experience, as it was then the most admired by his countrymen. However, according to this writer, Mohammed had a thorough knowlege of every particular relative to the art of medicine, taken in its utmost extent; which knowlege, continues the same author, he did not acquire by labour or study, but, as the immediate gift of God, it was infused into him. Hence it is not to be wondered at, that he should arrive instantaneously, as it were, at the highest degree of perfection in this art; and that he should neither say nor do any thing but what was exactly agreeable to truth, and precisely adapted to the fixed and invariable laws of nature.

We are told by Ebn Al Kayem, that the prophet had three methods of curing all maladies and disorders; the first by the application of natural remedies, the second by having recourse to those that were divine, or supernatural, and the third by a mixture or composition of the other two. He attributed, according to the author of the aforesaid manuscript, the origin of physic to Solomon; which notion he must undoubtedly have received from one of the inspired writers, who intimates, that this prince understood the nature of all trees and plants, from the cedar of Lebanon even to the hyssop that springeth out of the wall. However, he did not pretend to stop the progress of death, nor to deliver men from the infirmities of extreme old age; which he considered as the necessary effect of destiny, inevitable fate, or rather the divine decree [t].

Our curious readers may either consult Gagnier's Life of Mohammed, so often cited in this work, or have recourse, for their farther satisfaction in the point before us, to the manuscript itself, which is very carefully preserved in the public library at Oxford [u].

[t] Ebn Al Kayem.

[u] MSS. Huntingt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 333.

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The visitation of Mohammed's tomb.

The pilgrimage to Mohammed's tomb, according to the unanimous opinion of the Moſlem doctors, is one of thoſe duties that approaches neareſt to the obligatory precepts that are of divine inſtitution; the performance of it being a work of great merit, eſpecially if any favourable opportunity of doing it offers, though it be not expreſly enjoined by any poſitive command. When a Moſlem turns his face towards Medina, at his departure for that place, on this pilgrimage, or viſitation, he repeats ſeveral times a formula of prayer for the prophet, drawn up for the occaſion. And when he firſt perceives the trees in the territory of Medina, at a great diſtance from that city, he repeats it more frequently; beſeeching God to grant, that the journey he has undertaken may be conducive both to his preſent happineſs and future ſalvation. Before he enters Medina, after he has approached the frontiers, he ought to purify himſelf with the ablution, put on his moſt rich and ſplendid apparel, perfume himſelf with the moſt odoriferous aromatic compoſitions, and devote as large a ſum for alms as his circumſtances will permit. Then he enters the city, with a paſſage of the Koran in his mouth; and, being arrived at one of the gates of the moſque, utters the following ejaculation: "O God, be favourable to Mohammed, and to the family of Mohammed; O God, pardon my ſins, and open to me the gates of thy mercy and thy grace." From thence he advances directly to the glorious parterre of flowers, as the tomb of the prophet is called; and, at the place where Mohammed frequently offered his adorations, he prays for the proſperity of that moſque. Having made what other ſtations he thinks proper, he proſtrates himſelf upon the ground, worſhips God, thanks him for his happy arrival in that glorious valley, begs that this viſitation may be agreeable to him, and that his divine grace may attend him through the whole courſe of it. Then approaching the ſepulchre, he ſtands upright at the head of it, turns his face towards the ſouth, or the city of Mecca, which is to the ſouth of Medina, and takes care not to touch the wall that ſurrounds it, according to the cuſtom obſerved by the companions of the prophet themſelves. At the diſtance of about five or ſix feet, he repeats again the form of prayer for Mohammed, and alſo prays for the repoſe of his two ſucceſſors Abu Becr and Omar, who are depoſited near him. Then he retires backwards about a pike's length, or a little leſs, according to the deciſion of Abu'l Laïth, the al fakih, or doctor of the law, and others of the ſect of Abu Hanîfa: but, according

cording to Al Shâfeï and Malec, he ought to turn his back towards the Kebla, and consequently his face towards the glorious vestible, and the illustrious inclosure, as the Arabs term the spot on which the sepulchre stands, in order to salute the prophet with the greater fervour and affection[w].

When the pilgrim performs this ceremony, he ought to stand upright, with his eyes fixed upon the ground, filled with sentiments of the most profound respect and veneration. He ought to have his heart likewise entirely detached from all worldly affections and concerns, and his mind solely occupied by the thoughts of the majesty of the place; considering himself then as exposed to the immediate view of the prophet, who had formerly been himself visibly present there in the same posture. In this disposition he is to pronounce with a humble low voice, and a true sense of devotion, a form of prayer, too long to be inserted here. Then he prays for himself, his wife, children, and friends; and if any person had desired him to salute the prophet in his name, and recommend him to his prayers, he uses another short form, drawn up for that purpose. After which ceremony, he takes a turn, places himself opposite the prophet's face, and, in an erect posture, repeats the formula of apprecation and salutation two or three times. Then he stands exactly against the top of Abu Becr's tomb, that khalif's head answering to the level of the prophet's shoulders, according to the common opinion, and there prays for the repose of his soul. From thence he advances to the right, and stops upon a spot over-against the head of Omar's tomb, corresponding with the line of Abu Becr's shoulders, where he pronounces with an audible voice a prayer for that khalif; and afterwards retiring backwards, between Abu Becr's and Omar's sepulchres, he repeats another; which is succeeded by one for himself, his wife, children, and the whole body of the faithful. On the Friday following, he performs his devotions in the burying-place called Al Baki, on account of a traditional saying of Mohammed, viz. that there were two burying-places in the world, which shone to the inhabitants of heaven, as the sun and moon did to those of the earth; that is to say, the cœmetery of Al Baki at Medina, and that of Ascalon in Palestine. The kâdi Ayad, in his book, intitled, Medarec, affirms, upon the authority of Mâlec, that about ten thousand of the prophet's

[w] Al Jannab. ubi sup. p. 305, &c. Al Kor. Moham. sur. xvii. ver. 81.

companions

companions died at Medina; and that almoſt all thoſe whoſe death preceded his, were interred in Al Baki. The pilgrim likewiſe, before his departure from Medina, viſits the tombs of the principal ladies of the prophet's family, as well as thoſe of his chief domeſtics, followers, ſucceſſors, and companions.

He alſo viſits the moſque at Koba, the day after his viſitation of Al Baki and the above named ſepulchres, that is, on Saturday, if it be poſſible. Here, in a moſt devout manner, he repeats his prayers with two inclinations [x].

From thence he goes to the well named Aris, in which the prophet is reported to have ſpat. It is likewiſe ſaid, that Mohammed's ſeal fell out of Othmân Ebn Affân's hand into this well; and that he would not ſuffer any of the Arabs ever to ſeek after it; ſo that it has remained there undiſcovered to this day. The well Aris is near a moſque, which ſtands at the entrance of a garden. The pilgrim drinks copiouſly of its water, and alſo ſupplies himſelf with a ſufficient quantity for the performance of the ſacred ablution. Then he repairs to the moſque of Victory, conſtructed near the ditch or trench, which gave name to the ſignal victory obtained on that ſpot over the nations that had entered into a confederacy againſt the prophet. Finally, he pays his reſpects to all the other moſques and oratories of Medina, which amount to about thirty in number.

The excellency of Medina.

In fine, as the prophet reſided the laſt ten years of his life chiefly at Medina, was buried there, and conferred ſome very ſingular privileges upon the inhabitants of that city, as well as upon all the Moſlems who ſhould at any time perform their devotions in his moſque, the Mohammedans have always entertained the moſt exalted ſentiments of the ſublimity and excellency of that place. As a conſiderable part of the Koran was likewiſe revealed at Medina, and the ſepulchre of the prince of the prophets, as well as thoſe of his wives, children, and companions, are ſo frequently viſited there, they are induced from this circumſtance to think, that it ought to be eſteemed as the aſylum of the elect, and, conſequently, that a ſuperior degree of reſpect and veneration is due to it. Hence it comes to paſs, that ſome of the Mohammedan doctors conſider Medina as the moſt excellent place in the whole peninſula of the Arabs; though others are of a different opinion. Abu Hanîfa prefers Medina even to Mecca

[x] Al Jannab. ubi ſupra.

itſelf;

itself; but Mâlec espouses the contrary notion. However, the Moslems unanimously agree, that the spot on which the prophet's tomb stands is the most respectable place in the world. Al Zamakhshari mentions a tradition, which asserts, that he who finishes his days either at Mecca or Medina, is assured by God of being resuscitated with the just on the day of the resurrection.

The conclusion.

Thus have we brought to a conclusion our history of the life and actions of Mohammed, the prophet and legislator of the Arabs, who laid the foundations of an empire, that, in less than a century, spread itself over a greater part of the world than the Romans could ever subdue.

CHAP. II.

The History of the Empire of the Arabs, under the first four Khalifs.

SECT. I.

From the Death of Mohammed to the Death of Abu Becr.

Mohammed's death occasions great consternation in Mecca.

THE death of Mohammed occasioned such a consternation in Mecca, that Otâb Ebn Osaid, the governor, hid himself, dreading to be called to an account for his former conduct; and the inhabitants considered themselves as destitute of all manner of protection: but after the first transports of fear had subsided, they began to meditate a revolt, and to entertain thoughts of resuming their ancient form of government. Sohail Ebn Amru, one of the principal of the Koreish, who had before been sent by his tribe to treat with Mohammed of a peace in his camp at Al Hodeibiya, assembled the chiefs at the door of the Caaba, and addressed himself to them in the following terms: "O ye Meccans, ye were the last of the Arabs that embraced Islamism, and will ye be the first that shall renounce it? Can such a procedure as this be pleasing in the sight of God?" These words gave their minds a different turn, and prevented them from taking any step that had the least tendency to defection [y].

[y] Ism. Abulfed. de Vit. Moham. cap. lxii. p. 138.

But

But the tumults at Medina, consequential to the prophet's death, were not so easily appeased. Intelligence of this melancholy event was no sooner published, than a numerous concourse of people appeared before his door, crying out, "How can our apostle be dead? Our intercessor, our mediator, has not entirely left us; he is taken up into heaven, as was Jesus, or Isa; therefore he shall not be buried." And Omar, being of the same opinion, drew his sword, and swore, that if any person affirmed Mohammed to be dead, he would cut off his hands and his feet. "For, (said he), the apostle of God is not dead, but only gone for a season; as Moses, the son of Amràn, was gone from the people of Israel for forty days, and then returned to them again." The populace, therefore, kept the corpse above ground, even after it had shewn signs of putrefaction; nor could the prophet's uncle Al Abbâs convince them of the reality of his death. Of which obstinacy Abu Becr being apprized, he immediately posted from Al Sonoh, another quarter of the city, and expostulated with them in the following manner: "Do you worship Mohammed, or the God of Mohammed? If the latter, he is immortal, and liveth for ever; but if the former, you are in a manifest error, as he is certainly dead." The truth of which assertion he clearly evinced from several passages of the Koran. This remonstrance produced the desired effect, and not only satisfied Omar, but likewise perfectly calmed the minds of the people. The arrival also of Osama Ebn Zeid from the camp at Jorf, immediately after Mohammed expired, greatly contributed to the preservation of the public tranquility. That general ordered the standard of Islamism to be erected before the prophet's door, and disposed his troops in such a manner as effectually prevented all commotions, or, at least, all the ill effects of them, and enabled the Moslems to proceed to the election of a khalif, or successor of Mohammed, without any effusion of blood [z].

Tumults at Medina, occasioned by the prophet's death.

The prophet having left no directions before his death concerning a successor, or at least none but such as were known to his wives, who were in the interest of Omar, very warm debates arose between the Mohâjerin and the Ansârs about the right of electing a khalif. The former insisted upon that right, as having attended Mohammed in his flight to Medina, and declared themselves in his favour before any of the other Arabs joined him; the latter, as hav-

Abu Becr elected khalif.

[z] Al Sohaili, Al Shahrestani, Al Jannab. Poc. Not. in Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 179. Al Bokhar. in Son. ex Tradit. Ayesh. Vide etiam Joan. Gagn. Not. Abulfed. ubi supra, p. 138, 139.

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ing supported him when he was expelled his native city, and enabled him to make head against his enemies, when he and his followers were in a state of persecution. In short, the disputes on this occasion between the two principal branches of the Moslems rose to such a height, that a rupture must have immediately commenced, had not an expedient for the determination of this arduous affair been proposed by one of the Ansârs, who desired that each of the contending parties might be allowed to choose a khalif. This expedient, for the present, in some degree amused them; but the Mohâjerîn not entirely relishing the proposal, Abu Becr offered to recommend two persons, Omar Ebn Al Khattâb and Abu Obeidah, to their choice, and to recognize him of the two upon whom the suffrages of both parties should fall. At length, Omar swore fealty to Abu Becr, and all the Moslems upon the spot followed his example; upon which, Abu Becr was saluted khalif by both the Mohâjerîn and the Ansârs, and acknowleged as rightful successor of Mohammed [a].

Abu Becr owes his election chiefly to Omar.

It has been asserted by several of the Moslem writers, that Mohammed, in his last sickness, appointed Abu Becr to officiate for him in the mosque at Medina; by which appointment it should seem to appear, that he intended him for his successor. Nay, the prophet's two wives, Ayesha and Hafsa, who were then present, understood the order given on this occasion as a kind of nomination to the high post that Abu Becr afterwards filled, and opposed it to the utmost of their power, but without effect; Mohammed telling them in a passion, that they were as bad as Joseph's mistress Zoleikha, and that none but God had given the preference to Abu Becr. However, the contest, which happened after the prophet's death, clearly proves that his words had no influence in the election of his successor; but that Abu Becr's good fortune was chiefly, if not solely, owing to Omar's declining all competition; although he afterwards disapproved of his rival's elevation. He prayed, that God would avert the ill consequences which, it was to be feared, would attend so indiscreet a choice; adding, that such behaviour would for the future merit capital punishment; and that both the person elected and the electors hereafter ought to be put to death, unless the election should be confirmed by the unanimous consent of all the Moslems. Nor was Ali Ebn

[a] Al Makin, Hist. Saracen. cap. ii. p. 15, 16. edit. Tho. Erpen. Lugd. Batavor. 1625. Greg. Abu'l Faraj. Hist. Dynastiar. dyn. ix. p. 172.

Abu

Abu Tâleb, who, by hereditary right, ought to have succeeded the prophet, at all pleased with what had been done. He expostulated with Abu Becr about the manner of his elevation to the khalifat, which was effected without his knowlege; and received a reply, by way of apology, from the new khalif, that the exigency of affairs would not admit of deliberation; and that had the election not been so sudden, the power would have been wrested out of their hands by the opposite party. Ali was in Fâtema's apartment, when Abu Becr had the good fortune to be nominated khalif; where, upon the arrival of the news, he expressed great dissatisfaction at that event. But he found himself obliged to dissemble, when the new khalif sent Omar with orders to burn the house where he and his friends were assembled, unless he concurred with the other Moslems to support the election. However, the better to conciliate his affections, Abu Becr seemed desirous of resigning the government; to which Ali thought the right of succession authorized him to aspire. But perceiving that the people in general were prejudiced in favour of Abu Becr, and that therefore, by opposing him, he should expose himself to their resentment, Ali declared that they would not accept of his resignation. Notwithstanding which declaration, some relate, that he considered himself as injured, and did not absolutely come in till after the death of his wife Fâtema, who survived her father Mohammed but a very few months.

Many of the Moslems favour Ali's pretensions.

By Ali's acquiescence in the measures that had been taken, Abu Becr seemed to be thoroughly settled in the government of Arabia; though many of the Moslems were still of opinion, that Ali ought to be deemed the lawful khalif and imâm; which notion has been entertained by a very considerable part of the Mohammedans even to this day. Nor are there at present wanting a numerous body of these people, who maintain, that the supreme authority, both in spirituals and temporals, of right belongs to Ali's descendents, notwithstanding they have been deprived of it by the injustice of others, or their own fear. These, however, are called Shiites, or *Sectaries*, and condemned by the Sonnites or *Traditionists*, who consider the khalifs preceding Ali as the lawful successors of Mohammed, as the worst and most detestable heretics; from whence proceeds that invincible aversion, which has so long reigned between the Turks and the Persians. Our readers will observe here, that the khalifs did not only succeed Mohammed in his regal character, but likewise in his pontifical authority.

This function chiefly consisted in interpreting the Mohammedan law, as well as praying and preaching in the public mosques on all solemn occasions. The followers of Ali teach, that the office of imâm is not a common thing, depending on the will of the vulgar, but a fundamental principle of religion, and an article which the prophet himself could not have neglected, or left to the fancy of the common people; which tenet seems to be levelled at the conduct of the Moslems in their election of Abu Becr and the two succeeding khalifs: but though Ali was Mohammed's cousin-german, and married his daughter Fâtema, yet the prophet had a superior respect for Abu Becr, who was his father-in-law, for having been of the most signal service to him; for he not only most strenuously supported him when he first assumed the prophetic character, but also resolutely asserted the truth of Mohammed's account of his night-journey to heaven; from whence he received the honourable surname of Al Seddik, or the *faithful witness*, as has been already observed. Once, as the prophet saw him approaching, he exclaimed to those about him, "If any one is pleased with viewing a person who has escaped hell-fire, let him look upon Abu Becr. God, whose name be blessed, has given man his choice of this world, or that which is with him; and this servant (meaning Abu Becr) has chosen that which is with God." Such marks of esteem could not fail of endearing him to the Moslems, and consequently of facilitating his promotion to the khalifat. We must not omit remarking, that when Ali acknowleged Abu Becr the rightful successor of Mohammed, he secured the affection of the whole family of Hâshem [b].

A rebellion extinguished by Khâled Ebn Walid.

Soon after Abu Becr's accession, many of the Arabs refused to pay the zacât or *alms*, and tribute, Mohammed had exacted of his followers, and attempted to shake off the yoke he had imposed upon them. This defection so alarmed the khalif and his subjects at Medina, that, fearing a general revolt, they sent all who were not able to bear arms, to the cavities of the rocks and mountains, and put themselves in a posture of defence. In the mean time Abu Becr sent Khâled Ebn Al Walîd with an army of four thousand five hundred men to reduce the rebels, who were defeated, and many of their children made slaves. Being afterwards dispatched to Mâlec Ebn Noweirah, an emi-

[b] Al Shahrestan. p. 261. Prid. Life of Moham. p. 68. Al Makin, ubi supra, lib. iii. cap. 1. Abu'l-Faraj. Abu Horeir. Al Jannâb. Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dokmak MS. Arab. Laud. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. 806. 11.

nent

nent person amongst the Arabs, famous for his skill in poetry, as well as his horsemanship and bravery, who refused to pay the zacât, to gain him by fair means, he ordered Derâr Ebn Al Azwar, who attended him, to strike off his head: which execution entirely extinguished all remains of the rebellion, and fixed Abu Becr upon the throne. However, as Mâlec returned to Islamism, offered to pay the money required, and was strongly interceded for by Abd'allah Ebn Amer and Kobâdah, the khalif was incensed at Khâled's barbarity, and would have put him to death, as he had exceeded the limits of his commission, had not Omar exerted himself in his favour. Khâled was undoubtedly an excellent general. By his conduct and bravery he conquered Syria, and greatly contributed to the establishment of the Mohammedan religion and polity.

Many of the Arabs renounce Mohammedism.

In the latter days of Mohammed, and after his death, considerable numbers of the Arabs quitted his religion, and returned to Paganism, Judaism, or Christianity. And we are told by Abulfeda, that immediately after the death of Mohammed, the whole body of the Moslems, except the cities of Medina, Mecca, and Al Tâyef, renounced the Mohammedan faith; and their defection, the commentators pretend, was foretold by the Koran long before it came to pass. They likewise affirm, that in conformity to the latter part of the same prediction, the loss of so many renegades was supplied by a considerable, if not equal number of new converts. The followers of the impostor Moseilama now growing formidable to the Moslems, the khalif resolved to send an army against him.

Moseilama vanquished and killed by Khâled Ebn Al Walid.

Moseilama, the famous false prophet, was a principal man amongst the tribe of Honeifa, who inhabited the province of Yamâma: he headed an embassy sent by his tribe to Mohammed, in the ninth year of the Hejra, and professed himself a Moslem; but on his return, being desirous of sharing with Mohammed in his power, the next year he set up for a prophet also, pretending to be joined with Mohammed in the commission to recall mankind from idolatry to the worship of the true God. Some, however, affirm, that he might have been a partner with Mohammed in his imposture; but that, considering himself as superior to him, he renounced all manner of correspondence with him. Be that as it may, he is said to have published written revelations, in imitation of the Koran, of which Abu'l-Faraj has preserved the following passage: "Now hath God been gracious unto her that was with

child, and hath brought forth from her the soul, which runneth between the peritonæum and the bowels." Whatever might have been his former sentiments, considering afterwards that he might run less risque by acting in conjunction with Mohammed, he sent him a letter in these words: "From Moseilama, the apostle of God, to Mohammed, the apostle of God. Now let the earth be half mine and half thine." But Mohammed, believing himself too well established to need a partner, wrote him this answer: "From Mohammed, the apostle of God, to Moseilama, the lyar. The earth is God's: he giveth the same for inheritance unto such of his servants as he pleaseth; and the happy issue shall attend those who fear him." During the few months which Mohammed lived after this revolt, Moseilama rather gained than lost ground, and grew very formidable; but Abu Becr, his successor, now in the eleventh year of the Hejra, resolved to reduce him. He first sent Akramah and Serjabil, two of his experienced commanders, with a body of troops to Yamâma, with orders to destroy him; and afterwards detached that consummate general Khâled Ebn Al Walîd, with a powerful army to support them. After the junction of these forces the Moslem army amounted to forty thousand effective men; with which Khâled engaged Moseilama at Akreba in a bloody battle, but was at first repulsed with the loss of twelve hundred men: however, rallying his troops, he renewed the engagement with so much vigour, that the rebels were dispersed, leaving ten thousand men dead upon the spot. The impostor himself was slain by Wahsha, the negro slave, with the same lance which had before dispatched Hamza, the uncle of Mohammed. The victory was so complete, that the apostates who survived this action never afterwards gave Abu Becr the least trouble, but returned willingly to Mohammedism [c].

Al Ola defeats another body of rebels.

After this decisive action, the khalif sent a considerable army, under the command of Al Ola, to reduce another body of rebels, who committed great disorders in the province of Bahrein. This body was formed out of the Banu Becr Ebn Al Wayel, and headed by Al Hotam Ebn Zeid. Al Ola soon compelled them to submit to Abu Becr, and return to the Mohammedan religion; having put great

[c] Ism. Abulfed. in Hist. General. & de Vita Moham. p. 159, 160. Al Makin, ubi supra. p. 16, 17. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. Hist. Dynast. p. 164. 173, &c. Al Beidawi, in Kor. sect. v. Al Tabar. apud Al Makin, ubi sup. Vide etiam Gagn. Not. ad Abulfed. de Vita Moham. p. 159, 160.

numbers

numbers to the sword, and plundered their country in a dreadful manner. In short, he executed the khalif's orders with uncommon bravery, and returned to Medina with the immense spoils acquired in the expedition [d].

Khâled defeats another rebel called Toleiah.

The next impostor, who found employment for Abu Becr's troops, was Toleiah Ebn Khowailed, of the tribe of Asad, which adhered to him, together with part of the tribes of Ghatfân and Tay. Against these the khalif ordered Khâled to advance at the head of a strong detachment of the Moslem forces. Khâled coming up with the enemy, engaged and put them to flight: he also obliged Toleiah, with his shattered troops, to retire into Syria, where he remained at a town called Acleb till the death of Abu Becr. Then he went to Omar, embraced Mohammedism in his presence, and having taken the oath of fidelity to him, returned to his own country and people. Al Makin intimates, that about this time the Absite, or rather Ansite, and Dibanian rebels were also defeated with great slaughter by Abu Becr [e].

Sejâj sets up for a prophetess.

In the 11th year of the Hejra, and the first of Abu Becr, Sejâj Bint Al Mondar, surnamed Omm Sâder, of the tribe of Tamîm, wife of Abu Cahdala, a soothsayer of Yamâma, likewise set up for a prophetess, in opposition to the khalif. She was followed not only by those of her own tribe, but by several others. Thinking a prophet the most proper husband, she went to Moseilama, and married him; but after she had remained with him three days, she returned home. What became of her afterwards we do not find. Ebn Shohnah has given us part of the conversation which passed at the interview between these two pretenders to inspiration; but it is too immodest to be translated. It is probable, that after the death of Moseilama, she was either cut off by the khalif, or ceased to disturb the repose of his subjects by her delusions [f].

Osâma Ebn Zeid invades Syria.

Abu Becr having now no enemy to contend with in Arabia, and being free from all apprehensions of a competitor, resolved to turn his arms against the Greek emperor. He therefore ordered Osâma Ebn Zeid, who was upon the point of making an irruption into Syria at the time of Mohammed's decease, in order to revenge his father's death, who was killed in the battle of Mûta, to destroy with fire and sword the country on the confines of Balka and Al Darûm. This enterprize Osâma conducted with

[d] Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 17. [e] Al Makin, & Al Beidawi, ubi sup. [f] Ebn Shohnah.

great success, advanced as far as Obna, killed the person who had slain his father Zeid, and desolated the neighbouring territory: and we are told by an Arab writer, that this invasion struck the emperor Heraclius himself, who was then at Hems, or Emesa, with terror, and even obliged him to leave Syria. The Arabs undoubtedly penetrated into the imperial territories on the side of Syria; and, after having done the Greeks considerable damage, retired, without sustaining any remarkable loss, into their own dominions [g].

Khâled conquers Irâk.

Soon after the khalif sent Khâled Ebn Al Walîd, at the head of a powerful army, to invade Irâk, and subdue the kingdom of Hira. The province of Irâk, answering to the Babylonia of Ptolemy, is bounded on the east by Susiana, or Khûzestan, and the mountainous region comprehending part of Assyria and Media; on the north by part of Mesopotamia, or Diyar Becr; on the west by the desarts of Shâm, or Syria, and the solitudes from it denominated the desarts of Irâk; and on the south by these desarts, and part of Arabia Deserta, or the province of Najd. We are informed by Khondemir, that Khâled was sent at this time by the khalif with a body of troops to sustain Mothanna, another of his generals, who had been detached before to penetrate into Irâk. Khâled's usual success attended him in this expedition. He forced the people of Irâk, as well as the inhabitants of the towns and villages of Sawada, to pay tribute to Abu Becr; which, according to Al Makîn, was the first tribute-money ever brought to Medina: he possessed himself of Anbâr, Dawmat Al Jandal, and several other places of consequence, which surrendered at the first summons: he took the city of Hira, and fought many battles, wherein fortune always declared in his favour. At length he put a period to the kingdom of Hira, which had been founded by Mâlec, of the descendents of Cahlân, in Irâk; though, after three descents, the throne came by marriage to the Lakhmians, called also the Mondars. These preserved their dominion, notwithstanding some small interruption by the Persians, till this time, when Al Mondar Al Maghrûr, the last of these princes, lost his life and crown by the arms of Khâled Ebn Al Walîd, Abu Becr's general. This invasion of the Moslems was understood as undertaken against the

g Al Jannab. Al Naisabur. Vide etiam Gagn. Not. ad Abulf. ubi supra, p. 134.

Persians,

Persians. Hira stands at a small distance from a branch of the Euphrates, and about a parasang to the west of Cûfa.

The khalif sends an army into Syria.

But the exigency of the khalif's affairs in Syria impeded the rapid progress of Khâled, and obliged him to recall that general out of Irâk. Before the departure of the army under his command, Abu Becr came to a resolution to attempt an invasion of Syria; and having communicated his design to the principal officers of his court, he had the satisfaction to find it generally approved. He, therefore, thought fit to send circular letters to the petty princes of Yaman, the chief men of Mecca, Al Tâyef, and the other Moslem prefects of Arabia, ordering them to repair with all the forces they could raise as soon as possible to Medina. The letter imported, that Abd'allah Atik Ebn Abu Kohâfa wished health, happiness, and the divine mercy and benediction, to them and all true believers; that after praising the most high God, and praying for his prophet Mohammed, he signified to them his intention of taking Syria out of the hands of the infidels; and that he begged leave to inform them, that a war undertaken for the propagation of the true religion was an act of obedience to God. They were not deficient in paying a proper regard to the khalif's commands, all of them appearing at the head of their troops in a very short time at Medina, and pitching their tents round the city. Here they remained, though with some little uneasiness, on account of the scarcity of provisions, till the Moslem army, destined to act against the emperor, was completely formed, and in a condition to begin its march. Then the khalif, with some of his friends, viewed the troops drawn up in order of battle from the top of a hill; and after having prayed to God to inspire them with courage, and grant them success, he attended the generals a little way on foot. As they were on horseback, they could not forbear expressing some concern at the khalif's humility; but he told them, that it signified little whether they walked on foot or rode, as they had all the same views, namely, the service of God, and the propagation of the true religion. Having then taken leave of the chiefs, he addressed himself to Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân, whom he had invested with the supreme command, in the following terms: "Take care, Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân, to treat your men with tenderness and lenity. Consult with your officers upon all pressing occasions, and encourage them to face the enemy with bravery and resolution. If you should happen to be victorious, destroy neither old people, women,

men, nor children. Cut down no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Spare all fruit-trees, and slay no cattle, but such as you shall take for your own use. Adhere always inviolably to your engagements, and put none of the religious persons you shall meet with in monasteries to the sword. Offer no violence to the places they serve God in. As for those members of the synagogue of Satan, who shave their crowns, cleave their sculls, and give them no quarter, except they either embrace Islamism, or pay tribute." After this salutary advice had been delivered, he returned to Medina, and the army resumed its march for the borders of Syria. We are told by Abu'l-Faraj, that the first body of troops that was ordered to advance towards the frontiers of Syria, under the command of Abu Obeidah Ebn Al Jerah, consisted of twenty thousand men [h].

The approach of the Moslem army, and the preparations made to attack him, greatly alarmed the emperor; who, calling a council upon the receipt of this intelligence, inveighed in a very pathetic strain against the wickedness and insincerity of his subjects, whose flagrant impieties, and repeated violations of the gospel, he considered as the principal causes of the dangers that now threatened him. However, he took all the necessary precautions for the defence and security of his dominions. Being then, according to Eutychius, at Damascus, he detached a body of troops to reconnoitre, and even, if a proper opportunity offered, to engage the Arabs. In the mean time Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân, the Moslem general, pursuing his march, advanced first to Ilah, and afterwards to Tadun, a small town in the neighbourhood of Gaza, and not far from the confines of Hejâz. Here they met with the imperial detachment, sent to obtain intelligence of their motions; upon which a battle immediately ensued, which ended in the defeat of the Greeks, whose commander was killed upon the spot, with one thousand two hundred of his men, the Arabs only losing a hundred and twenty in the action. This action was succeeded by many skirmishes and rencounters, wherein the Christians were generally worsted. The rich spoil acquired by the Arabs was conducted to Medina, as the first-fruits of their expedition, for a present to the khalif, who sent an express to Mecca with the news of the advantages his troops had gained. This so

[h] Al Waked. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 174. Eutych. ubi supra, p. 258, 259. Al Makin, ubi supra.

animated

animated the inhabitants of that city, that they furnished the khalif with a strong reinforcement, which was immediately ordered to take the route of Syria. In the mean time an accident happened, that might have proved of bad consequence to the Moslems, had they not been determined to make every event subservient to the propagation of their religion [i].

The zeal of the Moslems for the propagation of their religion.

Abu Becr, for some particular reasons best known to himself, appointed Said Ebn Khâled, an officer of distinguished merit, to command his forces in Syria: but understanding afterwards that this choice was disagreeable to Omar, by the advice of Ayesha, whom he consulted on all emergent occasions, he removed him from that post, and substituted in his room Amru Ebn Al As, an excellent soldier, who afterwards conquered Egypt. Then he ordered him to march into Palestine, to support the body of troops commanded by Abu Obeidah with such reinforcements, from time to time, as the circumstances of affairs should render necessary. When a messenger was dispatched by the khalif to Said, to demand the standard, he resigned it with great patience and alacrity; saying, "It was matter of indifference to him who had the standard, as he was resolved to fight under it, however it might be disposed of, for the propagation of the true religion."

The emperor's troops rout a body of the Arabs.

The emperor receiving advice of the defeat of his forces, that were sent to procure intelligence of the Arabs, ordered another body of troops to advance towards the frontiers, and join the imperial army assembled at Gaza. They did not continue long inactive; but soon found an opportunity of engaging the enemy's forces under the command of Abu Obeidah, a person of great piety, but not so well versed in military affairs, and defeated him entirely. This blow so intimidated the Moslems, that Abu Obeidah found himself obliged to stand upon the defensive; a circumstance which so incensed the khalif, that he dismissed him from his post, and recalled Khâled Ebn Al Walîd from Irâk, to place him at the head of the army in Palestine. However, Abu Obeidah commanded under Khâled, and gained great reputation afterwards by his conduct, as will farther appear in the sequel of this history.

Khâled, upon his arrival in the Moslem camp, found that Abu Obeidah had detached Serjabil with a body of

[i] Al Wakedi, Eutych. Alexand. Annal. ubi sup. [k] Eutych. ubi sup. p. 258, 259. Al Wakedi, ubi supra. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 174.

four

The Moslems advance to Bostra, and repulse a sally of the garrison.

four thousand horse towards Bostra, a city of Syria Damascena, extremely rich and populous. The garrison, at that time, consisted of twelve thousand horse; so that the place seemed capable of making a powerful defence even against the whole Arab power. Romanus, the governor, being informed of Serjabil's approach, resolved to have a personal conference with him; and therefore meeting him at a small distance from the town, he demanded the reason of this irruption into his master's dominions. Serjabil replied, that they came with a design to force the emperor's subjects either to turn Mohammedans, or become tributaries to the khalif; adding, that they had already made themselves masters of Aracca, Sachna, Tadmor, and Hawrân, and doubted not but they should easily reduce Bostra. This declaration so intimidated the cowardly governor, that he would have persuaded the people of Bostra to pay tribute, rather than stand a siege; which proposal they rejecting, he made the proper dispositions for a vigorous defence. To convince Serjabil of their resolution, the garrison made a sally upon his troops, as soon as he came within sight of the town, with so much bravery, that they forced him to retire; and would have cut all the Arabs to pieces, had not Khâled, the new general, arrived in the critical moment with all his forces to their relief. This incident changed the fortune of the day, and the assailants were repulsed with great slaughter. Khâled having reprimanded both Serjabil and Abu Obeidah for attacking a town defended by so numerous a garrison, with such an inconsiderable force, immediately invested the place. Then he ordered part of his army to possess themselves of certain posts, the occupation of which would facilitate the reduction of the town, and drew up the rest in order of battle. This step he took in order to let the enemy see what they had to expect, and at the same time to be in a posture to repel all the sallies of the besieged.

The Christians defeated by the Arabs.

Whilst matters were in this situation, and the garrison had posted themselves in the plains of Bostra, with a determined resolution to engage the Moslem army, the traitor Romanus found means to have an interview with Khâled, in which he promised not only to embrace Islamism, but likewise to deliver up the place to the Arabs. However, in order to cover his villainous design, it was agreed between the two commanders, that they should engage in single combat, though with the express stipulation, that neither of them should be hurt: but Khâled fearing lest the enemy should consider it as a sham engagement, and thereby

thereby the plot laid between him and Romanus ſhould be rendered abortive, treated his pretended antagoniſt ſo roughly, that he very narrowly eſcaped being killed. After his return, therefore, to the garriſon, he endeavoured to inſpire them with the moſt exalted ſentiments of the enemy's power, as well as of Khaled's perſonal bravery and conduct; which encomiums ſo enraged them, that had they not been afraid of the emperor's reſentment, they would have immediately put him to death. However, they diveſted him of his authority, and prepared to give the Arabs a warm reception, in caſe they continued the ſiege. They alſo elected for their governor an experienced commander, whom the emperor had ſent ſome time before at the head of a ſtrong reinforcement into the town. Having made theſe diſpoſitions, the new commandant challenged Khâled to ſingle combat; but whilſt that general was preparing to meet him, a young Arab, named Abd'alrahmân, obtained permiſſion to anſwer the challenge. At their firſt interview, Abd'alrahmân called him a Chriſtian dog, and defied him; and afterwards, uſing his horſe and lance with great dexterity, he forced his antagoniſt to fly, who, being better mounted than the Arab, though with ſome difficulty made his eſcape. However, this combat brought on a ſevere action, in which the Chriſtians were defeated, and forced to retire with great ſlaughter into the town; the Moſlems loſing only two hundred and thirty men on this occaſion.

Boſtra delivered up to the Arabs by treachery.

In the mean time, Romanus, the former governor, found an opportunity of withdrawing himſelf privately to the Moſlem camp; where he informed Khâled of the miſerable ſituation to which he had been reduced by his attachment to the Arabs. Here alſo he formed a plan, for the delivery of the town into his hands; which had the deſired effect: for Khâled detaching Abd'alrahmân with one hundred men to attend Romanus, he eaſily introduced him into the place; where the Arab dividing his detachment into four parties of twenty-five men each, they ſcoured the four principal ſtreets of the city, crying out, "Allah acbar," &c. *God is great*, &c. and, with very little oppoſition, opened the gates to the Moſlem army. To complete this important conqueſt, and facilitate the admiſſion of the Moſlem forces, Romanus had conducted Abd'alrahmân to the governor, whom he told that he had brought his friend Abd'alrahân to ſend him to hell. Upon the governor's attempting to make his eſcape, Abd'alrahmân killed him upon the ſpot, ſaying, "Though you fled from me once in the day-time, it

it shall not be in your power to serve me so again." After the place was lost, the Arabs put many of the miserable inhabitants to the sword; till at last the principal men crying out for quarter, Khâled restrained the carnage, declaring that the prophet himself used frequently to say, "If any one be killed after he has desired quarter, that fault is not to be laid to my charge." Next day, Romanus, with unparalleled impudence, published to the people the infamous part he had acted in favour of the Arabs; and at the same time gave them to understand, that he had commenced a zealous professor of Mohammedism. This declaration so incensed them, that, had he not been defended by a Moslem escorte, he would have received the just reward of his treason and apostacy. The besieged had an intention, after the late defeat, to write for succours to the emperor, whose forces, according to Said Ebn Al Batrik, were assembled in a body at Gaza: but the progress of the Arabs was so rapid, and they pushed the siege with so much vigour, that, even though the traitor Romanus's machinations had not taken effect, that prince's whole power in Syria would scarce have been able to support them [1].

The emperor Heraclius reinforces the garrison of Damascus.

The emperor, who was then at Antioch, receiving advice of the loss of Bostra, and that the Arabs were in motion with all their forces to form the siege of Damascus, sent Calous, one of his generals, with a body of five thousand men, to reinforce the garrison of the latter of those places. Calous, upon his arrival at Hems, or Emesa, being informed of the depredations committed by the Arabs, and that they were in full march for Damascus, thought fit to halt at that place, which was well furnished not only with provisions of all kinds, but likewise with men, arms, and military stores. Hems, the Emesa, or Emessa, of Ptolemy, is situated in a plain between Aleppo and Damascus, at an equal distance, or five day's journey, from each of those cities. From thence Calous advanced to Baalbec, where he received the same intelligence as before, and found this place in all respects as capable of sustaining a siege as the former. Baalbec is a most splendid city of Syria, about three days journey distant from Damascus, where this officer arrived, without having been molested by the enemy.

The Moslem army marches to Damascus.

After the reduction of Bostra, Khâled ordered Abu Obeidah to join him with the body of troops under his command, and then sent an express to the khalif to acquaint him with

[1] Said Ebn Al Batrik, sive Eutych. ubi supra, p. 258, 259, & seq.

the

the ſucceſs of his arms in Syria. The forces at this time under the conduct of Amru Ebn Al As in Paleſtine amounted to ſeven thouſand men, thoſe led by Abu Obeidah to thirty-ſeven thouſand, and thoſe who obeyed the orders of Khâled himſelf only to one thouſand five hundred horſe; ſo that after the junction, which happened a few days after the ſurrender of Boſtra, the Moſlem army conſiſted of no more than forty-five thouſand five hundred men. With theſe Khâled, having left a garriſon in Boſtra of four hundred men, marched to Damaſcus, in order to lay ſiege to that place. Upon his arrival, he found the citizens divided into parties and factions, and in a very ill humour, on account of an order they had received from the emperor, to receive Calous as their governor, and ſent Izraîl, his predeceſſor, out of the town. Izraîl being a man of known bravery, and acknowleged abilities, and Calous an entire ſtranger to them, they were extremely unwilling to comply with that order at this critical juncture, when they were threatened with a ſiege. However, when the Moſlems approached the town, they found the Chriſtians drawn up in order of battle without the walls, and ready to receive them. The two armies no ſooner faced each other than Derâr Ebn Al Azwar, at Khâled's command, who exhorted him to behave valiantly for the propagation of his religion, charged a body of the Chriſtians, of whom he killed four troopers, and ſix of the infantry; but was at laſt forced to retire with conſiderable loſs. He was ſeconded by Abd'elrahmân, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the attack of Boſtra; but with no greater ſucceſs. However, this unfortunate beginning did not diſcourage Khâled, who challenged to fight in ſingle combat any man in the Chriſtian army. Calous, the new governor lately ſent by the emperor, being excited by his predeceſſor Izraîl, accepted the challenge; but was vanquiſhed by his antagoniſt, and taken priſoner. Nor had Izraîl, who afterwards found himſelf likewiſe obliged to fight Khâled, any reaſon to boaſt; for after Khâled had rallied him on account of his name, the angel of death being called Izraîl, or Azaaîl, by the Arabs, telling him that his name's-ſake was at his ſervice, and juſt ready to carry his ſoul to hell, he vanquiſhed him, and conveyed him to the Moſlem camp; where he ordered the heads of both the Chriſtian commanders to be ſtruck off, becauſe they refuſed to embrace the Mohammedan faith. Damaſcus, pronounced by the Arabs Dimesjk, and Dimaſk, is the metropolis of Syria, and, from the delightful country in which it is ſituated, the

the fertility of its territory, its beautiful trees, variety of fruits, plenty of fountains, and magnificent buildings, is denominated by the eastern writers the paradise of that country.

The emperor sends an army of one hundred thousand men to the relief of Damascus.

Khâled commanded the heads of the two Christian chiefs to be thrown over the walls into the town, in order to intimidate the besieged; but this expedient did not produce the desired effect. The garrison made frequent sallies upon the besiegers, and killed abundance of men; though in these attacks they were generally repulsed, and at last obliged, for the preservation of their men, whose numbers were greatly diminished since the beginning of the siege, to confine themselves within the walls of the town. The Arabs, impelled by an enthusiastic spirit, which rendered them insensible of danger, redoubled their attacks; Khâled pitched his tent opposite to the east-gate; and Abu Obeidah took up his quarters before the gate called Al Jâbiyah, that they might the more easily sustain each other in case either of them should be attacked. The city being thus closely besieged, an express was dispatched to the emperor, to inform him of the progress made by the Arabs, and to desire speedy succours. That prince immediately gave orders for the march of the army he had then on foot, consisting of one hundred thousand men, under the conduct of Werdân, who refused at first to accept of the commission, apprehending himself slighted, because he had not been employed at the beginning of the war for the relief of Damascus.

Notwithstanding which, the Arabs carry on the siege.

In the mean time the garrison of Damascus was reduced to such extremity, that the citizens offered one thousand ounces of gold, and two hundred suits of silk, to the enemy, provided they would immediately raise the siege: but this offer Khâled absolutely refused, unless they would either embrace Islamism, or become tributaries to the khalif. Which inflexibility of the Moslem general was the more surprising, as both he and Abu Obeidah had been but just before greatly alarmed by a courier, who had brought them certain advice, that the imperial army was advanced almost as far as Ajnadîn. Upon the arrival of this intelligence, Khâled proposed marching with all his forces, and giving the enemy battle; but this scheme was opposed by Abu Obeidah, as such a measure would enable the inhabitants of Damascus to procure fresh supplies both of arms and provisions, and consequently render the reduction of the place more difficult. In about six weeks, the approach of the Christian army was sufficiently evident to the besiegers,

siegers, by the acclamations and other expressions of joy they could perceive in the town: upon which, Khâled was again desirous of fighting the Greeks; but Abu Obeidah still persisted in his former opinion. It was, therefore, at last determined to detach a body of troops under the command of Derâr Ebn Al Azwâr, an excellent officer, to attack the enemy; whilst Khâled and Abu Obeidah, with the rest of the Arab forces, should prosecute the siege [m].

Khâled defeats the emperor's forces.

Khâled fearing lest Derâr's intemperate zeal, and violent aversion to the Christians, should prove prejudicial, if not fatal, to his troops, told him, before his departure in quest of the Greeks, that though they were commanded to fight for the propagation of their religion, yet they were not allowed to throw away the lives of their men; and, therefore, ordered him to retire to the main body of the army, in case he should find himself pushed by a superior force: but Derâr being deaf to this salutary admonition, with his small body engaged the whole Christian army, notwithstanding the vast disproportion of numbers; Rafi Ebn Omeirah telling his soldiers, who were struck with terror at the approach of such a multitude, that the Moslems had frequently defeated very formidable armies with a handful of men. He charged the enemy with such intrepidity, that he penetrated to the spot where the general gave his orders, killed a man by his side, laid his standard-bearer dead at his feet, and carried off the standard itself, which had a cross in it richly adorned with precious stones. Nay, he would, in all probability, have put Werdân's army to the rout, had not his son, the commandant of Hems, arrived in the heat of the engagement with a body of ten thousand men, and attacked the Moslems with such fury, that he forced them to retire, and took Derâr prisoner. This accident so discouraged them, that they would have fled, had not Rafi Ebn Omeirah endeavoured to animate them with the following words: "What! do not you know, that whosoever turns his back upon his enemies offends God, and his prophet? And that the prophet declared, that the gates of paradise should be open to none but such as fought for religion? Come on! I will go before you. If your captain be dead, or taken prisoner, yet your God is alive, and sees what you do." After which exhortation, they returned to the charge with greater ferocity than ever, and maintained their ground, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy. In the mean

m Al Wakedi, ubi sup. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 130.

time,

time, Khâled being informed of Derâr's fate, and that the Moslems under his command were upon the point of being ruined, after having consulted with Abu Obeidah, hastened to their relief with all possible expedition; having left Meisarah Ebn Mesruk, in conjunction with Abu Obeidah, by the direction of the latter, with a considerable body of infantry and one thousand horse, to repel the sallies of the besieged. The arrival of a fresh reinforcement, with so able a general as Khâled at the head of it, so intimidated the enemy, that a party lately come from Hems deserted in a body to the Arabs; upon which the imperial forces immediately began to give ground, and at last betook themselves to a precipitate flight. Nor did Derâr himself, though a captive, fail of partaking the good fortune of this auspicious day. For Khâled receiving intelligence, that Werdân had ordered him to be conducted to Hems by a party of a hundred horse, to be presented to the emperor, he immediately sent after him a strong detachment, which overtaking him at Wadi'l Hayât, defeated the escorte, and carried him off in triumph to the Moslem army, at that time in full pursuit of the Greeks. However, the imperial general having rallied his shattered troops at Ajnadîn, and received a reinforcement from the emperor, upon a review, found his army to consist of seventy thousand effective men. With these forces, in a council of war, it was resolved to advance towards Damascus, and make a second attempt to raise the siege.

The garrison of Damascus repulsed with great loss.

Khâled having received advice, that the Christian army was soon to be in motion, in order to relieve Damascus, sent a circular letter to Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân, then at Balka, a territory upon the confines of Syria; Serjabil Ebn Hasana, in Palestine; Meâd, in Harrân; Nooman Ebn Al Mondar, at Tadmor; and Amru Ebn Al As, in Irâk; with orders to repair to Ajnadîn, at the head of their respective forces. Then, in pursuance of his plan, he raised the siege of Damascus, and put himself in order of march for Ajnadîn, with full resolution to offer the enemy battle. Immediately after Khâled's departure, the garrison of Damascus sallied from the place in a body, consisting of ten thousand foot and six thousand horse, under the conduct of two officers, called Peter and Paul, the latter of whom commanded the cavalry, and the former conducted the infantry. Paul attacked Abu Obeidah, and the rear of the Moslem army, with so much courage, that he put them in disorder; whilst Peter seized upon the women, children, wealth, and baggage, which were placed in the rear.

rear. Khâled, being apprised of this insult, detached Rafi Ebn Omeirah, Kais Ebn Hobeirah, Abd'alrahmân, and Derâr Ebn Al Azwâr, with a body of eight thousand horse, to sustain Abu Obeidah; which they did so effectually, that the Christian cavalry were all cut to pieces, except about a hundred men, who with great difficulty escaped into the town. Peter, with the infantry, was so far from supporting Paul, that, after he had pillaged the Arabs, he left him entirely to defend himself, and made no diversion in his favour. Paul was taken prisoner in the action, and would have been immediately put to the sword, had not the Moslems been apprehensive that this barbarity would have been retaliated upon their wives and children, who had been carried off by Peter. Amongst these were several women of the tribe of Hamyar, who rode on horseback, and fought after the manner of the ancient Amazons; as also Khawlah, the sister of Derâr, a woman of great courage and beauty. Peter fell desperately in love with this lady; but she was so far from complying with his proposals, that, at the head of the female prisoners, with Oseirah, one of the most resolute among them, she prepared to attack him and his men with some tent-poles they had procured; an affront which so exasperated Peter, that he commanded them all to be put to the sword: but when these Arabian Amazons were at the last extremity, they had the good fortune to be rescued by Khâled and Derâr; who, after a vigorous action, killed Peter and three thousand of the Greek infantry upon the spot, and pursued the rest to the gates of Damascus. Then they immediately rejoined Abu Obeidah, to prevent his being insulted by Werdân. After Khâled had shewn Peter's head to Paul, the barbarian insisted upon his renouncing the Christian faith; and, upon his refusal, commanded him instantly to be beheaded. In the mean time, Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân arrived from Balka, Serjabil Ebn Hasanah from Palestine, Meâd from Harran, Amru Ebn Al As from Irâk, and Noomân Ebn Al Mondar from Tadmor, in the neighbourhood of Ajnadîn, with their respective forces. Balka, or Albelkaa, is a tract of considerable extent, belonging to Syria, whose principal city is Amman, or Ammon, a place we have already described. The river Zerkaa passes by it, and the lake Zaira is distant about a day's journey from it. Many remains of antiquity are still visible about Ammon, which the inhabitants believe to have been built by Lot; who certainly, if he really was the founder of it, chose one of the finest spots of ground in the world for its situation.

The Christian and Moslem armies prepare for an engagement.

After the junction of all the Moslem forces, the imperial troops likewise appearing to the number of seventy thousand men, the two armies faced each other at a small distance from Ajnadîn. The Arabs were struck with terror at the sight of so numerous a body; though all their commanders, and Khâled in particular, animated them to the utmost of their power, and exhorted them by all the motives they could suggest to behave like men on the present occasion. Then he detached Derâr with a small party to reconnoitre them more attentively, that he might have a better account of their countenance and numbers. Derâr, upon his approach, was attacked by a detachment of thirty horse, that Werdân had sent to bring him off to the Christian camp, and with great difficulty made his escape; nevertheless, he assured Khâled of success, telling him that the enemy would not stand before him. That general immediately drew up his army in order of battle; at the same time entreating Khawlah, Ofeirah, and the other Arabian women of distinction, as well as those of an inferior rank, not only to be active themselves, but likewise to use all their influence, in order to induce the men to exert themselves in the approaching engagement. Meâd Ebn Jabal and Noomân Ebn Al Mokarren led the right wing; Said Ebn Amer and Serjabil Ebn Hasanah the left; Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân guarded the baggage, women, and children, all posted in the rear, with a body of four thousand horse; and Khâled himself, with Amru Ebn Al As, Abd'alrahmân, the khalif's son, Kais Ebn Hobeirah, Rafi Ebn Omeirah, and other superior officers, commanded the main body. Before the beginning of the action, a venerable old man, belonging to the Christian army, had a conference with Khâled, wherein he endeavoured to dissuade the Moslem general from engaging the imperial forces, and consequently to prevent the effusion of human blood; but without effect. The Arab was determined, unless the Christians would renounce their faith, or submit to pay an annual tribute, to leave the decision of the present dispute between the khalif and the Roman emperor entirely to the sword.

The Moslems too hard for the Greeks.

The Greeks, finding Khâled so averse to an accommodation, made the proper dispositions on their part for an engagement. Werdân endeavoured to inspire his men with courage, by representiug, that they were now to fight for their wives, children, properties, and religion, indeed for every thing that could be esteemed dear and valuable; and that if they were vanquished, they must inevitably

evitably become ſlaves to the vileſt of enthuſiaſts and barbarians. Nor did he fail to remind them, that they were more than double the number of the enemy; and that therefore nothing could be more ignominious, or render them more contemptible, than a defeat. After this harangue, the Armenian archers began the battle by a general diſcharge of their arrows, which killed and wounded a great number of the Moſlems. However, the latter charged the Greeks with ſo much bravery, that they forced them to give ground, and would have entirely routed them, had not Werdân, by a ſtratagem, induced Khâled to ſound a retreat. As the action hitherto was extremely hot, many of the Moſlems, but more of the Chriſtians, were ſlain. Of the ſtratagem juſt mentioned, though it may rather be conſidered as an inſtance of the Arab genius than a real fact, we ſhall here beg leave to give our curious readers a ſhort and ſuccinct relation.

Werdân's ſtratagem.

Werdân finding his men incapable of coping with the Arabs, diſpatched a meſſenger, called David, to Khâled, to deſire that the two generals might have an interview next morning at an appointed place, in order to ſettle the preliminaries of a future treaty, and thereby prevent the farther effuſion of human blood; and, to facilitate this, that the action might be in the mean time ſuſpended. Werdân, as he was perfectly acquainted with the nature of the place he propoſed to Khâled on this occaſion, poſted an ambuſcade of ten men to ſeize upon the Arab as ſoon as he ſhould appear; of which circumſtance David, who was to be chiefly inſtrumental in the deception and circumvention of Khâled, had been previouſly apprized: but this emiſſary communicated the whole ſcheme to the Moſlem general, who ſurpriſed Werdân's ambuſcade, and placed ten of his own men on the ſpot they had occupied, that very evening, and next morning met Werdân, as he had deſired. Khâled firſt told the imperial commander, that he had orders not to grant him peace, but upon condition that he either conſented to pay the khalif an annual tribute, or prevailed upon the people, committed to his care, to embrace Mohammediſm. Werdân refuſing to liſten to ſuch ignominious terms, Khâled treated him with great indignity; upon which he immediately called out to the ambuſcade, not knowing that it conſiſted of Arabs, to come and reſcue him. His words were ſcarce uttered, when Derâr, attended by his nine companions, appeared, ſeized upon him, and ſtruck off his head. Then they ſtripped him, carried off the coſtly garments, gold chains, and

jewels, with which he was adorned; and, with his head fixed upon the point of a lance, advanced towards the Moslem army. The Arabs at first mistook them for Werdân and his men, marching in triumph with Khâled's head; but were immdiately undeceived by Abu Obeidah, who knew Khâled and Derâr at a considerable distance.

Khâled defeats the Christian army.

Abu Obeidah, who commanded in Khâled's absence, immediately informing his troops of what had happened, they assauted the Greeks with such fury, that they almost instantly put them to flight, and made a terrible slaughter. Al Wakedi relates, that, in this fatal battle, the Moslems killed fifty thousand of the enemy upon the spot; and that the rest escaped to Cæsarea, Antioch, and Damascus. The Arabs, according to the same author, took an immense quantity of plunder of inestimable value, consisting chiefly of banners, crosses of gold and silver, precious stones, gold and silver chains, and arms without number; of all which Khâled proposed to make a proper division, after the reduction of Damascus. The Moslems, if Al Wakedi may be credited, lost only four hundred and seventy-four men on this occasion. The khalif, upon the arrival of the courier with intelligence of this extraordinary success, prostrated himself; adored Almighty God; and returned him, in the most devout manner, thanks for the divine blessing that had so manifestly attended his arms. Then he communicated the contents of Khâled's letter to the grandees of his court. This had such an effect upon the Arabs, and particularly the Koreish, that many of that tribe, as well as a great number of others, pressed the khalif for leave to share with their brethren the glory and riches acquired in the Syrian expedition. This request at last, though with considerable reluctance, he granted, at the earnest desire of Arak and Abu Sofiân, who engaged in the most solemn manner, to distinguish themselves for the cause of God, and the propagation of their religion. Of this circumstance Abu Beer informed Khâled, in the answer he wrote him; ordering him at the same time, after the arrival of the reinforcement under the command of Amru Ebn Maadi and Malec Al Ashtac, to besiege Damascus again, and, after the reduction of that place, to make himself master of Hems, Mearrah, and Antioch. He likewise enjoined him to think upon mortality, and to treat with kindness the Moslems.

Khâled forms the siege of Damascus a second time.

In the mean time Khâled arrived with the Moslem army before Damascus, and formed a second time the siege of that important place. Abu Sofiân was posted at the Little Gate;

Gate; Serjabil Ebn Hasanah, at the gate of St. Thomas, with a body two thousand horse; Amru Ebn Al As, at the Gate of Paradise; and Kais Ebn Hobeirah at the gate called Kaisân. Neither the Arabs nor the garrison approached the gate of St. Mark; for which reason, amongst the former it went under the name of Babo' Ssalâmah, or *the gate of peace.* Khâled himself pitched his tent before the east gate, and commanded Derâr with a flying camp, consisting of two thousand horse, to be in perpetual motion, in order to have an eye upon the enemy's parties, and prevent a surprize. The day after he had made these dispositions, he received the khalif's letter, and the besieged made a vigorous sally. The action was very hot, and continued almost the whole day; but the Moslems being flushed with their late success, and animated by their commanders, who promised them paradise, as well as all the riches of those parts of the East, drove the garrison into the town with very considerable loss. After the action, Khâled sent the letter brought him by the courier to the officers posted at the several gates, for their perusal, and particularly to Abu Obeidah; who had taken up his station before the gate named Al Jabiyah, at some distance from the city. This blow so intimidated the besieged, that they would immediately have proposed terms of capitulation to Khâled, had they not been diverted from their resolution by Thomas; who, according to Al Wakedi, was the emperor's son-in-law, and an excellent soldier, though not at that time vested with any commission. He represented that the Arabs were little better than a contemptible rabble, and much inferior to them in point of conduct, military discipline, and personal bravery. This assurance, however, at first made little impression upon them; they having been witnesses of their surprising intrepidity on several occasions. But at last it was agreed, that the next morning, under his command, they should sally out of the place, and make a vigorous effort to carry the enemy's camp [n].

The Arabs, at the time the sally was made, were preparing to make a general assault; but Thomas, at the head of his troops, not only prevented them from carrying that design into execution, but likewise drove them from the posts they had occupied with very great slaughter. He killed many of the enemy with his own hand, and, amongst the rest, one of their commanders, named Abân

[n] Al Waked. ubi sup. Golii Notæ ad Alfragan. p. 129, 130.

Ebn Said, whom, as the Arabs say, he shot with a poisoned arrow. This incident so incensed a virago, to whom Ahân had been lately married at Ajnadin, that she shot the standard-bearer of the Christians in the hand upon the very spot where Abân was slain. Upon which, the standard fell into the hands of the Moslems; who instantly carried it off; nor could Thomas afterwards recover it, though he attacked Serjabil, in whose possession it was, with unparalleled bravery. For, notwithstanding the military engines from the walls greatly favoured him, having received a wound in the eye from Abân's widow, who levelled an arrow at him, he found himself obliged to retire into the city. The Arabs very closely followed him for some time, and cut off three hundred of his men in the pursuit; but the engines planted on the walls kept them in awe, and forced them at last to retreat.

The besieged make another sally, but are repulsed.

However, Thomas resolved to make another effort to force the besiegers trenches, and oblige them to abandon the siege. Having therefore dressed his wound, and left a detachment of the garrison to defend the gates and walls, he ordered all the gates to be opened at the same instant, and at the head of the rest, without any noise, sallied out upon the enemy. As he imagined that part of the camp where Serjabil was posted, to be the most exposed, he attacked the Arabs stationed there with so much courage, that he soon forced them to give way, and would have taken Serjabil himself prisoner, or put him to the sword, had not Abd'alrahmân and Abân Ebn Othmân advanced to his relief with a body of horse. This interposition checked the fury of the Greeks, and gave the Moslem troops, that had been thrown into confusion, time to rally. In the mean time Abu Obeidah, who was stationed at the gate Al Jabiyah, observing what had happened, possessed himself of a spot of ground between that body of the Christian forces that issued out of the last mentioned gate and the town, which post enabled him to cut off their retreat. This body, therefore, being charged and surrounded on all sides, could neither sustain the shock of the enemy nor retreat; so that not a single man escaped. The other bodies likewise of the Christians, engaged in different parts, were at last every-where repulsed, and driven back into the town. The loss of the Greeks in this vigorous action was computed by the Arabs at several thousand men.

They agree to surrender to Abu Obeidah.

This last defeat so dispirited the Christians, that they pressed Thomas, in order to prevent their total destruction, to permit them to beat a parley; but that commander prevailed

vailed upon them to defend the place till he had given the emperor an account of their situation, and learned from him whether they were to expect any succours. In the mean time the Arabs pushed the siege, and the garrison, greatly dejected by the ill success that attended the emperor's arms, made but a feeble defence: the troops that composed it desired Khâled for the present to discontinue his attacks, and give them time to come to some resolution about the surrender of the town; but that general being desirous of carrying the place by storm, that the inhabitants might be all put to the sword, and the city plundered by his troops, refused to comply with their request. However, Abu Obeidah, a man of quite a different disposition, readily listened to their proposal; for they having one night sent a messenger out of the gate before which he was posted, and offered to become tributaries to the khalif, he dispatched Abu Hobeirah, a person in whom he could confide, to let them know that he accepted of their offer. The officers of the garrison then asked this Arab whether he had not been one of the prophet's companions, as they entertained a great opinion of them, and thought that they might absolutely depend upon their veracity. To this question he replied in the affirmative; but at the same time told them, that they might have equally depended upon the faith of the meanest slave in the camp. Upon this assurance a hundred of the clergy, and other principal citizens, went to the Moslem camp, and were conducted to Abu Obeidah, who took them into his tent, and treated them in a very polite manner. They begged to be continued in the possession of their churches, in return for the tribute they had agreed to pay to the khalif; but Abu Obeidah would not promise them the use of above seven. To this restriction they found themselves obliged to submit; and Abu Obeidah delivered them an instrument drawn up by his secretary, though without either his name, or those of any witnesses, affixed to it, as he was not the commander in chief. He then demanded hostages of the garrison, and sent a detachment of a hundred men to take possession of one part of the town.

Damascus taken by Khâled Ebn Al Wâlid, the Moslem general.

Whilst matters were in this situation, Khâled Ebn Said was killed by a poisoned arrow discharged from the town; an accident which so exasperated Khâled, the Moslem general, that he instantly resolved to make a general assault. In the mean time Josias, a priest, made his escape to the camp, and informed Khâled, that the prophet Daniel had

predicted the future greatness of the Moslem empire, and offered to introduce him into the city if he would take him and his family under his protection. To which proposal Khâled consented, and sent with him a detachment of a hundred Hamyarites, whose tribe was one of the most warlike of the Arabs, with orders to open the gates, immediately after they had taken post in the town. This command they obeyed without the least opposition; so that Khâled made himself master of the place without the loss of a man: nevertheless he put a great part of the garrison, together with a prodigious number of the citizens, to the sword, and pursued the rest to St. Mary's church, where Abu Obeidah had before posted himself with the troops under his command. As soon as Khâled came up, Abu Obeidah said to him aloud, "God has saved the believers the trouble of fighting, by delivering the city into my hands in a pacific manner." At which exclamation Khâled was extremely incensed, and declared, that as he had taken the place by storm, all the inhabitants, and the garrison, should be put to the sword. A dispute ensued between the two commanders; Abu Obeidah insisting, that the agreement between him and the citizens should be executed in every part, and Khâled, on the other hand, refusing his consent to what was done without his participation. However, several officers inclining to the merciful side, considering that many towns were still to be reduced, which would be defended to the last drop of blood, if it was once known that the Moslems had violated a treaty they had concluded, Abu Obeidah in a great measure carried his point. It was determined that Khâled should have the disposal of that part of the town which he took sword in hand, and Abu Obeidah command in the other, which surrendered upon terms, at least till the khalif himself should have decided the affair. Abu Obeidah afterwards prevailed upon Khâled to give quarter to every one of the citizens and soldiers of the garrison that survived the late carnage [9].

Abu Becr dies.

The reduction of Damascus was not only of great importance in itself, but likewise opened a way to farther conquests, and added fresh lustre to the Moslem arms. However, the Arabs sustained a very considerable loss at this juncture, by the death of Abu Becr, who died the same day that Damascus was taken. With regard to the

[9] Al Waked. ubi supra. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 174. Georg. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 17, 18. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. ubi supra, p. 130.

cause

cause of his death authors are not perfectly agreed. Some say that he was poisoned by the Jews, together with Hareth Ebn Khaldah, about a year before he died; but according to Ayesha, he was seized with a fever, in consequence of bathing in cold weather, which carried him off in fifteen days; during which Omar officiated for him publicly in the mosque. A little time before he expired, the khalif ordered his secretary, Othmân Ebn Affân to draw up his last will and testament in the following terms.

His last testament.

"In the name of the most merciful God. This is the testament of Abd'allah Ebn Abu Kohâfa, when he was in the last hour of this world, and the first of the next; an hour in which the infidel shall believe, the wicked person be assured of the reality of those things that he denied, and the liar speak truth. I appoint Omar Ebn Al Khattâb my successor; therefore hearken to him and obey him. If he acts right he will answer the opinion I have always entertained of him; if otherwise, he must be accountable for his own conduct. My intention herein is good, but I cannot foresee future events. However, those who do ill shall hereafter be made fully sensible of the consequences of their behaviour. Fare ye well, and may ye always be attended by the divine mercy and benediction." After the khalif had dictated this will to Othmân he fainted away; but as soon as he came to himself, he asked his secretary whose name he had inserted in the instrument just written? who replied, that of Omar. "Then (said Abu Becr) you have punctually observed my directions; though had you inserted your own, I should not have had an unworthy successor." Omar was no sooner apprised of the khalif's intention to nominate him than he expressed an uncommon aversion to the supreme authority with which he was soon to be vested; however, he was at last prevailed upon to acquiesce in what Abu Becr had done. Before the khalif expired, he prayed God to bless the choice he had made; to inspire the Moslems with sentiments of concord and unanimity; to render their affairs prosperous and flourishing; and to enable them to propagate the doctrines of the Koran in the most effectual manner, as by the prophet Mohammed, in his last moments, they had been most strictly enjoined [p].

When Mohammed died he left his pretended revelations in great disorder, and not digested into the method in

[p] Greg. Abu'l Faraj. ubi supra, p. 75. MS. Arab. Pocock. Oxon. num. 362. ubi sup. Eutych. Patriarch. Alexandrin. Annal. tom. ii. p. 264, 265. Al Makin, ubi sup.

which

When and by whom the Koran was digested into its present form.

which we now find them. This, according to Abu Jaafar, was the work of his immediate successor Abu Becr. That prince considering, after the defeat of Moseilama, that many of those who could read and repeat the Koran had been slain in Yamâma, was afraid lest any part of it should be lost; and therefore ordered the whole to be collected, not only from the palm-leaves and skins on which they had been written, and which were kept between two boards or covers, but also from the mouths of such as had gotten them by heart. This transcript formed a considerable volume, called by the Arabs Al Moshâf, which, in their language, signifies a *book* or *volume*. It was probably indited by Othmân Ebn Affân and Zeid Ebn Thabet, under the inspection of Omar Ebn Al Khattâb, who succeeded Abu Becr. The whole, when completed, was committed to the custody of Hafsa, one of the prophet's widows, as has been already observed. This work appears to have been begun in the first year of Abu Becr, soon after the defeat of Moseilama, as may be inferred from Al Makin; though in all likelihood it was not finished long before the death of that prince. Nor does it appear from the Moslem historians, that Abu Becr did any thing more than range the chapters of the Koran in their present order; which he probably settled without any regard to time, the longest being generally placed first, though some have imagined that he was really the compiler of that book. Mohammed himself, perhaps, left every chapter, or sûra, as complete as we now have it, excepting such passages as his successor might add or correct. Soon after Abu Becr had finished his transcript of the Koran, many copies of that book found their way into Irâk, as well as those parts of Syria, or Shâm, that bordered upon Arabia [q].

Nevertheless, the original, in the care of Hafsa, the daughter of Omar, was not published by authority, according to Abulfeda, till the khalifat of Othmân. That prince observing the great disagreement in the copies of the Koran, in the several provinces of the Moslem empire, those of Irâk, for example, following the reading of Abu Musa Al Ashari, and the Syrians that of Macdâd Ebn Aswad, he, by the advice of the companions of the prophet, ordered a great number of copies to be transcribed from that of Abu Becr. This task was performed under the inspection of Zeid Ebn Thâbet, who had been before em-

[q] Isin. Abulfed. in Vitis Abu Becr. & Othmân. Abu Jaafar, Al Tabar. apud Georg. Al Makin, ubi supra, p. 18. ut & ipse Al Makin, ibid.

ployed

ployed by Abu Becr on a ſimilar occaſion, Abd'allah Ebn Zobair, Said Ebn Al As, and Abd'alrahmân Ebn Al Hâreth, the Makzumite; whom the khalif directed, wherever they diſagreed about any word, to write it in the dialect of the Koreiſh, in which it was at firſt delivered. Theſe copies were diſperſed, by Othmân's command, in the ſeveral provinces of the empire, and the old ones burnt and ſuppreſſed. Though many things in Hafsa's copy were corrected by the above mentioned ſupervisors, yet ſome few various readings ſtill occur. The Koran thus amended, by the care of Othmân, came out firſt in the 30th year of the Hejra.

Several names of the Koran.

The word Koran is derived from the verb *karaa, to read*, and ſignifies properly, in Arabic, *the reading*, or rather, *that which ought to be read*; by which name the Mohammedans denote not only the entire book or volume of the Koran, but alſo any particular chapter or ſection of it; in the ſame manner as the Jews call either the whole Scripture, or any part of it, by the name of Karâh, or Mikra, a word of the ſame origin and import. The Moſlems alſo call the collection of moral traditions of the ſayings and actions of their prophet, which is a ſort of ſupplement to the Koran, directing the obſervance of ſeveral things omitted in that book, the Sonna; in the ſame manner as the Jews have denominated the book containing their oral traditions the Miſhna, which anſwers to the former piece, wrote in imitation of it, both in name and deſign. It may not be improper to obſerve, that the Koran is ſtyled by the generality of Chriſtian writers the Alcoran, or Alkoran; though this manner of writing is very improperly followed by any perſon even moderately verſed in the Arabic language. For, the ſyllable *al* in that word is only to be conſidered as the Arabic article, ſignifying *the*; and therefore it ought to be omitted when the Engliſh article is prefixed.

Diviſion.

The Mohammedans likewiſe imitate the Jews in the diviſion of their ſacred volumes into ſûras, ſowar, or chapters, and verſes; as alſo in pointing out the various readings. The Koran is ſometimes honoured with the appellation of Al Forkân, from the verb *faraka, to divide*, or *diſtinguiſh*; as the Jews uſe the word Perek, or Pirka, from the ſame root, to denote a ſection, or portion of Scripture. At other times it is called Al Moſhâf, *the volume*, and Al Kitâb, *the book*, by way of eminence, which anſwers to the Biblia of the Greeks; and Al Dhikr, *the commemoration*, or *admonition*, becauſe the words of God are preſerved from oblivion, and men admoniſhed, by it.

The

The first chapter of the Koran, styled Al Fâtihat, is held in great veneration by the Mohammedans, who give it several honourable titles; as the Chapter of Prayer, of Praise, of Thanksgiving, of Treasure, &c. They esteem it as the quintessence of the whole Koran, and often repeat it as the Christians do the Lord's Prayer, both in their public and private devotions. It is divided into seven parts, or verses, and repeated in prayer at every incurvation.

Style. The style is concise, and often obscure, adorned with bold figures, after the eastern taste, enlivened with florid and sententious expressions, and in many places, especially where the majesty and attributes of God are described, sublime and magnificent. Though the book be written in prose, yet the sentences generally conclude in a long continued rhyme, for the sake of which the sense is often interrupted, and unnecessary repetitions too frequently made; the Arabs being so highly delighted with this jingling, that they employ it in their most elaborate compositions, which they also embellish with frequent passages of and allusions to the Koran. It is next to impossible, therefore, to understand them, without being tolerably well acquainted with that book, which is written with the utmost elegance, as the critics in this kind of literature assert, in the dialect of the tribe of Koreish, the most noble and polite of all the Arabians, but with some mixture, though very rarely, of other dialects. It is esteemed as the standard of the Arabic tongue, and inimitable by any human pen, being a permanent miracle, greater than that of raising the dead, and alone sufficient to convince the world of its divine original.

Design. The principal or grand article of faith insisted on in the Koran, is the unity of God; to restore which point Mohammed pretended was the chief end of his mission. In this belief he proposed to unite the Christian, Jewish, and Pagan Arabs; the last of which were by far the most numerous and powerful. The worship of one eternal invisible God he established under the sanction of certain laws, and the outward signs of certain ceremonies, partly of ancient and partly of novel institution. These he enforced by setting before his followers rewards and punishments, both temporal and eternal; obliging them at the same time to pay obedience to him, as the prophet and ambassador of God, who, after the repeated admonitions, promises, and threats of former ages, was at last to establish and propagate God's religion on earth by force of arms, and to be acknowleged chief pontiff

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in spiritual, as well as supreme prince in temporal matters. He maintained that there never was, nor ever can be, more than one true orthodox religion; since though particular laws or ceremonies are subject to alteration, yet the substance of it, being eternal truth, is not liable to change, but continues immutably the same. He moreover taught, that whenever this religion became neglected, or corrupted in essentials, God re-informed and re-admonished mankind, by several prophets, of whom Moses and Jesus were the most distinguished, till the appearance of Mohammed, who is their seal, no other being to be expected after him. And the more effectually to engage the Moslems to believe in him, a great part of the Koran is employed in relating examples of dreadful punishments formerly inflicted by God on those who rejected and abused his messengers; several of which stories, or some circumstances of them, are taken from the Old and New Testament, but many more from the apocryphal books and traditions of the Jews and Christians of those ages, inserted in the Koran as truths in opposition to the Scriptures, which the Jews and Christians are charged with having altered. Such are the histories of Adam and Eve, of Cain and Abel, of Enoch, of Noah, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, of Ishmael, of Moses and Pharaoh, of Saul, David, and Solomon, of Ezra, of Jesus Christ and the blessed Virgin Mary; as also of the seven sleepers, of the martyrs under the tyrant Dunaan, &c. To which may be added those of Alexander the Great, Æsop, and others extracted from profane authors. A considerable part of the Koran is likewise taken up in giving necessary laws and directions, in frequent admonitions to moral and divine virtues, and above all to the worshipping and reverencing of the only true God, and resignation to his will. Besides, there are a great number of occasional passages, relating to particular emergencies: for, whenever any thing happened which perplexed and confounded Mohammed, he had constant recourse to a new revelation, as an infallible expedient in all nice cases; and he found the success of this method answer all, even his most sanguine, expectations. It was certainly a politic contrivance of his, to bring down the whole Koran at once to the lowest heaven only, and not to the earth; for if the whole had been published at once, innumerable objections might have been made, which it would have been very hard, if not impossible, for him to solve. But as he pretended to have received it by parcels, as God saw proper that they should be published for the conversion and instruction

ſtruction of the people, he had a ſure way to anſwer all emergencies, and to extricate himſelf with honour from any difficulty which might occur. In his deſcriptions of the joys of paradiſe, of the torments of hell, and of the day of judgment, he is very prolix; though theſe are chiefly made up of moſt abſurd and ridiculous fables. He enjoins in the ſtrongeſt terms frequent prayer, alms, the pilgrimage to Mecca, the faſt of Ramadân, and, in ſhort, an obſervance of all his other rites and inſtitutions. The points in the Koran that relate to moral and theological virtues he undoubtedly borrowed of the Chriſtians and the Jews; the former of which he treated with more lenity than the latter. In ſeveral places of this book he is extremely ſevere upon thoſe who had incurred his diſpleaſure, and eſpecially ſuch of thoſe delinquents as were his own relations. However, amongſt the articles it contains, many excellent ſentiments occur, which ſeem not unworthy of even a Chriſtian's peruſal.

The author. Though Mohammed was undoubtedly the principal author and chief contriver of the Koran, yet that he had great aſſiſtance, both in the formation and execution of his deſign from others, is beyond diſpute. This the Meccans failed not to urge, when he inſiſted, as a proof of its divine original, that a man ſo utterly unacquainted with learning as himſelf could not poſſibly compoſe ſuch a book. They replied, as an objection to its authority, that he had one or more aſſiſtants in the forgery; though he had taken his meaſures ſo well, that they found it extremely difficult to diſcover the perſon, or perſons, ſuſpected of this confederacy. One ſays it was Jabar, or Habar, a Greek, ſervant to Amer Ebn Al Hadrami, who could read and write well; another, that they were Jabar, or Habar, and Yeſâr, two ſlaves, who followed the trade of ſword-cutlers at Mecca, uſed to read the Pentateuch and Goſpel, and had often Mohammed for their auditor, when he paſſed that way. Another tells us, that it was one Aïſh, or Yâïſh, a domeſtic of Al Haweiteb Ebn Abd Al Uzza, who was a man of ſome learning, and had embraced Mohammediſm. Another ſuppoſes it was one Kais, a Chriſtian, whoſe houſe Mohammed frequented. Another, that it was Addâs, a ſervant of Otba Ebn Rabîa; and another, that it was Salmân the Perſian, as has been already obſerved. Nor are the Chriſtian writers leſs divided in their opinions, in relation to the perſon or perſons who enabled Mohammed to compoſe the Koran. Some of them pretend, that Abdallah Ebn Salâm, the Jew, who was ſo intimate with Mohammed

hammed, was an assistant in compiling his pretended revelations. The greatest part of them, however, maintain, that the chief assistance Mohammed had in contriving the Koran, was from a Nestorian monk, named Sergius, supposed to be the same person with the monk Boheira, with whom Mohammed in his younger years had some conference at Bosra, a city of Syria Damascena, where Boheira then resided.

Manner of publishing the Koran.

The Mohammedans, at least the generality of them, deny that the Koran was either composed by their prophet, or any other mortal for him. They believe it to be of divine original, nay eternal and uncreated; maintaining that the first transcript of it has been from everlasting by God's throne, written on a table of great dimensions, called the Preserved Table, on which were also recorded the divine decrees past and future. They also affirm, that a copy of the Koran from this table, in one volume on paper, was by the ministry of the angel Gabriel sent down to the lowest heaven, in the month of Ramadân, on the night of power; from whence Gabriel, according to them, revealed it to Mohammed by parcels, some at Mecca, and some at Medina, at different times, during the space of twenty-three years, as the exigency of affairs required. However, he had the whole shewn him, which they tell us was bound in silk, and adorned with gold and precious stones of paradise, once a year; but in the last year of his life he had the favour to see it twice. Many of the parcels consisted only of a few verses, say they, brought by Gabriel at once from the lowest heaven, or, in the style of the Arabs, the orb of the moon; which were afterwards written down from time to time by Mohammed's amanuensis, in such or such a part of such or such a chapter, till they were completed, according to the directions of the angel himself. There are many repetitions in the Koran, which render it very disagreeable to an elegant ear. The want of connection, so visible almost throughout the whole, gives a great degree of incertitude to many expressions, makes several passages appear little better than downright jargon, and introduces into various parts of this book a strange mixture of absurdity and confusion [r].

Not only the prophet's amanuenses, but several likewise of his followers, took copies of the revealed passages, after

[r] Al Kor. Moham. f. xcvii. Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidawi, Al Zamakhshar. Al Ghazal. Abu Jaafar apud Al Makîn, Yahya, Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah Zemanin, Al Tabar. apud Marraccium, de Alcoran. p. 39, 40. ut & ipse Marracc. ibid. & p. 41—45.

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they had been communicated by him to the former of these, for their private use; but the far greater number of the Moslems got them by heart. The originals, when returned, were put promiscuously into a chest, without any order of time; for which reason it is uncertain when many passages were said to be revealed. The Koran not only contains many articles extracted out of the sacred writings of the Old and New Testament, but many fictions likewise out of the Talmud, as well as some out of Mohammed's own brain; so that he was supplied with materials for it by the Christians, Jews, idolatrous Arabs, and his own fertile imagination.

Passages abrogated. As there are many passages in the Koran, manifestly contradictory, and destructive of each other, in order to obviate any objection that may be drawn from thence to the authority of that book, the Moslem doctors are obliged to have recourse, how absurd soever this may appear, to the doctrine of abrogation. They pretend that God, in the Koran, commanded several things, which were afterwards, for good reasons, abrogated and revoked; all which have been collected in one small volume by the imâm Abu Hashem Hebatallah, who, in the preface to his work, has given us a particular account of the nature of them. That author distinguishes them into three kinds: the first, where the letter and the sense are both abrogated; the second, where the letter only is abrogated, but the sense remains; and the third, where the sense is abrogated, though the letter remains. In this manner do they endeavour to fix the inconsistencies and absurdities of their own capricious and most infamous impostor upon that Divine Being, who is the source and fountain of all truth, which is ever uniform and consistent with itself, and "with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning[s]."

The honour shewn to the Koran. As the Mohammedans are taught to believe such extraordinary things of the Korân, it is no wonder they should hold it in such exceeding high veneration. They will not suffer it to be read, possessed, nor even touched by any of a different persuasion; so that if it is found in the possession of either a Jew or a Christian, it may prove of fatal consequence to him. Nor do the Moslems themselves even touch it without being first washed or legally purified; which, lest they should do by inadvertence, they write these words on the cover or label, "Let none touch

[s] Abu Hashem Hebatallah, apud Ludovic. Marracc. ubi supra, p. 42, 43. ut & ipse Marracc. ibid. Jam. i. 17.

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it, but they who are clean." They read it with great care and respect, never holding it below their girdles. They swear by it, consult it on all weighty occasions, carry it with them to war, write sentences of it in their banners, as they formerly did upon their coins, and adorn it with gold and precious stones. In fine, they consider it as the most perfect composition that ever appeared in the world; as predicted by the law and the gospel, and corroboratory of both; as preserved in a particular manner by the immediate hand of Providence, and as containing mysteries that are fully comprehended and understood by God alone: but notwithstanding these exalted notions, they are so far from thinking the Koran to be either profaned or debased by a translation, that they have taken care to have it translated into the Persian, Malayan, and other tongues; though, out of respect to the original Arabic, these versions are generally, if not always, interlineary. However, they entertain by far the highest sentiments of the original Arabic; believing that God will never suffer it to receive the least addition, defect, or alteration [t] (A).

The division and fundamental points of Islamism.

It has been already observed, that Mohammed comprehended the whole substance of his doctrine under these two propositions, or articles of faith, namely, that there is but one God, and that himself was the apostle of God. By virtue of the latter of which articles all such ordinances as he thought proper to establish, are received by his followers as of divine institution. The Moslems divide their religion into two parts; îmân, that is, *faith*, or *theory*, and dîn, that is, *religion*, or *practice*. The former consists of the two articles, or propositions, above mentioned; which include the six following particulars: a be-

[t] Ludovicus Marraccius, ubi supra, p. 45. Hadrian. Reland. de Relig. Mohammedic. p. 265, & p. 25, 26, 27. Sale's Prelimin. Disc. p. 69.

(A) Mohammed gave to his religion the name of Islâm, or, as it is frequently termed by Christians, Islamism; which word properly denotes *resignation*, or *submission*, to the service and commands of God. Some, however, interpret it the *saving religion*, and derive it from the Arabic word *aslama*, the fourth conjugation of *salama*, importing *to enter into a state of salvation*. From which root is likewise deduced the word *Moslem*, denoting, in the Arabic language, *a true believer*, or *professor of Islamism*. Some of the Mohammedans pretend, that the true religion was generally professed till Abel was murdered; but others, that it remained till the days of Noah.

lief in God; in his angels; in his scriptures; in his prophets; in the resurrection, and day of judgment; and in God's absolute decree and predetermination both of good and evil. The points relating to practice are prayer, as well as every thing relative and preparatory to it; zacât, or *alms*, the payment of which Mohammed very artfully made the principal article of his religion, as it enabled him always to keep on foot a considerable body of troops; fasting in the month of Ramadân; and the pilgrimage to Mecca. The definition of Islamism laid down here, as it includes both the imân and dîn, is no other than that given by Mohammed, as the Moslems pretend, to the angel Gabriel. Which definition, or description, according to them, was likewise approved of, and rendered absolutely authentic, by the testimony of that angel [u].

The existence of angels asserted in the Koran.

A belief of the existence of angels, and their purity, is strongly insisted on in the Koran: nor can he escape the imputation of infidelity, who either denies that there are such beings, or hates any of them, or asserts any distinction of sexes amongst them. They believe them to be the servants of God, that are constantly employed in his immediate presence, and execute his commands on all occasions. Their pure and subtle bodies, they think, were created originally of fire, or rather light, and are free from those animal functions that distinguish the inhabitants of this terraqueous globe from those of the aerial regions. They maintain, that these excellent beings can assume various forms; that some of them adore God in different postures, whilst others either sing praises to him, or intercede for mankind. They likewise believe, that they are of different orders; but that the highest of these ought not to be considered as objects of worship. Some, according to the Moslems, are deputed to take an account of our actions here, others to convey the souls of men to the places assigned them after their departure out of this world, and others to preside over hell, and keep guard against the devils there. They moreover maintain, that some of them carry the throne of God; and that, in general, they are impeccable. Al Beidawi relates, that the tribes of Khozaah and Kenâna, in particular, denominated the angels the daughters of God [w].

[u] Al Kor. Moham. pass. Hadr. Reland. ubi sup. et alib. Sale, ubi sup. p. 71. [w] Al Kor. Moham. sect. ii. xxxviii. Jallalo'ddin, Al Zamakhshar. Yahya, Al Beidawi, Hadr. Reland. ubi sup. p. 13—17.

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The principal of these angels, according to the Mohammedans, are Gabriel, Michael, Azraïl, and Israfil. Gabriel they call the Holy Spirit, and the Angel of Revelations, because he appeared to Mohammed sometimes in his own and sometimes in a human form, and revealed to him the Koran: Michael they take to be the friend and protector of the Jews; which notion is not only countenanced, but even confirmed by the prophet Daniel: Asraïl they denominate the Angel of Death, because he is supposed to separate men's souls from their bodies: and they apply the name of Israfil to the angel whose office it will be to sound the trumpet on the day of the resurrection.

The Mohammedans also believe, that two guardian angels attend on every man, to observe and write down his actions; and that they are changed every day. The usual appellation given by the Moslems to the devil is Eblis, which Reland deduces from a word signifying *despair*; though we are rather inclined to believe it a corruption of the Greek name Diabolos. Some of the Mahommedan writers pretend, that he worshipped God eighty thousand years before the creation of Adam, but was then infected both with envy and infidelity. He was expelled heaven, according to the Koran, for refusing to pay homage to Adam at the command of God. The first name of Eblis, whilst in a state of innocence, was Azazîl, derived apparently from the Hebrew word *azazel*, signifying a *goat*. Eblis is sometimes also styled Al Sheitan, or Satan, in the Koran; which name is likewise applied by Al Jauhari to the rebellious genii, whom the Arabs take to be distinct from devils, wicked men, and even the most obstinate of brutes themselves.

The genii here mentioned, according to the Moslem opinion, are an intermediate order of creatures, created of fire, but of a grosser fabric than angels. These the Mohammedans suppose to be mortal, to eat and drink, and even to propagate their species. Some of them, we are told, were converted on hearing the Koran; Mohammed having pretended to be sent for their conversion, as well as that of men. The Arabs imagine, that these genii, whom they call Jin, haunt solitudes and deserts in the evening; so that, when they find themselves in such places at that time, they generally address themselves to the chief of these genii in the following terms: "I fly for refuge to the lord of this valley, that he may defend me from the foolish amongst his people." Hence it appears, that

the Arabs believe the genii, some of whom, or at least of a species similar to them, they call peri, or *fairies*, some div, or *giants*, and others tacwins, or *fates*, to be placed at a very small distance from the surface of the earth, if they cannot be considered as proper inhabitants of it. That Mohammed and his followers borrowed their notions of these beings from the Jews, is evident, as the latter entertain almost the very same sentiments of a sort of demons called shedim that the Moslems do of their jin, or genii [x].

Of the Scriptures. The Moslems hold it necessary for a believer to admit, that God vouchsafed mankind several revelations of his will that preceded the Koran. All which revelations, or, in other words, the books that contained them, they consider as the word of God, and consequently assign them a divine original. The number of these sacred books were, according to them, a hundred and four; of which ten were given to Adam; fifty were revealed to Seth; thirty to Enoch, from his knowlege surnamed Edrîs; ten to Abraham; one, comprehending the Pentateuch, to Moses; one, containing the Psalms, to David; another, or the Gospel, to Jesus; and the last, after which no more revelations are to be expected, by his followers denominated the Koran, to Mohammed. All which divine books, except the four last, they agree to be now entirely lost, and their contents unknown; though they stigmatize with the name of Infidel every person who entertains the least doubt of their real existence in former ages. The Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Gospel, they say, have been so grossly corrupted by the Jews and the Christians, that the copies of those books at present in their hands are by no means to be depended upon. The Jews, in particular, are frequently reflected on in the Koran for falsifying and corrupting their copies of the Law; several instances of such pretended falsifications and corruptions being pointed out in that book. Some of the Mohammedan writers also, and particularly Ahmed Ebn Zin Alabeddin, a noble Persian, who wrote in Persic against the Christian religion, assert, that not only the Pentateuch, but the Psalms likewise, and even the Gospel, have undergone many alterations; but in this calumny they follow merely their own prejudices, and the fabulous accounts of spurious legends. The Moslems have a Gospel in Arabic, attributed to St. Barnabas, wherein

[x] Al Kor. Moham. sect. lv. Jallalo'ddin, in Al Kor. sect. ii. & xviii. ut & ipse Al Kor. sect. lv. lxxii. lxxiv. &c. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 369, 820, &c. Al Beidawi, Lib. Zohar. Vide etiam Gemara, in Hagiga.

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the history of Jesus Christ is related in a manner very different from what we meet with in the true Gospels, and correspond to those traditions which Mohammed has followed in his Koran. From these, or some other forgeries of the same stamp, the Mohammedans quote several passages, of which there are not the least traces in the New Testament.

Of the Prophets.

The prophets, or messengers of God to mankind, were, according to the Moslems, endued with the power of performing miracles, free from great sins, and errors of a pernicious nature, professors of one and the same religion, that is Islâm, notwithstanding the different laws and institutions they observed. They communicated to mankind the knowlege of several occult points, relating to the divine nature and attributes, to the resurrection, to future rewards and punishments; which knowlege God was pleased to reveal, for the instruction and edification of his people. The number of the prophets sent at various times into the world amounted, says one of the Moslem traditions, to no less than two hundred and twenty-four thousand, or, as another asserts, to one hundred and twenty four thousand. Of these three hundred and thirteen were apostles, and six brought new laws or dispensations, which successively abrogated the preceding, viz. Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed. The first place they give to the revealers and establishers of new dispensations, and the next to the apostles. Mohammed, according to them, was the most noble of the prophets, and the first of all creatures.

Of the state after death, the examination of the sepulchre, and the resurrection.

The Mohammedans believe a general resurrection and a future judgment. Some also maintain, that not only the whole race of mankind, but that likewise of the genii, shall die, and then be raised again. They acknowlege an intermediate state both of the body and of the soul after death. As soon as the former is laid in the grave, they say it is received by an angel, who gives it notice of the approach of two terrible angels, named Monker and Nakîr, who order the dead person to sit upright, examine him concerning his faith, as to the unity of God, and the mission of Mohammed, and punish him in a dreadful manner, if he does not give a satisfactory account of his belief in both these particulars. This notion, called by the Moslems the examination of the sepulchre, was certainly borrowed by Mohammed from the Jews, amongst whom it was very anciently received. With regard to the soul, they maintain, that when it is separated from the body by the angel of

death, who performs his office with eafe and gentlenefs towards the good, and with violence towards the wicked, it enters into that ftate which they call al barzakh, or the interval between death and the refurrection. The word berzakh, or barzakh, primarily fignifies *any partition*, or *interftice, which divides one thing from another*; but is ufed by the Arabs not always in the fame fenfe. They feem generally to exprefs it by what the Greeks did by the word *hades*; one while ufing it for the place of the dead, another for the time of their continuance in that ftate, and another while for the ftate itfelf. It is defined by their critics to be the interval, or fpace, between this world and the next, or between death and the refurrection. If the departed perfon was a real believer, they fay two angels convey his foul to heaven, that a place may be affigned it, according to its degree and merit. For they diftinguifh the fouls of the pious faithful into three claffes; the firft of prophets, whofe fouls are admitted into paradife immediately; the fecond of martyrs, whofe fpirits, according to a tradition of Mohammed, reft in the crops of green birds, which eat of the fruits and drink of the rivers of paradife; and the third of others, concerning the ftate of whofe fouls before the refurrection, there is a variety of opinions. Infidels only, according to the Moflem notion of a future diftribution of rewards and punifhments, will remain for ever in hell; and confequently, not a fingle believer, however vicious and abandoned his courfe of life may have been, fhall perifh everlaftingly. However, they believe, that the wicked amongft the faithful, if that term may be allowed, fhall be punifhed hereafter in one of the ftories or apartments, of hell, in proportion to the number and guilt of the fins they committed on earth; after which they are to enter paradife, where they will be for ever inconceivably happy. The Moflem doctors maintain, that a perfon who either defires not paradife, or fears not hell, or has not an awful fenfe of the refurrection, is guilty of a moft malignant and damnable fpecies of infidelity.

Though fome of the Mohammedans, and particularly Ebn Sina, have thought that the refurrection will be merely fpiritual, and others, who allow man to confift of body only, that it will be merely corporeal; the received opinion is, that both body and foul will be raifed. According to the Mohammedan belief, the irrational animals will alfo be reftored to life at the refurrection, that they may be brought to judgement, and have vengeance taken on them for the injuries they did one another whilft in this world;

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as alſo that Azraïl, the angel of death, together with all the other angels, men, and brutes, then remaining, will die, the very moment Iſrafil ſhall ſound the trumpet the ſecond time at the reſurrection. The firſt blaſt of this trumpet, which they believe will be ſounded three times, the Moſlems call the blaſt of conſternation; at the hearing of which all creatures in heaven and earth ſhall be ſtruck with terror, except thoſe whom God ſhall pleaſe to exempt from this dreadful ſound. The ſecond they denominate the blaſt of exanimation; when all creatures both in heaven and earth ſhall die, or be annihilated, except thoſe which God ſhall pleaſe to exempt from the common fate. Theſe, ſome ſay, will be the angels Gabriel, Michael, Iſrafil, and the angel of death, who yet will afterwards die, at the command of God. The third and laſt blaſt the Moſlems term the blaſt of reſurrection, when Iſrafil, who, together with Gabriel and Michael, will be previouſly reſtored to life, and ſtanding on the rock of the temple of Jeruſalem, ſhall, at God's command, call together all the dry and rotten bones, and other diſperſed parts of the bodies, even the very hairs themſelves, to judgment.

The beings to be judged.

The Moſlems maintain, that not only mankind, but the genii and irrational animals alſo ſhall be judged on the great day of final retribution; when the unarmed cattle ſhall take vengeance on the horned, till entire ſatisfaction ſhall be given to the injured. With regard to men they hold, that when they are aſſembled together, they will not be immediately brought to judgement, but the angels will keep them in their ranks and order while they attend for that purpoſe: which attendance, ſome ſay, is to laſt forty years, others ſeventy, others three hundred, and, laſtly, others no leſs than fifty thouſand; each of them urging their prophet's authority in ſupport of his opinion. During this ſpace, they will ſtand looking up to heaven, but without receiving any information or orders, and are to ſuffer grievous torments, both the juſt and the unjuſt, though with manifeſt difference: for the limbs of the former, particularly thoſe parts which they uſed to waſh in making the ceremonial ablution before prayer, ſhall ſhine glorioſly, and their ſufferings ſhall be light in compariſon, laſting no longer than the time neceſſary to ſay the appointed prayers; but the latter will have their faces obſcured with blackneſs, and diſfigured with all the marks of ſorrow and deformity. After they have all waited the limited time, God will appear to judge them; Mohammed undertaking the office of interceſſor, after it ſhall have been declined by Adam,

Noah, Abraham, and Jesus, who shall beg deliverance only for their own souls. God, they say, who will come on this solemn occasion in the clouds, surrounded by angels, and encircled with glory, will produce the books wherein the actions of every person are recorded by their guardian angels, and will command the prophets to bear witness against those to whom they have been respectively sent. Then, continue they, every one will be examined concerning all his words and actions uttered and done by him in this life. They must then give an account of their time, how they spent it; of their wealth, by what means they acquired it, and how they employed it; of their bodies, wherein they exercised them; of their knowlege and learning, what use they made of them.

The fate of the beings to be judged.

The trial itself will last no longer than while an ewe may be milked, or at fartheft than the space between the two milkings of a she-camel. Jallalo'ddin affirms, that God will judge all creatures in half a day; and others assert, that this will be done in less time than the twinkling of an eye. The balance, wherein all things shall be weighed on this great day of trial, is, according to the Moslem description of it, of so vast a size, that its two scales, one of which hangs over paradise, and the other over hell, are capacious enough to contain both heaven and earth. This balance, if we may believe the Mohammedans, will then be held by the angel Gabriel; the books wherein the words and actions of the creatures to be judged are written, will also then, as they affirm, be thrown into the scales; and, according as those wherein the good or the evil actions are recorded shall preponderate, sentence will be given. As to brutes, after they shall have likewise taken vengeance one of another, he will command them to be changed into dust; wicked men being reserved for more grievous punishment. With regard to the genii, some of the Moslems maintain, that such as are true believers will have no other reward than the favour of being converted into dust; whilst others pretend, that, as they are capable of putting themselves in the state of believers, as well as men, they must deserve to be amply rewarded for their faith, as well as to be punished for their infidelity. These, therefore, assign the believing genii a place near the confines of paradise, where they will enjoy sufficient felicity: but the unbelieving genii, it is universally agreed, will be punished in hell eternally, with the infidels of mortal race.

The bridge Al Sirát.

After all created intelligent beings have received judgement, those who are to be admitted into paradise will take the

the right-hand way, and those who are destined to hell-fire the left; but that both of them must first pass the bridge, called in Arabic Al Sirât, which they say is thrown over the midst of hell, and describe to be finer than a hair, and sharper than the edge of a sword. Over this bridge the good will pass with wonderful ease and swiftness, like lightning, or the wind, Mohammed himself leading the way; whereas the wicked will soon miss their footing, and fall down headlong into hell, which is gaping beneath to receive them.

The Mohammedan notion of hell and its torments.

Amongst the Moslems a tradition prevails, that at the last day hell will be dragged towards the divine tribunal by seventy thousand halters, each halter being hawled by seventy thousand angels; and that it will come with great roaring and fury. They are taught, that hell is divided into seven stories, or apartments, one below another, designed for the reception of as many distinct classes of the damned. The first, which they call Jehennam, a name apparently deduced from the Gehenna of Scripture, they say, is destined for the wicked Mohammedans, who, after having been punished according to their demerits, will at length be released. The second, named Ladhâ, they assign to the Jews; the third, denominated Al Hotama, to the Christians; the fourth, named Al Saïr, to the Sabians; the fifth, called Sakar, to the Magians; the sixth, by them termed Al Jahîm, to the idolaters; and the seventh, which is the lowest and worst of all, going under the name of Al Hâwiyat, to the hypocrites, or those who outwardly professed some religion, but in reality were of none. In these apartments, over each of which they believe there will be posted a guard of nineteen angels, the wicked, according to them, will suffer a variety of torments, both from intense heat and excessive cold. The time which the believers shall be detained in hell, according to a tradition handed down from Mohammed, will not be less than four hundred years, or more than seven thousand; and at the end of their respective terms of punishment, they will be released by the mercy of God, at the intercession of their prophet.

Of the wall between paradise and hell.

Between hell and paradise the Moslems suppose a partition, called Al Orf, and more frequently, in the plural, Al Arâf, which is mentioned in the seventh chapter of the Koran. Some of the Mohammedan writers imagine Al Arâf to be a sort of limbo, for the patriarchs and prophets, or for the martyrs and those who have been most eminent for sanctity, amongst whom they say there will be angels also

alſo in the form of men; though others are of a different opinion. From this chapter of the Koran it ſeems probable, that the intermediate partition is a ſort of purgatory for thoſe, who, though they deſerve not to be ſent to hell, yet have not merits ſufficient to gain them immediate admittance into paradiſe, and will be tantalized here for a certain time with a bare view of the felicity of that place.

Of Mohammed's pond.

Before the righteous enter paradiſe, as the Mohammedans are taught to believe, they will be refreſhed by drinking at the pond of their prophet; which he deſcribes to be an exact ſquare, of a month's journey in compaſs. The water of this pond is ſupplied by two pipes from Al Cawthar, one of the rivers of paradiſe, being whiter than milk, and more odoriferous than muſk, with as many cups ſet around it as there are ſtars in the firmament. This water likewiſe, according to one of the prophet's traditions, is ſweeter than honey, cooler than ſnow, and ſmoother than cream. Its banks are of chryſolites, and the veſſels of ſilver; and thoſe who drink of it ſhall never thirſt. The word *cawthar* ſignifies *abundance*, eſpecially of *good*.

Of paradiſe.

With regard to paradiſe, though frequently mentioned in the Koran, the Moſlems are not perfectly agreed in their ſentiments. The Motazalites, and ſome other ſectaries, aſſert, that this happy region, or delightful garden, will be created hereafter, and conſequently ſuppoſe it to be different from the paradiſe from which Adam was expelled. But the orthodox maintain, that it was created before the world, and is ſituate above the ſeven heavens, directly under the throne of God; though Mohammed appears to have placed it in the ſeventh heaven, as may be inferred from the ſecond chapter of the Koran. The earth of it, as ſome pretend, conſiſts of the fineſt wheat flour or the pureſt muſk, or, as others inſiſt, of ſaffron. Its ſtones, as the Moſlems believe, are pearls and jacinths; the walls of its buildings enriched with gold and ſilver; and the trunks of all its trees are of gold; among which the moſt remarkable is the tree called Tûba, or the tree of *happineſs*, concerning which many ridiculous things have been fabled by the commentators on the Koran. Some of its rivers flow with water, ſome with milk, ſome with wine, and others with honey; all of them taking their riſe from the root of the tree Tûba. The garden alſo is watered by a great number of leſſer ſprings and fountains, whoſe pebbles are rubies and emeralds, their earth of camphor, their beds of muſk, and their ſides of ſaffron. The Koran ſeems to inſinuate, that one diſtinct paradiſe will be

be prepared for men, and another for genii; or, as some imagine, two gardens to each person, one as a reward due to his works, and the other as a free and superabundant gift. Some of the fruits of these gardens, we are told, will resemble those eaten on earth; but others will be of a new and unknown species, such as mortal eye never beheld.

Besides these delicious fruits, there will appear in the garden, or rather gardens of paradise, as we are taught by Mohammed in the fifty-fifth chapter of the Koran, vast numbers of agreeable and beauteous damsels, whom neither men nor genii have deflowered, kept in pavilions from public view, and called from their large black eyes, Hûr al Oyûn, the enjoyment of whose company will constitute one of the principal felicities of the faithful. These, they suppose, will lie on green cushions and beautiful carpets, having before been cleansed from all impurities incident to the sex. The happy mansion wherein these resplendent and ravishing girls reside, which is also to be the residence of all true believers, the Mohammedans call Al Jannat, or *the garden*; and sometimes Jannat al Ferdaws, *the garden of paradise*, Jannat Aden, *the garden of Eden*, Jannât al Mawa, *the garden of abode*, and Jannat al Naïm, *the garden of pleasure*. By which several appellations some understand so many different gardens, or at least places of different degrees of felicity, the meanest of which will afford its inhabitants so many pleasures and delights, that no creature could sustain them which had not the abilities of a hundred men. And these, as Mohammed has declared, will be given by God to every believer hereafter, in order to qualify him for a full enjoyment of them. Some of the Moslem doctors, according to Jallalo'ddin, maintain, that these charming girls will be the proper inhabitants of paradise, as they will be produced originally there; whilst others are of opinion, that they will be translated from this globe to that blessed place.

After the righteous have refreshed themselves by drinking at Mohammed's pond, they will arrive, if we believe Al Ghazâli, at two fountains, springing from under a certain tree near the gate of paradise; of one of which they will drink, in order to purge their bodies, and carry off all excrementitious dregs, and wash themselves in the other. As soon they present themselves before the gate itself, each person will be met and saluted by the two beautiful youths, of celestial extraction, appointed to serve and wait upon him; as also by two angels, bearing the presents God has sent him. After this, they shall enter paradise;

paradise; though no person's good works, according to Mohammed's declaration, not even his own, will gain him admittance. No one will be saved by his own merits, but merely by the mercy of God. However, if any credit be due to the Koran, the felicity of each person will be proportioned to his deserts; and there will be abodes of different degrees of happiness. The most eminent of these will be reserved for the prophets, the second for doctors and teachers of God's worship, the next for the martyrs, and the lower for the rest of the blessed, according to their several merits. Mohammed, as he himself says, will enter paradise first, and after him the poor, five hundred years before the rich. He also farther informs us, that the majority of the inhabitants of paradise will consist of the poor, and the greater part of the wretches confined in hell of women. Immediately after their admission, they will be entertained by God, who will reach out to them with his hand the whole earth, resembling a huge and monstrous loaf of bread, holding it like a cake. The seventy thousand believers, who will be admitted into paradise without examination, as the generality of the commentators suppose, will feast upon the ox Balâm, and the fish Nûn, the lobes of whose livers, according to them, will suffice seventy thousand men. From this feast every one will be dismissed to the mansion designed for him, where he will enjoy such profusion of delights as will vastly exceed both his expectation and comprehension. These will consist of seventy-two most lovely wives at least, a tent immensely rich, a prodigious number of servants, a surprising variety of food served in dishes of gold, many sorts of the most delicious liquors brought in vessels of the same metal, the richest wines void of any inebriating quality, magnificent furniture and garments answerable to the delicacy of their diet, a numerous train of attendants, and in short every thing that a sensualist or voluptuary can desire. Every sense will be gratified, every passion indulged. And that the pleasures of paradise may be relished in their utmost height, the Moslems assert, that the inhabitants of that place will enjoy a perpetual youth, and be raised in their prime and vigour, that is, with the strength of a person about thirty years of age; which, as they affirm, will likewise happen to the damned, that they may be the more sensible of that extreme torment they must to all eternity endure. The Mohammedans believe, that hell has seven gates, and paradise eight; the former of which may be shut, and the latter opened, by fasting a certain

a certain number of days. By virtue of which notion, such a fast is strictly enjoined by the Sonna; nor do the orthodox Moslems fail to have recourse to one of their prophet's oral traditions in support of this opinion.

Whether women are excluded paradise.

Though some of the most ignorant Mohammedans seem to exclude women from the joys of paradise, not allowing them to have any souls, according to several Christian writers; yet that Mohammed himself entertained a far different opinion, and assigned some of them habitations in that delightful place, may be inferred from several passages of the Koran, that good women, after death, will have a mansion assigned them, different from that of the men, where they will enjoy all sorts of delights, is, according to Sir John Chardin and others, the prevailing opinion amongst the Mohammedans. In confirmation of which, we are assured by Dr. Hyde, that he was informed by a female captive, who had been made prisoner at the reduction of Buda, and was at Oxford in May 1687, with whom he had a conference in Turkish, that the Moslems believed the souls of all the faithful, both men and women, after the dissolution of the vital union here, to be received into paradise. She also reprehended an ignorant Turkish youth, taken likewise at Buda, for presuming to differ from her in this particular. She farther declared, that, according to the Turkish doctrine, every individual of the human race should be hung over paradise and hell, at the resurrection, by a single hair only; and that, upon the breaking of this hair, the righteous should drop into the former, and the wicked into the latter of those places. The doctor also produces the testimony of Ali Beigh, a writer of reputation amongst the Moslems, in support of the same opinion.

Of God's absolute decree.

The next article of faith, insisted on by the Koran, is God's absolute decree, and predestination both of good and evil. For the Sonnites maintain, that whatever hath or shall come to pass in this world, whether good or bad, proceedeth entirely from the divine will, and is irrevocably fixed and recorded from all eternity in the Preserved Table.

Of prayer, and the previous purifications.

The four fundamental points of religious practice, required by the Koran, are prayer, giving of alms, fasting, and the pilgrimage to Mecca. Under prayer are comprehended those legal washings or purifications, which are preparatory to that rite; of which there are two degrees, one called Ghosl, being a total immersion of the body in water; and the other Wodû, which is the washing of their faces, hands, and feet, after a certain manner. The first is required in some extraordinary cases only; the latter

ter is the ordinary ablution in common cases, and before prayer, and must necessarily be used by every person before he can enter upon that duty. Besides these washings, there is another purification, performed by defrication, enjoined in the fifth sûra, or chapter of the Koran. It is called Al Tayamom, which properly denotes the action of taking any thing from the surface, as fine sand or dust from the surface of the earth; whence it comes to signify the rubbing of the parts of the body with fine sand or dust, instead of water. The words of the Koran, enjoining this ceremony, are the following: "If ye be sick, or on a journey, or any of you cometh from the privy, or if ye have touched women, and ye find no water, take fine clean sand, and rub your faces and your hands therewith." Which passage, the Mohammedans say, was revealed during the war of Al Mostalek, in the 6th year of the Hejra.

Besides these purifications, the Mohammedans have another rite, which they consider likewise in a similar view, and that is circumcision. Though this be not directly required in the Koran, it is yet held by the Mohammedans to have been originally of divine institution. It is probable this rite was derived from Ishmael to his descendants, as well the other Arabs, and particularly the Hamyarites, with whom they were intermixed. The Ishmaelites, according to Josephus, were circumcised when about twelve or thirteen years old, at which time their father Ishmael underwent that operation; nor do the Mohammedans circumcise their children before they can pronounce the profession of their faith. Though the prevailing opinion amongst the Moslems is, that the precept enjoining circumcision was originally given to Abraham; yet some of them have not scrupled to assert, that Adam was taught it by the angel Gabriel. It must here be remarked, that the females, as well as the males, are circumcised amongst the Mohammedans. According to Galen, the rite of circumcision was performed on the Egyptian girls by an incision of the nymphæ, in the same manner as it is upon those of the Mohammedans at this day. The Egyptians circumcised their children, both male and female, in the fourteenth year of their age. The Moslems also think, that combing the hair, cutting the beard, paring the nails, pulling out the hairs of their arm-pits, and shaving their private parts, are all points of cleanliness, and necessary in order to internal purification; which belief induces them to make these, as well as the foregoing lustrations, likewise indispensable duties.

With

With regard to public prayer, for the ſtated times of which Mohammed pretended to have received the divine command from the throne of God himſelf, it muſt be performed by every conſcientious Moſlem at leaſt five times a-day. At theſe times, of which public notice is given by the muedhdhins, or *criers*, from the ſteeples of their moſques, every Mohammedan prepares himſelf for prayer, which he performs either in the moſque, or any other place, provided it be clean, after a preſcribed form, and with a certain number of praiſes or ejaculations. He uſes alſo certain poſtures of worſhip; all which have been particularly deſcribed by ſeveral authors. It is likewiſe requiſite that he ſhould turn his face, whilſt he prays, towards the temple of Mecca; being directed by a nich made within the moſque, called Al Mehrâb, and without by the ſituation of the doors opening into the galleries of the ſteeple. There are alſo tables calculated for the ready finding out the Keblah, or part to which he ought to pray, in places where there is no other direction. The Mohammedans, during the time of divine ſervice, never appear in ſumptuous apparel, though they are obliged to be decently cloathed, leſt they ſhould ſeem proud and arrogant. They oblige likewiſe their women to perform their devotions at home, or at leaſt not to approach the moſques whilſt the men are preſent. Notwithſtanding the numerous particulars compriſed in the Mohammedan inſtitution of prayer, the inward diſpoſition of the heart, according to the Moſlem doctors, is principally to be regarded in the diſcharge of this duty. This, they ſay, is the life and ſpirit of prayer; the moſt punctual obſervance of the external rites and ceremonies being of little or no conſequence, if performed without due attention, reverence, devotion, and hope.

Of alms.

The next fundamental duty required by the Mohammedan religion, and which is ſtrictly enjoined in the Koran, is the giving of alms; which are of two ſorts, legal and voluntary. The latter are left to every one's liberty, to give more or leſs, as he ſhall think fit; but the former are of perpetual and indiſpenſable obligation. The former kind of alms ſome think to be properly called Zacât, and the latter Sadakat; though this name be alſo frequently given to the legal alms. They are called Zacât, either becauſe they increaſe a man's ſtore, by drawing down a bleſſing on it, and produce in his ſoul the virtue of liberality; or becauſe they purify the remaining part of one's ſubſtance from pollution, and the ſoul from the filth of avarice.

avarice. They seem to have obtained the name of Sadakat, because they are a proof of a man's sincerity in the worship of God. We are told, that the khalif Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz used to say, that prayer carries us half-way to God, fasting brings us to the door of his palace, and alms procures us admission. And indeed this duty is often recommended, jointly with prayer, in the Koran; the former being esteemed of great efficacy in causing the latter to be heard of God. Alms, according to the prescriptions of the Mohammedan law, are to be given of five things: 1. Of cattle, that is to say, of camels, kine, and sheep. 2. Of money. 3. Of corn. 4. Of fruits, viz. dates and raisins. And, 5. Of wares. The portion given in alms is usually about one part in forty, or two and a half per cent of the value; though in some cases a much larger portion than this is accounted due. At the end of the fast of Ramadân, every Moslem is obliged to give in alms for himself, and for every one of his family, if he has any, a measure of wheat, barley, dates, raisins, rice, or other provisions. The legal alms were at first collected by Mohammed himself, who employed them as he thought fit, to the relief of his poor relations and followers, but chiefly to the maintenance of those who served in his wars, and fought, as he termed it, for the cause of God. The khalifs, his successors, for some time continued to appropriate them to the same purpose.

Of fasting. The third fundamental point of religious practice, enjoined the Mohammedans, is fasting; a duty deemed of such great moment by the prophet, that he usually called it the Gate of Religion. It was also held in such esteem by that great Moslem doctor Al Ghazâli, that he reckoned it one fourth part of the faith. The Moslems are obliged, by the express command of the Koran, to fast the whole month of Ramadân, from the time the new moon first appears, till the appearance of the next new moon; during which time they must abstain from eating, drinking, and women, from day-break till night, or sun-set. The fast of Ramadân the Mohammedans observe so strictly, that they suffer nothing to enter their mouths, or other parts of their body, esteeming the fast broken and null if they smell perfumes, take a clyster or injection, bathe, wash, or even purposely swallow their spittle; some being so cautious that they will not even open their mouths to speak, lest they should breathe the air too freely. The fast is also deemed void, if a man kiss or touch a woman, has an involuntary emission, is accidentally stained by menstruous

ſtruous blood, becomes mad, or apoſtatiſes from the faith during the ſeaſon of faſting, or if he vomit deſignedly.

Of the pilgrimage to Mecca.

The fourth point of practice, or the pilgrimage to Mecca, is eſteemed by the Moſlems as ſo neceſſary and indiſpenſable a duty, that, in their opinion, he who dies without performing it, cannot poſſibly be in a ſtate of ſalvation. Of the time and manner of this pilgrimage, as well as of the temple of Mecca, the chief ſcene of the Mohammedan worſhip, we have already given an ample account in the life of Mohammed; and therefore an enumeration of the ceremonies uſed on that occaſion would now be ſuperfluous.

Of the prohibition of wine.

Having thus preſented a brief deſcription of the poſitive precepts contained in the Koran, we muſt now touch upon ſome of the principal of thoſe of a negative kind, that occur in this celebrated book. The firſt of theſe is the prohibition relating to the drinking of wine, under which name all ſorts of ſtrong and inebriating liquors are comprehended, which we meet with in ſeveral paſſages of the Koran. Some, however, ſuppoſe, that only drinking to exceſs is there forbidden; and that a moderate uſe of wine is allowed by the Mohammedan law: but the more received opinion is, that even the ſmalleſt quantity of wine, or other ſtrong liquors going under that name, ought not to be drunk by any Moſlem: and the more conſcientious Mohammedans are ſo ſtrict in this particular, eſpecially if they have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, that they conſider it unlawful not only to taſte wine, but to preſs grapes for the making of it, to buy or to ſell it, or even to maintain themſelves with the money ariſing from the ſale of that liquor. Some of the more rigid Moſlems aſſert, that coffee comes under the prohibition that declares the uſe of wine to be unlawful, as the fumes of it have a certain effect upon the imagination. The generality, however, of the Orientals, are of a different opinion.

Of the prohibition of gaming.

Gaming, alſo, as well as the uſe of all intoxicating liquors, is expreſly condemned in the ſecond and fifth chapters of the Koran. The original word *al meiſar*, properly denotes a particular game performed with arrows, and much in vogue amongſt the pagan Arabs: but by *lots*, we are plainly to underſtand all games whatſoever, which are ſubject to chance or hazard, as dice and cards. The teſtimony of him who plays at forbidden games is, by the more rigid Mohammedans judged to be of no validity in a court of juſtice. Cheſs is almoſt the only game allowed by the Mohammedan doctors to be lawful, as de-

pending wholly on skill and management, and not at all on chance: but then it is allowed under the following restrictions, viz. that it be no hindrance to the regular performance of their devotions; and that no money or other thing be played for, or betted.

Of the prohibition of divining arrows.

Divination by arrows, a practice common amongst the pagan Arabs before the birth of Mohammed, is likewise condemned in express terms by the Koran. The arrows used by them for this purpose were like those with which they cast lots, being without heads or feathers, and were kept in the temple of some idol, in whose presence they were consulted. Such arrows as these the image of Ishmael in the Caaba had in its hand, when it was destroyed by Mohammed in the eighth year of the Hejra. Sometimes in divination the ancient Arabs made use of seven arrows, but generally of three only. On one of these, which were all put into a sack, was written, "Command me, Lord;" on another, "Forbid me, Lord;" and the third was a blank. If the first was drawn, they interpreted it as an approbation of the enterprize in question; if the second, they made a contrary conclusion; but if the third happened to be drawn, they mixed them, and drew over again, till a decisive answer was given by one of the others. These divining arrows were generally consulted before any thing of consequence was undertaken; as when a man was about to marry, or to go a journey, or the like. This superstitious practice was used by the Babylonians as well as the Arabs, as may be inferred from St. Jerom as well as from Scripture.

Of forbidden food.

With respect to a distinction of meats, so generally observed by the eastern nations, it is no wonder that Mohammed, in imitation of his chief guides the Jews, made some regulations in that matter. The Koran, therefore, prohibits the eating of blood, and swine's flesh, and whatever dies naturally, or is slain in the name or honour of any idol, or is strangled, or killed by a blow, or a fall, or by any other beast. In cases of necessity, however, where a man may be in danger of starving, he is allowed by the Mohammedan law to eat any of the said prohibited kinds of food: but notwithstanding the Moslem prophet so closely adhered to the Jewish law in this particular, yet it is certain he allowed some things to be eaten which Moses did not, as camels flesh, which the Moslems are permitted to use as food by the Koran.

The last negative precept of the Koran we shall mention, is that prohibiting the inhuman custom which prevailed amongst

amongst many of the Arabs, and particularly the tribes of Koreish and Kendah, of burying their daughters alive, as soon as they were born, if they apprehended they could not maintain them; or else offering them to their idols, at the instigation of those who had the custody of their temples. The manner of both these unnatural operations is differently related by the Moslem authors, as may be gathered from Al Zamakhshari and other commentators on the Koran. The Koreish, who, before the time of Mohammed, were very much addicted to this barbarous practice, used to bury their daughters alive in Mount Abu Dalâma, near Mecca. Sáfaá, grandfather to the celebrated poet Al Farazdak, frequently redeemed female children from death, giving for every one two she-camels big with young, and a he-camel; to which redemption Al Farazdak himself alluded, when boasting before one of the khalifs of the family of Ommeya, he said, "I am the grandson of the giver of life to the dead;" for which expression being censured, he excused himself by alleging a passage of the fifth chapter of the Koran. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Arabs should receive the news of the birth of a daughter with a sorrowful countenance, and compliment a bride in the following terms, "May your labour be easy every time you are delivered, and all your children boys." For several reasons here hinted at, it may easily be conceived, that the death of a daughter was considered by the Arabs, on some occasions, as a great happiness, and even a signal mark of the divine favour.

The custom of burying their daughters alive abolished.

We shall now present our readers with a summary view of the principal institutions of the Koran in civil affairs; as the limits we must prescribe ourselves will not permit us to enter minutely into a detail of particulars. Nor shall we deem any thing more requisite on that head than what will be barely sufficient to enable our readers to understand some passages of the Moslem writers, whose meaning they would not otherwise so easily comprehend, that we shall be obliged sometimes to follow in the sequel of this history.

Polygamy the Koran allows, though with certain limitations which have not hitherto by Christians been sufficiently attended to. According to the express words of the Mohammedan law, no man can have more than four women, whether wives or concubines; and if a man apprehends any inconvenience from even that number of real wives, he is advised to marry one only; or, if he cannot be contented with one, to take up with his she-slaves, though not exceeding the limited number.

Of the laws of marriage and divorce.

Divorce likewise, as well as polygamy, is allowed by the Koran. However, a Moslem may repudiate his wife twice, without being obliged to separate himself from her, if he should happen to repent of what he has done; but if he divorces her a third time, it is not lawful for him to take her again till she has been married and bedded by another man, and divorced by such second husband. Which precaution has had so good an effect, that the Mohammedans are seldom known to proceed to the extremity of divorce. The women, even after the first and second repudiations, are not suffered to separate themselves from their husbands, unless it be for ill usage, want of proper maintenance, neglect of conjugal duty, impotency, or some other sufficient cause; and even after their third divorce, they must wait till they have had their courses thrice, or, if too young to have them, three months, before they marry another. After the expiration of that term, they may dispose of themselves, if not with child; but in case they should happen to be pregnant, they must stay till they be delivered. The whole term of waiting they are to be maintained at the expence of their husbands, if they be not guilty of any dishonesty. A woman divorced before consummation waits no particular time; nor is the husband obliged to give her more than one half of her dower. If the repudiated woman has a young child, she is to suckle it till it be two years old, and be entirely maintained at her father's expence. A widow is obliged to do the same thing, and to wait four months and ten days before she can marry again. If a woman, in a state of divorce leaves her husband for any of these causes, she loses her dowry; which is not the case if she be divorced by her husband, unless she has been guilty of disloyalty to his bed, or notorious disobedience.

The punishment allotted to those who were guilty of whoredom in the beginning of Mohammedism was to be immured till death; but afterwards this cruel sentence was mitigated, and might be avoided by undergoing the punishment ordained in its stead by the Sonna; according to which, the maidens are to be scourged with a hundred stripes, and to be banished for a full year; and the married women to be stoned. In order to convict a woman of adultery, the charge must be supported by four male witnesses, according to the commentators on the Koran; and if a man accuse a woman falsely of that crime, or even fornication only, he is to receive eighty stripes, and his testimony is to be held invalid for the future; but then the woman

woman so calumniated must be a free woman, of ripe age, having her understanding perfect, and of the Mohammedan religion. Fornication, in either sex, is punished with a hundred stripes; and the female slaves receive but half the punishment of free women, in case of adultery; because the former are not presumed to have had so good an education as the latter. In case of adultery, therefore, a slave is to have fifty stripes, and to be banished for half a year; but she shall not be stoned, because it is a punishment which cannot be inflicted by halves. If a man accuse his wife of infidelity, upon insufficient evidence, but will swear four times that it is true, and the fifth time imprecate God's vengeance on him if it be false, she is to be considered as convicted, unless she will take the same oaths, and make the like imprecation, in testimony of her innocency; in which case she is free from punishment: nevertheless, the marriage ought to be declared void by the judge; because it is not fit they should continue together after they have proceeded to such extremities. The Moslems are forbidden, by a particular passage in the twenty-fourth chapter of the Koran, to compel their maid-servants to prostitute themselves; the revelation of which passage was occasioned by Abd'allah Ebn Obba's laying a certain tax on six women-slaves, which he obliged them to earn by the prostitution of their bodies. In most of the last mentioned particulars Mohammed had the Jews likewise for his guides, and closely adhered to their decisions. The determinations also of the Koran relating to the pollution of women during their courses, the taking of slaves to wife, and the prohibiting of marriage within certain degrees, have a great affinity with the Mosaic institutions. As to the last article, the pagan Arabs, for the most part abstained from marrying their mothers, daughters, aunts both on the father's side and the mother's, two sisters, and their father's wives; though the Magians were frequently guilty of such incestuous matches, which were allowed by their prophet Zerdusht. With regard to Mohammed himself, he pretended to the privilege of marrying as many wives, and taking as many concubines, as he thought proper, without being confined to any particular number; an indulgence, which, as he asserted, had been allowed all the prophets before him. He likewise altered the vicissitude of his wives, taking such to his bed as he thought fit, without being bound to that order and equality which others are obliged to observe; nor did he permit any man to marry such of his wives as he in his life-time divorced,

or left widows at his death: which last particular exactly agrees with what the Jewish doctors have determined concerning the wives of their princes. Some of the commentators on the Koran, however, are of opinion, that the first privilege of the prophet here mentioned was limited by certain restrictions.

Of the laws of inheritances.

The laws relating to inheritances, contained in the fourth chapter of the Koran, in several respects resemble those of the Jews, though principally designed to abolish a custom of the Pagan Arabs, who denied widows and orphans any share in the inheritances of their husbands and fathers, on pretence that those only should inherit them who were able to go to war: but for a particular account of the distribution of the estate and effects of the deceased, we must refer our readers to the above mentioned chapter, as well as to Al Beidâwi, Jallalo'ddin, and other commentators on the Koran.

It may not be improper, however, to observe, that in general a male is to have twice as much as a female; though to this rule there are some few exceptions, which are pointed out in the fourth chapter of the Koran. The particular proportions, in several cases, sufficiently declare the intention of Mohammed; whose decisions seem to be pretty equitable, preferring a man's children first, and then his nearest relations. In order to render a man's disposition of any part of his estate by will valid, two witnesses at least, and those of his own tribe, and of the Mohammedan religion, if such can be had, are required to attest that disposition. The Moslem doctors do not approve of a person's leaving any part of his substance from his family, except in some legacies for pious uses; and even these are restricted to a reasonable part in proportion to the whole. The heirs, on the other hand, in case nothing is bequeathed for charitable uses, on the distribution of the estate, if the value of it will permit, are directed to bestow something on the poor. With regard to the children of the deceased, those of his concubines or slaves are esteemed equally legitimate with those of his legal wives; none being accounted bastards except such only as are born of common women, and whose fathers are unknown.

Of private contracts.

The conscientious performance of contracts is frequently recommended by the Koran. In order to prevent disputes, all contracts are directed to be made before witnesses, and if not immediately executed, to be reduced into writing in the presence of two men of the Mohammedan religion, or if they cannot be found, of one man

man and two women. The same method is also directed to be taken for the security of debts, to be paid at a future day; and where a writer is not at hand, pledges are to be taken. The performance of contracts is the most strongly insisted upon in the beginning of the fifth chapter of the Koran; which, for that reason, or rather because the word *contracts* occurs in the first verse, is sometimes called the chapter of Contracts.

Of murder and manslaughter.

Wilful murder, though one of the most enormous crimes that can be committed, is yet allowed to be compounded for, on payment of a fine to the family of the deceased, and freeing a Moslem from captivity. However, the next of kin, or, in the language of the Pentateuch, the "revenger of blood," may either accept of such satisfaction, or refuse it, and insist on having the murderer delivered into his hands, to be put to death in such manner as he shall think fit. Manslaughter must be redeemed by fine, and the freeing of a captive; which atonement if a man be not able to make, he is to fast two months together, by way of penance. The fine for a man's blood is set down in the Sonna at a hundred camels; and is to be distributed amongst the relations of the deceased, according to the laws of inheritances; unless the person slain be a Moslem of a nation or party at enmity, or not in confederacy with those to whom the slayer belongs; in which case the redemption of a captive is declared a sufficient penalty.

Of theft.

Theft is ordered to be punished by cutting off the offending part, the hand; but the commentators suppose, that those who murder and rob too, are to be crucified; those who rob without committing murder, to have their right hand and left foot cut off; and they who assault persons on the road, to be banished. The punishment appointed for common theft is not to he inflicted, according to the Sonna, unless the value of the things stolen amount to four dinârs, or about fifty shillings. As to injuries done men in their persons, the law of retaliation, which was ordained by the law of Moses, is also approved by the Koran; though this law is seldom put in execution, the punishment being generally converted into a fine, which is paid to the party injured. In crimes of an inferior nature, where a pecuniary compensation will not answer the purpose, the Mohammedans, according to the practice of the Jews in the like case, have recourse to stripes, or drubbing; the cudgel, which, for its virtue and efficacy in keeping their people in good order, they say came down

from heaven, being the instrument wherewith the judge's sentence is generally executed on such occasions.

Of war against infidels.

The Mohammedans, in general, regard the Koran as the fundamental part of their civil law; and the decisions of the Sonna amongst the Turks, and of the imams amongst those of the Persian sect, with the explications of their several doctors, are usually followed in judicial determinations. Notwithstanding which, the secular tribunals do not think themselves obliged to observe the same in all cases, but frequently give judgment against those decisions, which are not always consonant to equity and reason. Hence arises a distinction between the written civil law of the Mohammedans, as administered in the ecclesiastical courts, and the law of nature, or common law, which takes place in the secular courts, and has the executive power on its side. Under the head of civil laws may be comprehended the injunction of making war against infidels, which is repeated in several passages of the Koran, and declared to be of high merit in the sight of God; those who are slain fighting in defence of the faith being esteemed as martyrs, and promised immediate admission into paradise. And on the other hand, desertion, or refusing to serve in these holy wars, or to contribute towards the carrying them on, if a man has ability, is accounted a most heinous crime, frequently declaimed against in the Koran.

In the infancy of Mohammedism all the enemies of that religion taken in battle were doomed to death without mercy; but this sentence was judged too severe to be put in practice when it was sufficiently established. The Mohammedans afterwards, at their declaration of war against any people of a different faith, gave them their choice, either to embrace Mohammedism, or to submit and pay tribute, or else to decide the quarrel by the sword. In the first case they became not only secure in their persons, families, and fortunes, but entitled to all the privileges of other Moslems; in the second they were allowed to profess their own religion, provided it was not gross idolatry, or against the moral law; and in the last, if the Moslems prevailed, their women and children, being made captives, became absolute slaves; the men, at the same time, taken in battle being either slain, unless they turned Mohammedans, or otherwise disposed of at the pleasure of the prince.

It has been already observed, that four months in the year were esteemed sacred by all the Pagan Arabs, except the

the tribes of Tay and Khathâam, and some of the descendents of Al Hareth Ebn Caab, during which they ceased from incursions and other hostilities. This institution, which prevailed for many ages, was so religiously observed, that there are not above four, or as some say six, instances of its having been transgressed; the wars which were carried on without regard to this prohibition, being, therefore, termed impious. The principal of these seems to have been that between the tribes of Koreish and Kais Ailan, wherein Mohammed himself served under his uncles, being then fourteen, or as others say, twenty years old. The first day of this war, or rather that on which the commencement of the quarrel occasioning it, happened, is termed by the Arabs the day Al Fajar, or the *wicked day*, because then a custom that had been long held sacred amongst the Arabs was wickedly and impiously violated. This served the Arabs, who computed their time from it, for an æra, till the time of the Hejra, and was by them styled the æra of the impious, or illicit war. The months held sacred amongst the ancient Arabs were Al Moharrem, Rajeb, Dhu'lkaada, and Dhu'lhajja; the first, the seventh, the eleventh, and the twelfth in the year. Dhu'lhajja was the month wherein the Pagan Arabs performed the pilgrimage to Mecca; the Great Feast, or, as the Arabs sometimes called it, the Feast of Oblation, having been celebrated at the Caaba on the tenth day of that month. This pilgrimage, and the rites attending it, the Arabs denominated Alhajja, i. e. the *feast*, or *solemn festivity*; so that Dhu'lhajja properly denotes the month of such feast or festivity. That every one might safely, and without interruption, pass and repass to and from the festival, the preceding month Dhu'lkaada, and the following one Al Moharram, were likewise kept inviolable. Rajeb is said to have been more strictly observed than any of the other three; probably because in that month the Pagan Arabs used to fast; Ramadân, which was afterwards set apart by Mohammed for that purpose, being, in the times of ignorance, dedicated to drinking in excess. The observance of these months seeming so reasonable to the Moslem prophet, as to merit his approbation, the same is confirmed and enforced by several passages in the Koran [y].

The old Arabs observe four months in the year as sacred.

Several

[y] Al Kazwini, apud Golium in Not Ad Alfragan. p. 4, 5, 6, 9, &c. ut & ipse Gol. ibid. Al Shahrestani, apud Pocock. in Not. ad Spec. Hist. Arab. p, 122, 311, &c. Al Jawhar. Al Mogheltai, Ism. Abulfed. Vita Mohammed. p. 11. Al Kodai & Al Firauzabad. apud Pocockium, ubi supra, p. 174. Ahmed Ebn Yusef, apud Pocockium,

Why Friday was set apart by Mohammed for the more peculiar attendance on God's worship.

Several reasons are assigned why Friday, or the sixth day of the week, was more peculiarly devoted by Mohammed to the public worship of Almighty God. Some imagine this was done because the prophet on that day arrived at Medina, and made his public entry. Others say, that Friday was preferred to any other day of the week for this purpose, because on that day God finished the creation: but the true reason seems to have been, because Caab Ebn Lowa, one of Mohammed's ancestors, gave the day its present name, Yawm al Joma, i. e. *the day of the assembly*, or *congregation*; since, on that day, the people used to be assembled before him. Be that as it may, Friday goes under that denomination in the Koran; though its ancient name was Arûba. Some of the Mohammedan writers call it *the prince of days*, and *the most excellent day on which the sun rises*; pretending also, that it will be the day whereon the last judgment will be solemnized. The Moslems are not obliged to observe the day of their public assembly with the same strictness as the Christians and Jews keep their respective Sabbaths; or particularly to abstain from work, after they have performed their devotions; there being a permission, as is generally supposed, in the Koran, allowing them to return to their diversions, or employments. Some, however, from a tradition of their prophet, are of opinion, that works of charity, and religious exercises, which may draw down the blessing of God, are recommended in that passage. We must not omit informing our readers, that the names of the days of the week amongst the Pagan Arabs, as appears from the verses of a very ancient poet, cited by Golius, were Euvel, Bahûn, Gebâr, Debâr, Mûmis, Arûba, and Shijâr. From whence we may conclude, that the Arabs, as well as the Hebrews, at first computed their time by hebdomadal periods, in memory of the creation of our system. Friday then is the Mohammedan weekly feast, and enough has been said of it in this place. We shall only remark of the principal annual feasts of the Moslems, called by the Turks the two Beirâms, or *holidays*, that the first is styled, in Arabic, Id al Fetr, i. e. *the feast of breaking the fast*, beginning the first of Shawâl, and immediately succeeding the

cockium, ubi sup. ut et ipse Pocock. ibid. Gol. Lex. Arab. col. 601. Reland. ubi sup. p. 5. Al Makrisi, apud Pocock. ubi sup. Autor Neshk Al Athar, ibid. Sharif Al Edrisi, apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 127. Al Kor. Moham. sect. ii. iv. v. ix. &c. Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 132. Al Beidawi, Sale, ubi sup. p. 147, 148, 149.

fast

fast of Ramadân; and the other Id al Korbân, or Id al Adhâ, i. e. *the feast of the sacrifice*, beginning on the tenth of Dhu'lhajja, when the victims are slain at the pilgrimage of Mecca. Our readers will meet with a particular description of them in the authors here referred to [z]. In the mean time, we shall proceed to a narration of facts, and resume, without any farther delay, the thread of our history.

Abu Becr's character and sayings.

Abu Becr, at his death, was about sixty-three years of age, and died of a consumption, according to Al Makîn, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by other writers. He was a tall lean man, with a thin beard, and of a swarthy complexion. His hair and beard were tinged with a sort of paint, extracted from al henna, or the cypress tree, and a plant called by the Arabs al catam, which gave them a very beautiful red colour. This practice was likewise observed by Mohammed himself, as it is by many of his followers, and particularly the Scenite Arabs, in the eastern countries, at this day. Abu Becr was very abstemious, as well as regular in the performance of his devotions, and set little value on those things which are always the most esteemed by worldly-minded men. He held money in such contempt, that he left behind him in the treasury not above three dirhems; and those he begged Ayesha, one of the prophet's widows, to restore to the Moslems after his disease. Nor were all his effects valued at more than five of those pieces of money. Which circumstance when Omar was told, he is reported to have said, "May God have mercy on the soul of Abu Becr; but he has left his successor a difficult pattern to follow." Among other sayings of Abu Becr, the two following very remarkable apophthegms have been preserved by an Arabic author: "Good actions are a guard against the blows of adversity;" and "Death is the easiest of all things after it, and the hardest of all things before it." He reigned two years, three months, and nine days, if we credit Al Makîn; though the duration of his khali-

[z] Al Kor. Moham. Abulfed. Vit. Mohammed. Al Zamakshar, Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin, Golii Not. ad Alfragan. Ebn Al Athir & Al Ghazali, Al Shakrestan, apud Pocockium, in Not. ad Spec. Hist. Arab. ut et ipse Pocock. ibid. Abu Shosjain Ahmed Ebn Al Hasan, Al Kessai, Poet. Antiquiss. apud Golium, ubi sup. Reland. de Relig. Mohammed. Gol. in Lex Arab. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Hyde, in Not. ad Albertum Bobovium, de Peregrinat. Meccan. Chard. Voy. de Perse, tom. ii. See also Sale's Preliminary Discourse. Prid. Life of Mahomet.

fat is extended to two years and four months, within eight days, by Abu'l-Faraj.

Several remarkable events happened in the last year of Abu Becr.

We are told by Al Makîn, that Amru Ebn Al As, in the 13th year of the Hejra, or the last of Abu Becr, laid siege to Gaza, with a body of the Moslem forces, and pursued the garrison, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, as far as the gates of Cæsarea and Jerusalem; but that he could not make himself master of either of those places. The same author likewise informs us, that Palestine was afflicted this year with a terrible earthquake, the shocks of which continued, though with intermission, for thirty days together; and that this earthquake was succeeded by a pestilence, which carried off abundance of people. It also appears from Theophanes and Cedrenus, that a comet, in the form of a fiery beam, was seen about the same time; though Dionysius Telmarensis, the Jacobite patriarch, who flourished in the year of Christ 775, makes this comet to have preceded the birth of Mohammed. Theophanes pretends, that Sergius, the commandant of Gaza, engaged the Arabs with only three hundred men, who, together with their general, who fell in the beginning of the action, were all put to the sword; as also, that Amru obliged the inhabitants of the whole tract extending from Gaza to mount Sinai, and the borders of the desart, to submit to the khalif [a].

SECT. II.

From the Death of Abu Becr to the Death of Omar.

Abu Becr is succeeded by Omar;

THE same day that Abu Becr died, Omar Ebn Al Khattâb Ebn Nofail Ebn Abd'alaziz Ebn Riyah Ebn Ada Ebn Caab, surnamed Abu Hafs, was invested with the regal and pontifical dignity. The title first assigned him was, the Khalif of the Khalif of the Apostle of God; or, in other words, the Successor of the Successor of Mohammed: but the Arabs considering, that this title, by the addition to be annexed to it at the accession of every future khalif, would be too long, they, by universal consent, saluted him the Emperor of the Believers. Which illustrious title, at this juncture conferred on Omar, descended afterwards to all the successors of that prince [b].

a Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 19, 20. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 279, Parisiis, 1655. Al Waked & Abulfed. in Vit. Abu Bec. b Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 175. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 266, 267.

Omar

Omar no sooner found his authority recognized by the people, than he made a speech to them out of the pulpit, to the following effect: that he should not have undertaken such an arduous province, had he not been convinced of their intention to persevere in their duty; and had he not always entertained the most favourable sentiments of them.

who speaks to the people.

As soon as the new khalif was settled in the government, he sent Abu Obeid Ebn Masûd, at the head of a detachment of a thousand men, to make an irruption into Irâk; joining to him Al Mothanna Ebn Haretha, Amru Ebn Hazem, and Salit Ebn Kis, in the command of those forces. Abu Obeid having received his orders, advanced to Al Thalabiya, and encamped on the bank of a river at a small distance from that place. Al Thalabiya, according to Abulfeda, is a small town, or village, in the desarts of Irâc, on the confines of Syria, surrounded by a wall, and plentifully supplied with water. This river Abu Obeid thought proper to pass, contrary to the advice of Salit and Al Mothanna, who were for continuing in their camp till they had received a reinforcement from the khalif, in order to attack the Persians, who had taken post on the opposite bank with a numerous army. Abu Obeid having passed his small force over a bridge he had ordered to be made for that purpose, immediately fell upon the Persians, and charged them with such bravery, that he put them to flight, and made a considerable slaughter: but the Persian general soon rallying his troops, returned to the charge with so much vigour, that he forced the Arabs in their turn to retire, and put a great number of them to the sword. Abu Obeid himself was killed in the beginning of the action, an accident which occasioned the defeat of his troops; notwithstanding which, Al Mothanna made an excellent retreat, and repassed the river without any considerable loss. He afterwards fortified himself in his camp, where he remained till he was reinforced by a body of troops, sent to his assistance by the khalif, under the command of Jarîr Ebn Abd'allah, who joined him in the camp of Thalabiya. After this junction, the Moslem army marched to Dir Hind, where they pitched their tents; and from thence made frequent excursions, ravaging all that part of Irâk which lay next to the Euphrates. Arzemidokht, queen of the Persians, receiving advice of the depredations committed by the Arabs in her dominions, sent a body of twelve thousand chosen horse, under the conduct of Mahran, her general, to drive them out of Irâk. This motion brought on

His troops defeat the Persians in several engagements.

on a general action in the neighbourhood of Hira, which, after a sharp and most obstinate dispute, ended in the defeat of the Persians. At first Mahran seemed to have the advantage, and forced the Arabs to give ground; but Al Mothanna soon restored the battle, which lasted with incredible fury from noon till sun-set, neither party shewing the least inclination to retire: but Al Mothanna at last engaging Mahran in single combat, gave him such a blow on his shoulder as laid him dead at his feet. His fate struck the Persians with such terror, that they immediately fled to Al Madâyen, a town seated on the Tigris, about a days journey distant from Baghdâd. The Arabs, having sustained great fatigues in the engagement, did not pursue the enemy far; but contented themselves with remaining masters of the field of battle, curing the wounded, and burying their dead. The Persians, exasperated at such a continued series of ill success, which they attributed to a male-administration, immediately deposed their queen, and placed in her room Yazdejerd, the last king of Persia, of the ancient royal line: but this expedient by no means retrieved the glory of the Persian arms. Al Mothanna overthrew Rustam, the Persian general sent against him by Yazdejerd with a powerful army, at Hira, where he was at that time posted; and Abu Musa Al Ashari, another of Omar's commanders, defeated a formidable body of troops, headed by Al Harzaman, a noble Persian, at Ahwâz. In these two decisive actions, both the Persian generals were killed, and a great part of their armies, which were entirely dispersed, put to the sword. This is the period to which these transactions are referred by Abu'l-Faraj, and Al Makîn; but, on the authority of Al Wakedi, and some other reputable historians, we are inclined to believe these two battles were fought in the first year of Abu Beer.

The garrison of Damascus having capitulated, and obtained honourable terms by the interposition of Abu Obeidah, the besieged were left at liberty to retire to what place they thought fit to chuse, by one of the articles of the capitulation. However, Khâled, the Moslem general, gave them to understand, that, as soon as they entered upon the imperial territories, they were to be considered as no longer under his protection; though he promised not to pursue them till the expiration of three days after their departure from his camp. He also supplied them with some provisions, to enable them to continue their march, and granted them a few arms to defend

fend themſelves with, in caſe of any unexpected attack. The greateſt part of the citizens and the garriſon, with Thomas and Herbîs, the two chief commanders, at their head, ſcon after the ſigning of the capitulation, left the place, and were permitted to carry along with them their moſt valuable effects, their plate, jewels and ſilk, beſides the emperor's wardrobe, that contained above three hundred loads of dyed ſilks and cloth of gold, of almoſt ineſtimable value. The emperor Heraclius's daughter likewiſe, according to Al Wakedi, who was in Damaſcus when it was obliged to ſurrender to the Arabs, took the ſame route with the other Chriſtians, who were thus expelled their native country. Derâr, one of the Moſlem commanders, ſeeing ſuch a number of people eſcape, reflected upon Abu Obeidah for preventing the effuſion of ſo much infidel blood; for which reflection he was reprimanded by Athi Ebn Ammâr, another officer, of a more merciful diſpoſition, who applauded Abu Obeidah for the lenity he had ſhewn, for being ſparing of Moſlem blood, and for giving the true believers reſt from their labours.

Khâled pillages the Greeks after their departure from Damaſcus.

After Thomas and Herbîs had left the place, a diſpute aroſe in Damaſcus between Khâled and Abu Obeidah, about the large quantity of wheat and barley, which the citizens, who had ſurrendered to the latter, claimed as their property, by virtue of the capitulation. They were ſupported in their claim by Abu Obeidah; but Khâled inſiſted upon the corn's being diſtributed amongſt the Moſlems; ſo that it was agreed to write to Abu Becr, the news of whoſe death had not yet arrived in the camp, to deſire him to determine this affair. In the mean time Khâled, at the ſolicitation of Jonas, who had been taken priſoner by a party of the Arabs, and, in order to ſave his life, turned Mohammedan, reſolved to purſue the Chriſtians who had lately left Damaſcus, and endeavour to make himſelf maſter of all the riches and valuable effects they had carried away. Jonas's motive to this undertaking was the recovery of his wife, who, as ſoon as ſhe was informed of his apoſtacy, came to a determination to leave both her huſband and native city, and to ſeek for ſanctuary with the people attending Thomas and Herbîs, in ſome other part of the imperial dominions. In order to render ſucceſsful this expedition, Khâled put himſelf at the head of a detachment of four thouſand horſe, which were the flower of his cavalry, clothed, at Jonas's requeſt, in the habit of the Chriſtian Arabs, that they might the more eaſily paſs through the enemy's country, without being

diſcovered,

discovered, and went in quest of the Christians, four days after they had evacuated the town. After a long and tedious march, wherein his men suffered uncommon fatigues, he advanced into the neighbourhood of Laodicea, or, as the Arabs pronounce it, Ladikiâ, and Jabalah, but durst not enter either of those cities; and at last, having been greatly encouraged by Abd'alrahmân's interpretation of a dream in his favour, he came up with the Damascenes, whom he found reposing themselves in a meadow. He forthwith divided his detachment into four divisions; assigning the command of the first to Derâr Ebn Al Azwar, that of the second to Rafi Ebn Omeirah, that of the third to Abd'alrahmân, said by Al Wakedi to have been the son of Abu Beer, and that of the fourth he took upon himself. Every one of these divisions, or smaller detachments, he posted at â proper distance from the others, leaving a vacant space between every two; and charged his officers to make their appearance gradually, that they might strike the greater terror into the enemy. He ordered the other commanders not to charge the Christians till they saw him actually engaged, and not to suffer any of their men to touch the least particle of plunder till the action was ended. Thomas and Herbîs likewise, on the other side, drew up their troops in order of battle, in as proper a manner as the nature of the ground would permit. Those two generals, on this occasion, seem to have divided into two bodies the Christian forces; which in number must have been much superior to Khâled's detachment, as the body commanded by Thomas alone consisted of five thousand men. Notwithstanding which superiority, Khâled engaged the imperial troops with great resolution; and, after a sharp dispute, defeated the forces under the orders of Thomas, and put that general himself to the sword. He no sooner fell than Abd'alrahmân alighted from his horse, cut off his head, and fixed it upon the point of the standard of the cross; saying aloud to the Greeks, "Woe to you, ye Grecian dogs, behold your master's head!" This spectacle had such an effect upon them, that scarce any resistance was afterwards made. Herbîs, the other Christian commander, was likewise slain; and not one of those who had left Damascus, escaped either the carnage or captivity, except a single person who directed Khâled to Herbîs, whose blood he thirsted after, and who having for that reason been set at liberty by the Moslem general, after he had refused to renounce the Christian faith, took the route towards Constantinople.

The

The emperor's daughter, according to Al Wakedi, was taken prisoner in the action by Rafi Ebn Omeirah, after a vigorous resistance, she having slain the Arab's horse before he could oblige her to surrender. This lady was a celebrated beauty, dressed in the richest manner, and adorned with a vast variety of jewels of inestimable value. Her husband Thomas being put to the sword, Rafi made a present of her to Jonas, whose wife chose to stab herself rather than cohabit with him after she had fallen into his hands. This catastrophe so affected that apostate, that he continued a widower the remainder of his days; and the princess was, by his consent, returned to the emperor, her father, without any ransom. The Arabs having thus met with greater success than even the most sanguine of them could expect, returned triumphantly to Damascus, loaded with the immense riches and valuable spoils they had acquired in this expedition [d].

The Christian writers differ from Al Wakedi in their account of the preceding transactions.

The accounts of the siege of Damascus, as well as of some other occurrences consequential to that event, handed down to us by the Christian writers, and particularly Eutychius, differ from what has been related on these subjects by Al Wakedi in several particulars. We are told by Eutychius, that the emperor Heraclius, who resided at Hems when the Arabs invested Damascus, assembled a body of Arab troops, drawn from the tribes of Ghassân, Jedam, Calb, Lakhm, and others, who acknowleged the sovereignty of that prince, and sent them under the command of one Mahan to Damascus; at the same time dispatching an order to Mansûr, the commandant of that place, to distribute a sum of money amongst those troops, in order to retain them in his service. But Mansûr, being either unwilling to part with any money, or a traitor to the emperor, refused to supply the Arabs with the sum demanded of him. Being informed that Mahan, after his departure from Damascus, was encamped at the ford, or river, Wadi Al Ramad, in a place called Al Jawlan, about two days journey from that city, he marched from thence with a great multitude of people attending him, carrying lamps and torches in their hands, beating their drums, and playing on their military musical instruments, in the nighttime, towards Mahan's camp; a spectacle which so terrified the troops under that general's command, who were not previously apprized of his approach, that they imme-

[d] Al Waked. ubi supra. Ockley's History of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 131—153. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 298, 299.

diately fled, thinking that a body of the Moslems was behind them, and even upon the point of surrounding them. Many, therefore, of Mahan's men were drowned in the Wadi Al Ramad, which was a very large torrent, or river, and the rest precipitately retreated to Damascus, Jerusalem, Cæsarea, and other places. Mahan, after this disaster, dreading the emperor's resentment, prevailed upon some monks, seated on Mount Sinai, to admit him into their convent, where he took the religious habit, and the name of Anastasius, when he wrote a commentary on the sixth Psalm. After which exploit, the four principal officers of the Moslem army took post before the town, with all their forces; Khâled pitching his tent near the east gate, Abu Obeidah his near the gate Al Jâbiyah, Amru Ebn Al As his at the gate of St. Thomas, and Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân his at the little gate, his troops at the same time extending to the gate Kisan, or Kaisân. The Greeks made incessant sallies through the whole course of the siege, but were always repulsed, and sometimes with very considerable loss. After the Moslems had carried on their approaches for near six months, Mansûr, the governor, capitulated, and agreed to put the Moslem troops in possession of the gates; Khâled at the same time engaging to support the inhabitants in the possession of their privileges, and the free exercise of their religion. But, notwithstanding this convention, the Moslems entered the town sword in hand, and attacked the garrison, which had been left at the mercy of the Arabs by Mansûr; upon which a very fierce conflict ensued at the gate of St. Thomas, and great numbers on both sides were put to the sword. However, at length, Abu Obeidah, Amru Ebn Al As, and Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân, as well as Khâled, signed the capitulation in that part of the town called Al Ziyanain, and the slaughter immediately ceased. Some few of the soldiers belonging to the garrison made their escape to Antioch, at that time the residence of the emperor Heraclius; who, when he received advice of the surrender of Damascus, is reported to have said in Greek, "Farewell, Syria;" that is, "Farewell, Damascus, the capital of Syria." Heraclius some time after, according to the same historian, went to Constantinople; and Mansûr, for the misfortunes and calamities he had brought upon the Christian world, by his villainous conduct, was anathematized by all the patriarchs and bishops of the empire [e].

[e] Eutych. Patriarch. Alexandrin. Annal. tom. ii. p. 270—283. Al Makin, ubi supra, p. 21, 26, 27, 28. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi supra, p. 178. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 128—130.

Upon

Khâled informs the khalif of the success of his arms.

Upon his arrival at Damascus, Khâled divided the spoils and riches he had brought thither with him amongst the troops employed in the late expedition, after having reserved the fifth part of them for the khalif, to be put into the public treasury, conformably to the injunction contained in the eighth chapter of the Koran. As Jonas, who, before he fell into the hands of the Moslems, was a person of rank, and even of noble extraction, had greatly distinguished himself on the late occasion, Khâled made him a present of a very considerable sum of money, to enable him to purchase another wife, in the room of her he had lost through her unparalleled obstinacy. Jonas took the money, and professed a grateful sense of the favour done him; but at the same time declared, that he persisted in his intention of never cohabiting with any woman in this world, being determined to wait for the enjoyment of the black-eyed girls of paradise in the next. Khâled then dispatched a courier with a letter he had written to Abu Becr, of whose death he had received no advice, to Medina. In that letter he gave the khalif a long detail of the advantages gained over the infidels by the Moslem arms, including a particular account of the reduction of Damascus, of the recovery of the spoil the inhabitants of that place were permitted to carry away, and of the controversy that had happened between him and Abu Obeidah, relative to the surrender of the town, and the corn claimed by the citizens after that event, which he begged him as soon as possible to decide. Eutychius seems to intimate, though this must be allowed to be inconsistent with what has been advanced by Al Wakedi in the point before us, that this courier arrived at Medina within the space of seven days after the capitulation was signed [f].

Omar confers the command of the Moslem army in Syria upon Abu Obeidah.

Upon his arrival, he was greatly surprised to find Omar raised to the throne in the room of Abu Becr, of whose death they had received no information in Syria. The truth of the matter is, Omar, immediately after his elevation to the khalifat, had sent an express to Abu Obeidah, with an account of what had happened, and an order to take upon himself the command of the Moslem forces that acted in Syria, on account of his eminent piety, in the room of Khâled, whose cruel disposition had rendered him very disagreeable to the new khalif; but Abu Obeidah not having the least spark of ambition, and entertaining a high opinion of Khâled's abilities as a general, had kept the in-

[f] Al Wakedi, ubi supra. Eutych. ubi supra, p. 282, 283.

telligence and order he had received a profound secret from the army, and did not in the least oppose Khâled's intention of writing to Abu Becr. This conduct being now discovered by Omar, he made an harangue one day from the pulpit to the people, it being usual for the khalifs, when in that situation, to talk of public affairs, on some occasions, in a familiar manner; wherein he told them, that he had deprived Khâled of his commission, and conferred the command of his army in Syria upon Abu Obeidah. A young man then present expressed great concern at such an indignity's being offered to a general, whose conduct and bravery had procured such singular advantages to the Moslems; observing, at the same time, that when Abu Becr was pressed to dismiss Khâled from his employment by some of his courtiers, he made answer, that he would not lay aside, nor sheath, that sword, which God had drawn for the assistance and support of the true religion. However, this insinuation made not the least impression upon the khalif, who next day, in another speech from the same place, resolutely declared to his subjects, that as the supreme management and direction of the Moslem affairs had devolved upon him by his predecessor's death, and the united suffrages of the believers, he would always take care to reward and prefer his officers according to their merit; and that, in consequence of this resolution, he was determined to appoint Abu Obeidah generalissimo over Khâled; the former being of a gentle merciful disposition, always kind to the Moslems; the latter of a fierce untractable temper, greedy of plunder, and one who had committed many enormous depredations. "However, continued he, the deposition of so fierce a general as Khâled will be of no advantage to our enemies, as God himself will conduct the enterprizes formed by so good a man as Abu Obeidah, and assist him in all his mild counsels." He then came down from the pulpit, signed Abu Obeidah's commission, and wrote him a letter containing good advice; commanding him therein not to be too timid, nor expose the Moslems, for the sake of plunder, to unnecessary dangers. By the close of this letter, he apparently glanced at Khâled's pursuit of the Christians, after the reduction of Damascus. He also ordered Abu Obeidah to confirm the citizens in the possession of their wheat and barley, which had been the subject of so much contention, and pronounced the city had been taken by capitulation, not by storm; however, he declared the gold and silver to be the property of the Moslems, after the deduction of the

fifth

fifth part, in conformity to the injunction contained in the eighth chapter of the Koran. With regard to Khâled's last expedition, after the surrender of Damascus, the khalif observed that it was a rash action; and that had not God been more merciful than he deserved, he might have sustained great loss in it. Omar likewise condemned Khâled for his releasing the emperor's daughter without any ransom, as the sum of money he might have lawfully acquired upon that occasion would have been very serviceable to the Moslems. The persons to whom the care of the letter, expressed in these terms, was committed, were Shaddâd Ebn Aws and Amru Ebn Abi Wakkâs, who, upon their arrival at Damascus, caused it to be read; then Abu Obeidah took possession of his new post, and Shaddâd Ebn Aws was proclaimed Omar's khalif, or the Moslem governor, of Damascus, in compliance with the khalif's order. Khâled bore his disgrace with great magnanimity; swearing, when the disagreeable news of Abu Obeidah's promotion arrived, that, though he had always had the highest regard for Abu Becr, and the utmost aversion to Omar, he would submit to God's will, and obey the commands of the new khalif, as those of the lawful successor of Mohammed. Nor did he afterwards fail, in pursuance of this resolution, to distinguish himself, as will soon appear. The khalif, about this time, commanded his new general, Abu Obeidah, to pay particular attention to Palestine, and to aim at the conquest of that fine country with the first favourable opportunity[g].

The battle of Kadesia.

Not long after the reduction of Damascus, the khalif ordered Saad Ebn Abu Wakkâs, who commanded in Irâk, to dislodge the Persians from some districts they possessed in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates. Saad having collected a body of twelve thousand men, advanced to Kadesia, a city bordering upon the deserts of Irâk, where he engaged an army of thirty thousand Persians, under the conduct of one Rustem, or Rostam, a Persian general; but with what success we are not informed by Al Makîn, who is the principal Arabic historian that gives us any account of this war. However, he intimates that it produced several battles between the Arabs and the Persians; the last of which was decisive, continuing from morning till noon, and terminated in the entire defeat of the Persians. The day on which one of these engagements happened was

g Al Waked. ubi supra. Eutych. Patriarch. Alexandrin. Annal. tom. ii. p. 282, 283. Al Makin, Hist. Sarac. lib. i. cap. 3. p. 21.

called by the Arabs the Day of Succours; because in the heat of it, when they were very much pressed, a reinforcement of six thousand men very luckily arrived. The day on which the last battle was fought they denominated the Day of Concussion; because the glorious success of that day shook the whole Persian power. The Persian army consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand men, above sixty thousand of whom perished in this decisive action, which was afterwards called by the Arabs the battle of Kadesia. The Moslem forces did not amount to above thirty thousand men, about seven thousand five hundred of whom fell on the field of battle. Some of the Persian historians call Yazdejerd's general Ferokhzad, and inform us, that he was also that prince's prime minister. They likewise relate, that he at first contented himself with harassing the Arabs in their march, and declined coming to a general action with them till he had posted himself in a very advantageous situation in the plains of Kadesia. Some of the Oriental historians make this battle to have been as famous as that of Arbela, and affirm, that it lasted three days and as many nights. Be that as it may, the Persians were at length entirely defeated; in consequence of which, their capital city, and the greatest part of their dominions, fell into the hands of the Arabs. Rustem, or Rostam, as the Persian commander in chief is called by some of the eastern writers, seems to be a title of honour, or a common name for all the champions of that country. Hormozan, a noble Persian, who had possessed himself of Khûzestân, after this complete victory, surrendered that province to the khalif; and embraced, at his request, the Mohammedan religion. Yazdejerd, in order to avoid the fury of the Arabs, fled as far as the banks of the Jihun; upon which, Saad pillaged the opulent and superb city of Al Madâyen, and there made himself master of all Yazdejerd's treasure. Notwithstanding what is advanced to the contrary by Al Makîn, the battle of Kadesia, according to the Oriental authors followed by M. D'Herbelot, was fought in the 15th year of the Hejra [h].

The Arabs meditate further conquests.

In the mean time the Moslem forces in Syria made all the dispositions for improving the late advantages they had gained, and even for spreading the terror of their arms over every district of that region. Khâled, notwithstanding the indignity that had lately been offered him, was still

[h] Al Makîn, ubi supra, Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 223, Lebtarikh, Khondemir, Greg. Abul-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 178. D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. p. 226.

as desirous of propagating and extending the Mohammedan faith as ever.

Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar advances to Dair Abi'l Kodos;

In the monastery of Dair Abi'l Kodos there lived a priest, so eminent for his learning, sanctity, and austerity of life, that the neighbouring Christians, of all orders and denominations, frequently resorted to him for his blessing and instruction. When any person of distinction married, he took his new spouse with him to that monastery, in order to receive this holy father's benediction. The fame of his sanctity drew such numbers of people thither every Easter, that there was a great fair kept annually at his house, to which were brought vast quantities of the richest silks, plate, jewels, and other valuable merchandize. Of this circumstance Abu Obeidah being apprized, and that Dair Abi'l Kodos was seated between Tripoli and Harran, about thirty miles from Damascus, he sent a detachment of five hundred horse, under the command of Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar, whose mother, after his father's death, was married to the late khaliff, to plunder the Christians there assembled. The Christian, who had brought Abu Obeidah advice of this fair, attended Abd'allah in his march, and undertook to conduct him to Dair Abi'l Kodos without any loss. When the Arabs drew near the place, they were informed that the prefect or governor of Tripoli had lately married his daughter to a person of great distinction, who had carried his lady to the monastery, in order to present her to the holy father, that she might have an opportunity of receiving the communion at his hands. He added, that the Jews, Greeks, Copts or Coptis, and Armenians, then at Dair Abi'l Kodos, amounted at least to ten thousand men; and that, besides these, the lady had for her escort a body of five thousand horse. Notwithstanding which superiority Abd'allah resolved to carry off all the riches of the Christians, or to fall in the attempt. Having therefore divided his troops into five small detachments, he ordered them to charge the enemy in five different places at once; and, by the advice of Omar Ebn Rabiyah, to begin the attack next morning, after the fair was begun.

and, in conjunction with Khâled, defeats the Christians there.

At the appointed time, after Abd'allah had animated his men, by assuring them that paradise was under the shadow of swords, and that they should either possess the riches of the Christians, or enjoy the pleasures of paradise, he commanded them to cry out "Allah acbar!" *God is great!* and immediately to fall upon the enemy. This order they obeyed, notwithstanding their small number, with such unparalleled bravery, that at first they bore

down all before them, and put many of those that opposed them to the sword: but the Christians soon perceiving that they were but a handful of men, returned to the charge, hemmed them in on all sides, and resolved to make them pay dear for their temerity and presumption. Abd'allah Ebn Anîs, who saw his countrymen in this jeopardy, cut his way through the enemy, and instantly posted away to Damascus, where he told Abu Obeidah that his troops were engaged with the Christians, whose regular forces amounted to above five thousand men; and that unless they were immediately succoured, they would all infallibly be cut to pieces. In this distress the general was obliged to have recourse to Khâled as the only person that could effectually extricate the Moslems out of the difficulties in which they were involved; who, notwithstanding the indignity that had been lately offered him, very readily agreed to march to the relief of Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar. Having therefore put on the coat of mail which he took from the false prophet Moseilama, and the cap that had received Mohammed's benediction, called for that reason the Blessed Cap, he immediately marched at the head of a strong detachment, consisting entirely of cavalry, to Dair Abi'l Kodos; where he found the Moslem troops fighting like men in despair, and reduced to the last extremity. The sight of Khâled at so critical a conjuncture, revived the drooping spirits of Abd'allah, who thereupon attacked the monastery again with so much vigour, that he soon made himself master of it. In the mean time Derâr Ebn Al Azwâr defeated a considerable body of troops, commanded by the prefect of Tripoli, whom he put to the sword upon the spot; and Khâled routed another body of the Christian forces that opposed him, and pursued them as far as a river between Tripoli and the place where the action happened. In fine, the Arabs having entirely dispersed the enemy, and insulted the poor priest, Kkâled, telling him, that had he not been forbidden by the apostle of God, he would have put him to a most cruel death, returned to Damascus, to the great joy of Abu Obeidah, who expected them with the utmost impatience. They carried off with them not only the jewels, rich furniture, and immense wealth brought to the fair by the Christians and Jews above mentioned, but likewise the young lady, whose father, the governor of Tripoli, had been killed in the late action, and forty maids that waited upon her. The situation of Dair Abi'l Kodos we find not precisely determined by any of the eastern geographers. However, it may not be

be improper to observe, that the word *dair*, in Arabic, signifies a *monastery*; and that near two hundred places, whose proper names begin with that word, particularly Dair Errahib, *the monastery of the religious*, the name of a village in Palestine, not a little resembling Dair Abi'l Kodos, *the monastery of the holy father*, in question, &c. have been mentioned by the Oriental writers[1].

Abu Obeidah marches towards Baalbec.

Amongst the valuable merchandize and spoils taken at Dair Abi'l Kodos, were many rich garments curiously wrought, and one particularly adorned with the effigies of our blessed Saviour, all which were sold for ten times their weight in gold, to some of the opulent Arabs of Yaman. To Derar Ebn Al Azwâr, who had killed the prefect of Tripoli, Abu Obeidah gave that officer's horse and saddle, together with the trappings, which, as well as the saddle, were embellished with precious stones, as a reward for his valour. These he made a present of to his sister Kawlah, who divided the jewels amongst the ladies of her acquaintance. The prefect's daughter Abu Obeidah, by the khalif's order, bestowed on Abd'allah, who kept her till Yezid's reign. The advantage gained by the Moslems was notified to Omar by a courier, which Abu Obeidah dispatched to that prince at Medina on this occasion. In his letter the Moslem general also informed the khalif, that his men had learned to drink wine in Syria; a circumstance which so exasperated the Arab pontiff, that, by the advice of Ali, to whom he communicated the contents of Abu Obeidah's letter, he commanded the latter to punish every person who had drunk that prohibited liquor, with eighty strokes upon the soles of his feet. Upon the arrival of the courier, Abu Obeidah imparted to the officers of his army the substance of the khalif's letter; and particularly the order relating to the punishment of the offenders. Then he exhorted such of his men as were conscious of their guilt in the above mentioned particular, to make a voluntary confession of their crime; and, in order to demonstrate the sincerity of their repentance, chearfully submit to the chastisement inflicted upon them by the khalif. In consequence of which exhortation many of the Arab soldiers confessed their guilt, and underwent the punishment allotted them, who had never been suspected of the crime, and who consequently had none but their own consciences to accuse them. With regard to

[1] Al Waked. ubi sup. Albert. Schult. Ind. Geographic. in Vita Salad. Vide etiam ejusd. Vita Salad. p. 192. Lugduni Batavor. 1732.

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the future scene of action the khalif left it entirely to the discretion of Abu Obeidah, whom he honoured with an absolute and unlimited commission to act as he should think proper, for the good of his service. That general, therefore, having convened a council of war, informed his officers, that his design was first to reduce Haleb or Aleppo, and afterwards Antioch. Having completed his preparations for this expedition, he detached Khâled, to whom he gave the black eagle, the flag before assigned him by Abu Becr, at the head of the vanguard, attended by Rafi Ebn Omeirah, Derâr, and other experienced officers, to ravage the country about Hems and Kinnisrîn; whilst he himself, with the main body, marched towards Baalbec. It may not be improper to inform our readers here, that Hems is the Arabic name of Emesa, or Emissa, a city of Syria, frequently taken notice of by the ancients; and that Kinnisrîn is one of the principal cities of Syria, about a day's journey from Haleb, or Aleppo, on the road from the latter of those places to Hems. Baalbec was a superb and splendid city of Syria, containing many stately palaces, built for the most part of stone, in an elegant taste, supported by marble pillars, and situated about three days journey from Damascus. It seems to be the Heliopolis ad Libanum of Pliny, Ptolemy, and Strabo, near which, according to the first of those writers, the river Orontes had its source [k].

He presents himself before Hems;

Abu Obeidah having left a garrison of five hundred horse at Damascus, and appointed Safwân Ebn Amîr commandant of that town, ordered his forces to begin their march for the place of their destination. The first town of note towards which he advanced, was Jushiyah: the governor of this place concluded a truce with him for one year, upon condition that if he reduced Baalbec, Hems, and Labwah, within that term, Jushiyah should likewise at the end of it surrender to him; that he should pay him down instantly four thousand pieces of gold; and that he should also make him a present of fifty silk vests. The Moslem general now resumed his march for Baalbec, which he had not pursued long before he was overtaken by a courier, who brought him a letter from the khalif, the purport of which was as follows: "In the name of the most merciful God. From the servant of God, Omar Ebn Al Khattâb, to his lieutenant, greeting. I praise the only God, besides whom

[k] Al Waked. ubi supra. Ism Abulfed. in Geogr. Ebn. Hawkel. Ptol. in Syr. Strab. lib. xvi. Cic. ad Attic. lib. v. ep. 18. Plin. lib. v. cap. 22, 23. Festus Avien. v. 1084.

there

there is no other; I pray alſo for his prophet Mohammed, upon whom be the divine benediction. The divine decree cannot be reverſed; ſo that every one written an INFIDEL in the ſecret book muſt neceſſarily be void of faith. This reflection is occaſioned by the conduct of Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham, of the tribe of Ghaſſân, who, with his relations and the chief men of his tribe, after a kind reception from me, embraced the true religion, performed with me the pilgrimage to Mecca, and went ſeven times in proceſſion round the Caaba. During the performance of this ceremony, a man of the tribe of Fezârah accidentally trod upon his veſt; whereby it fell from his ſhoulders; upon which, though the man ſwore he did not deſign to affront him, Jabalah ſtruck him, broke his noſe, and beat out four of his fore-teeth. I aſked Jabalah, after he had been brought before me, upon the injured perſon's complaint, what could induce him to uſe a brother Moſlem ſo cruelly? He replied, that the man had trod upon his veſt, and uncovered his back; and that, had it not been for the reverence he bore the place, he would have killed him. Upon this declaration I told him, that, as he had confeſſed his crime, I muſt execute the law of retaliation upon him, unleſs the Fezârahite would forgive him. He anſwered, that he was a king, and the other a peaſant. I replied, that they were both Moſlems, and conſequently in that reſpect equal; however, upon his deſiring it, and the other's agreeing to it, I ſuſpended his puniſhment till next day. In the night, Jabalah and his companions made their eſcape to the Grecian dog; over whom, I hope, God will render thee victorious. Sit down before Hems, inveſt that town, and ſend thy ſpies towards Antioch, for fear of the Chriſtian Arabs. Health, happineſs, and the bleſſing of God be upon thee and all the Moſlems." After the peruſal of this letter, Abu Obeidah communicated the contents of it to the Moſlem forces, and then immediately directed his march, in purſuance of the orders he had received, towards Hems; before which place he preſented himſelf in November, the ſame year, that is, the 14th of the Hejra, of our Lord 635.

and grants a truce for a year to the inhabitants;

Before Abu Obeidah's arrival at Hems, the body of troops commanded by Khâled had reached that town; and the very day of their appearance before it, the governor died. This unexpected viſit not a little alarmed the inhabitants, as they could not believe that the Arab forces were ſo near: but when they perceived, that Abu Obeidah had taken poſt before the town with the main body of the Moſlem army, they

they were ſtruck with inexpreſſible terror and conſternation. They imagined, that he would have made himſelf maſter of Baalbec before he had advanced to Hems; and were therefore not in a proper ſituation to receive him, nor to ſuſtain the fatigues of a ſiege. In this emergency they applied to Abu Obeidah for a truce, which he readily granted, upon condition that they paid him immediately ten thouſand pieces of gold, and preſented him with two hundred ſilk veſts. This truce was to commence on the firſt day of Dhu'lhajja, and to expire on the laſt day of Shawâl, in the following year, being the 15th of the Hejra. The garriſon likewiſe agreed to ſurrender to the khalif's forces, upon the expiration of the truce; in caſe in that time they ſhould overthrow the Greeks, and reduce Alhâdir, Kinniſrîn, and Aleppo. In the mean while, Meſab Ebn Mohárib, with the Arabian cavalry, foraged all over the adjacent territory; and after he had pillaged the emperor's ſubjects, returned to the Moſlem camp, loaded with ſpoil, conſiſting of ſheep, oxen, and other valuable effects, beſides at leaſt four hundred priſoners. Abu Obeidah commiſerating the unhappy condition of theſe poor wretches, not only gave them their liberty, but reſtored them likewiſe their cattle, and every thing elſe of which they had been plundered by Ebn Moharib. However, as they abſolutely refuſed to profeſs the Mohammedan religion, he, in conformity to what had been enjoined by Omar, ſettled a capitation of four dinars upon every head, impoſed an annual tribute upon them, and obliged all the citizens to aſſiſt the Moſlems in their reſpective capacities, as opportunity ſhould ſerve. Both the tribute and the capitation he extended to all the inhabitants of the neighbouring diſtrict; and for the better regulation of this affair, inſerted in a book, kept for that purpoſe, both their names and the places of their habitation. This lenity of Abu Obeidah had the deſired effect, and greatly facilitated the conqueſt of Syria. It alſo prevented an effuſion of the Moſlem blood, as it incapacitated the Greeks from fighting like men animated by deſpair; and conciliated the affections of all orders and degrees of men in that country to the Arabs. It is intimated by Abu'l-Faraj, that, about this time, Tiberias, Cæſarea, and Miſan, followed the example of Hems; the inhabitants of thoſe places obtaining a truce for a year, by ſubmitting to a capitation, and the payment of a ſtipulated ſum, exacted of them as a tribute by the Moſlems [1].

[1] Al Waked. ubi ſupra. Eutych. Patriarch. Alexandrin. Annal. tom. ii. p. 282, 283.

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as also to the governor of Kinnisrîn.

The imperial governor of Alhâdir and Kinnisrîn, whom some of the Arab writers called Luke, and others Matthias, receiving advice of what had happened to Jushiyah and Hems, dispatched Astachar, a priest perfectly well acquainted with the Arabic language, and thoroughly versed both in the Jewish and Christian theology, with a letter to Abu Obeidah; wherein he desired such a truce as had already been granted to the above mentioned cities by the Moslem general. Astachar being arrived at Hems, was immediately introduced to Abu Obeidah, whom he found with all his officers at prayers, and imparted to him the business with which he was commissioned by the governor of Alhâdîr and Kinnisrîn. To induce him the more readily to listen to his proposals, he assured him, that the emperor would soon have a numerous army on foot at Tyre, which would advance to the relief of Syria; hut nevertheless, his master would confine himself and his troops within the walls of Kinnisrîn, and not commit any hostilities against the Moslems, even after the arrival of the imperial forces, provided a truce for one year only could be agreed upon. He likewise probably engaged to surrender, if not succoured, after the expiration of this truce, to the Arabs. Abu Obeidah having complied with the governor's request, Astachar told him, that the Greeks would erect a pillar, on the summit of which they intended to place an effigy of the emperor Heraclius sitting upon his throne; and that this, by his permission, should serve as a boundary, limiting their respective territories on that side, beyond which none of his cavalry should be suffered to forage. To which proposal Abu Obeidah likewise gave his consent. Soon after the erection of this column, a party of Arab horse passing by it, one of them accidentally struck out one of the emperor's eyes with the iron fixed in the lower end of his lance. The governor of Kinnisrîn sent a messenger to Abu Obeidah to insist upon satisfaction for so daring an affront, which he considered as a manifest violation of the late treaty. Nor could any other expedient be discovered for accommodating the difference arisen between them from this unexpected accident, than that one of Heraclius's subjects should be permitted to treat a statue of the khalif in the same manner. Which permission being granted, the good understanding just established was perfectly restored, and the commission of hostilities prevented, when both sides were upon the point of coming to an open rupture. Eutychius relates, that the Arab's name, who put out the emperor's eye, was Abu Handal Ebn Sahel Ebn Amru, and that

that this was done without any sinister design; as also that the Moslems, who then passed by the pillar, were only exercising themselves in horsemanship, when the accident happened. We must not forget to observe, that Khâled Ebn Al Walîd did his utmost to counteract the negotiation carried on between Abu Obeidah and the governor of Kinnisrîn; but, happily for the latter, without effect. That fierce commander thirsted after Christian blood, and was therefore desirous of taking the imperial fortresses in Syria by storm, that he might have an opportunity to put all the Christians to the sword. The Moslem Arabs were in general a set of desperate fanatics, who thought they did an acceptable service to God almighty, in destroying all those who differed from them in points of faith. The same intolerant and inhuman spirit actuates the fanatics of every religion.

Abu Obeidah for some time remains in a state of inaction at Hems;

Notwithstanding the deplorable situation of the Christians at this period in Syria, dissensions still reigned amongst them. The governors of Kinnisrîn and Aleppo were at such variance, that they could not but be prevailed upon, even by the emperor himself, to concur heartily, with all their forces, in support of the common cause. Had Abu Obeidah, therefore, been so base as to renounce the engagements he lately entered into, he might, at this juncture, have still farther extended his conquests in Syria: but he considered his hands as tied up by the cessation of arms he had granted to the cities before mentioned, and therefore continued for some time at Hems in a state of inaction. This was by no means agreeable to the Moslem troops; nor was the khalif himself better pleased with it, as appears from the following letter sent by him to Abu Obeidah, which the army considered as a reprehension of that general for his late conduct, and which induced him heartily to repent of the measures he had taken.

which displeases both the khalif and the army.

"In the name of the most merciful God. From Omar Ebn Al Khattâb to Abu Obeidah Ebn Al Jerah, his lieutenant in Syria, greeting. I praise God, besides whom there is no other; and I pray for his prophet Mohammed, upon whom be the divine benediction. I command thee to put thy trust in God, and to take care that thou be not one of them concerning whom God says: Say, if your fathers, and your sons, and your brethren, and your wives, and your relations, and your substance which ye have acquired, and your merchandize which ye apprehend may not be sold off, and your dwellings wherein ye delight, be more dear unto you than God, and his apostle, and the advancement

vancement of his religion; wait, until God shall send his command: for God directeth not the ungodly people." Upon the communication of the contents of this letter to the troops, they insisted upon a vigorous prosecution of the war, and demanded to be led on to fight the battles of the Lord. They also desired Abu Obeidah immediately to resume the military operations, and to besiege either Antioch or Aleppo. As the truce, therefore, granted those cities was upon the point of expiring, he made the proper dispositions for leaving Hems. However, before his departure, he appointed Salmah, one of his experienced officers, to remain at that place, and assigned him a body of horse, sufficient to secure him from any insult that might be apprehended on the part of the enemy [m].

Abu Obeidah grants a truce to the people of Hamah;

In pursuance of the plan he had formed, Abu Obeidah took his leave of Hems, and marched first to Arrestân; from whence he advanced to Hamah, or Hamata, known in the sacred writings by the name of Hamath, or Chamath, one of the principal cities of Syria. The inhabitants of this place, afterwards the seat of the famous Abulfeda, were taken under the protection of the Moslems, of whom they obtained a truce, upon the same terms as that which had been granted to the citizens of Hems and Kinnisrin; in the district of the former of which cities Hamah stands. On the northern and eastern sides it is washed by the Orontes, consists of lofty beautiful houses, built in an elegant taste, has a strong citadel, and abounds with water-mills, as well as water-engines, by the assistance of which the gardens, and all the houses of the city are plentifully supplied with water. Hamah, which, with other districts, was given to Taki'oddin, or Taki'addin, Abulfeda's ancestor, by the famous Salah'-addin, or Saladin, is about half a day's journey from Shaizar, and double that distance from Hems. Abulfeda was descended in the fifth generation from Taki'addin; whose name, with his title prefixed to it, written at length, is Al Malec Al Modhaffir Taki'addin Omar Ebn Shâhinshâh Ebn Ayûb. From whence it appears, that Abulfeda, the prince of Hamah, as well as of the Arab geographers and historians, was of the house of Ayûb, or the illustrious family of the Yubidæ, which for a certain period, made so considerable a figure in the East [n].

and to the inhabitants of Shaizar.

From Hamah Abu Obeidah, at the head of the Moslem forces, marched to Shaizar, which followed the example

[m] Al Kor. Moham. sec. ix. v. 24. Al Beidawi, Al Waked ubi sup. [n] Ism. Abulfed. in Hist. Gen. & in Geograph.

of

of Hamah. Shaizar, or Sjaizar, according to Abulfeda, is nine miles distant from Hamah, thirty-three from Hems, and thirty-six from Antioch. According to some modern writers of authority, it answers to the Larissa ad Orontem of the ancients. It abounds with trees, gardens, and fruits of all kinds, especially pomegranates. The northern part of it is washed by the Orontes, which runs through the town, and its castle is extremely strong.

Khâled worsted in a rencounter with the Christians.

Soon after Abu Obeidah's arrival at Shaizar, he received advice that the governor of Kinnisrîn expected to be joined by a strong reinforcement of Arab troops, under the command of Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham, king of Ghassân, who had some time before made his escape to Constantinople from Mecca. This defection extremely exasperated Omar, who had before apprized his general of it, and commanded him to have a watchful eye upon the motions of that apostate, whom he expected the imperial court would soon send to act against him. This intelligence, therefore, determined the Moslem general to defer the siege of Aleppo to a more favourable opportunity, and to advance to Kinnisrîn, in order to invest that place. Such a resolution was not improper at this juncture, as the truce granted the governor of Kinnisrîn was within a month of expiring. Besides, the Moslems considered that truce as violated; since the governor of Kinnisrîn had not only written to the emperor for succours, but likewise intended actually to admit those succours into the town. Abu Obeidah was, therefore, resolved to besiege the place; though he had such regard to his engagements, notwithstanding the governor's manifest infraction of the aforesaid treaty, that he did not design to begin his military operations against the city before the expiration of the truce. In the mean time, he sent Khâled with a small detachment to reconnoitre the enemy, and to intercept some of their parties, in order to obtain farther intelligence of their motions. Khâled having received his instructions, set out on the enterprize assigned him, and soon fell in with a considerable body of the imperial troops, commanded by the governor Kinnisrîn himself and the prefect of Ammouriyah, who were upon their march to meet Jabalah, in order to conduct him to Kinnisrîn. The Christians seeing such a small party of the Arabs, doubted not but they should give a good account of them. The action, therefore, immediately began, and the Moslems were surrounded on all sides. However, Khâled fought like a man in despair, and killed the governor of Kinnisrîn with his

his own hands. Notwithstanding which exploits, the Christians must, by dint of numbers, have finally prevailed, had not Abu Obeidah detached a considerable body of men, either to support Khâled or to favour his retreat; which arriving at the critical moment, carried off that commander, and the surviving part of his detachment, when they were upon the very point of being all put to the sword [o].

Kinnisrîn submits to Obeidah.

Abu Obeidah having ordered a party of horse to ravage the country about Kinnisrîn, made the necessary dispositions for attacking that place with all his forces. The prisoners brought to the camp by that detachment, were sent to the khalif; who, in obedience to one of Mohammed's injunctions, commanded some of his Moslems to teach the boys amongst them to write. The inhabitants of Kinnisrîn were so terrified at Abu Obeidah's approach, having before lost their governor, who was killed in the late action, and being destitute of all hopes of relief, that they opened their gates, and sued for protection. This he granted, upon condition that they should pay the usual capitulation of four dinârs a head, submit to an annual tribute, and consider themselves thenceforth as the subjects of the khalif. After the reduction of Kinnisrîn, Abu Obeidah, called a council of war, wherein it was unanimously agreed, that the main body of the Moslem forces should without loss of time form the siege of Baalbec; and that Khâled should be sent with a large detachment to invest the city of Hems. In the mean time, a Moslem party intercepted one of the enemy's caravans, with four hundred loads of silks and sugars, besides a very considerable quantity of other valuable merchandize, on its return to Baalbec. The individuals of this caravan not bearing arms, were permitted to ransom themselves; when some of them posted to Baalbec, and informed the citizens of what had happened. Herbîs, the governor, immediately put himself at the head of six thousand horse, and went in quest of the plunderers, attended by a numerous rabble, or undisciplined multitude, who imagining that the Moslem army was still at Hems, and that the caravan had been plundered by only a party of foragers, expected to recover every thing that had been lost: but their want of intelligence in this point had like to have proved to them. For, when Herbîs expected to have met with only a small detach-

[o] Al Waked. ubi sup. Poc. Not. in spec. Hist. Arab. p. 77. Sale Prelim. disc. p. 11.

ment, he fell in with the main body of the Moslem forces, then in full march for Baalbec, by which he was rudely handled. Not being able to make head against so formidable a force, he was easily overthrown, great numbers of his men were put to the sword, and he himself with the utmost difficulty, after having received seven wounds, at last escaped into the town [p].

who lays siege to Baalbec.

Soon after Abu Obeidah had taken post before Baalbec, Meâd Ebn Jabal assured him, that he had reason to believe the city was so full of people it could scare contain them; a circumstance which he was persuaded would greatly facilitate the reduction of the place. Notwithstanding this assurance, as the city had been amply supplied with all sorts of provisions and military stores, and the governor was a man of distinguished bravery, Abu Obeidah expected to meet with a vigorous resistance from the besieged. The day after he had pitched his tents before the town, he sent a letter to Herbîs, offering his protection to him and all the citizens, together with the regular troops in garrison, provided they would accept of the terms on which Kinnisrîn had submitted; adding, that God had already blessed with many victories the true believers, insomuch that nothing could resist them. Herbîs was so far from paying any regard to this letter, though a considerable part of the garrison, as well as the townsmen, were inclined to surrender, that he tore it in pieces, and commanded the messenger who brought it to depart instantly out of the town. This affront so enraged the Moslem commander, that he immediately ordered a general assault to be given; but the besieged played their engines upon the Arabs with such dexterity and success, that they soon forced them to retire, and to abandon several posts which they had occupied, with very considerable loss. Next day Abu Obeidah intended to renew the assault; and with this view commanded his troops, after the morning-prayers were over, to refresh themselves: but in the midst of their repast, a party of the garrison made a vigorous sally, dislodged them from several posts, and at last retired with a great number of prisoners, and a considerable quantity of plunder, into town. This vigorous action on the part of the besieged so intimidated the Moslems, that the general found himself obliged to raise their spirits, by assuring them that the damage they had sustained was decreed

p Al Waked. ubi sup. Al Makin. ubi sup. p. 22. Eutych. Patriarch. Alexand. Annal. ubi sup. p. 292, 293.

by

by God, who was pleased to honour the persons slain by the unbelievers with martyrdom. Then he commanded them to remove their tents to a greater distance from the city; that they might not be so much exposed to the insults of the enemy. He also assigned Said Ebn Zeid the command of a body of five hundred horse, and three hundred foot, to keep the Greeks in awe at the gate facing the mountains; and ordered Derâr at the same time, with three hundred horse and two hundred foot, to post himself before the gate of Damascus.

The besieged make a vigorous sally, but are repulsed by the Arabs.

Notwithstanding all Abu Obeidah's precautions, and the dispositions made for carrying on the siege with success, next morning, about break of day, Herbîs, with a strong party of the garrison, sallied out of the gate before which the Moslem general himself was posted. He had before endeavoured to animate his men, by reminding them that they were going to fight for their religion, wives, children, properties, and for every thing that was dear and valuable to them. Flushed, therefore, with their late success, they charged the Arabs with such fury, that they bore down all before them. However, as Abu Obeidah had promised paradise to his men, and assured them, that God would crown the endeavours of those who persevered to the end with success, the Arabs rallied, and maintained their ground for some time with unparalleled bravery: but at last Sohail Ebn Sabah, an officer of great distinction, being wounded in the right arm, and thereby rendered incapable of using his sword, was obliged to dismount, and climb up a neighbouring hill; a circumstance which threw the Moslem troops under his command into such a panic, that they began to break, though Abu Obeidah did all that could be expected from the most consummate general to persuade them to keep their ranks, repel the efforts of the enemy, and drive them back again into the town. At this juncture, Sohail observing from the summit of the hill, on which he had taken post, that the troops under Abu Obeidah were very much pressed, whilst those commanded by Derâr and Said Ebn Zeid, posted before the gate of Damascus, and that facing the mountains, had no enemy to contend with, he immediately lighted a fire on the top of the mountain, as a signal for those generals to advance to the relief of their brethren, who were upon the point of being cut to pieces by the Greeks. Derâr and Said Ebn Zeid understood the meaning of this signal, and instantly hastened to the assistance of Abu Obeidah; who, by so seasonable a reinforcement,

was enabled to repulse the enemy in his turn, and even to drive them into a deserted monastery on the top of a neighbouring hill, where they were closely besieged: but Herbîs perceiving that the besiegers were reduced to a small number, resolved to make an effort to force his way into the town; and therefore, when they least expected it, he sallied out of the monastery, and attacked them with such fury, that he forced them to abandon their posts, and would have carried his point, had not a reinforcement of a hundred archers, sent from the Moslem camp, come up to sustain them. These, being commanded by Derâr and Said, enabled the besiegers to rally, re-occupy their former posts, and drive back Herbîs into the monastery out of which he had endeavoured to make his escape. However, Mesab Ebn Adi, who gave notice to Abu Obeidah of the danger the besiegers were in, and had been present in most of the battles fought since the commencement of this war, declared, that he never saw a more vigorous action, and that no troops could behave better than those of the Greeks did on this occasion.

They surrender to Abu Obeidah.

The ardor of the besieged being now pretty well cooled, Abu Obeidah ordered his troops to form the blockade of the city, and left Said Ebn Zeid to starve Herbîs, the governor, whom he now considered as in his power, to a surrender. Herbîs soon found himself reduced to such extremities, that he was obliged to capitulate; and in order to procure the better terms for himself, he proposed to prevail upon the town to be included in the capitulation. This aim, though not without some difficulty, he at last effected; and, after several conferences with Abu Obeidah, agreed to the following articles, which were signed both by him and the Moslem general: 1. The citizens of Baalbec shall pay immediately to the Arabs two thousand ounces of gold, and four thousand ounces of silver. 2. They shall likewise at the same time supply them with two thousand silk vests. 3. They shall deliver up into their hands a thousand swords, besides all the arms used by Herbîs and his men in the deserted monastery, where they had been besieged by Said Ebn Zeid. 4. They shall submit to the same capitation and tribute that had been imposed upon the inhabitants of Kinnisrîn. 5. They shall renounce all allegiance to the emperor, never write to him for assistance, nor ever either directly or indirectly attempt any thing against the khalif. 6. They shall never hereafter erect any churches or monasteries within the territory of Baalbec 7. In consideration of their acquiescence

cence in the preceding articles, the new Arab governor of Baalbec shall not enter the city, but receive the tribute imposed upon the citizens without the walls. These articles, though at last agreed to, appeared at first so intolerable to the people of Baalbec, that they could not be prevailed upon to give their consent, before Herbîs had engaged himself to pay the fourth part of the gold and silver demanded by the Moslems. Nor could this be collected in less than twelve days, though Herbîs had used all the means that could be thought of for that purpose, and even left the men besieged with him in the monastery as hostages in the Moslem camp, till his return out of the town; a circumstance which demonstrates the distress to which the inhabitants of Baalbec must have been reduced, before they submitted to the capitulation. However, they a little recovered themselves by the assistance of the Arabs, who were now become their masters. For when, in pursuance of his instructions, the commanding officer at Baalbec had plundered the people of the neighbouring districts, who had not obtained a truce from Abu Obeidah, all the spoils acquired by his depredations were brought to Baalbec, and sold for a trifle to the citizens. Herbîs, with a view to indemnify himself, endeavoured to monopolize the market on the occasion, and acted with such rapacity, that the citizens fell upon him, and slew him on the spot. After he was dispatched, they desired Rafi Ebn Abd'allah, who had been left by Abu Obeidah with a body of nine hundred men, to superintend the Moslem affairs at Baalbec, to take possession of the town; which he absolutely refused to do, till he had written to the general, who was on his march for Hems, as this was directly contrary to one of the articles of the capitulation. Rafi Ebn Abd'allah having been ordered by the general to comply with the people's request, he, with the body of troops under his command, as soon as the express with an answer to his letter arrived, in the fifteenth year of the Hejra, entered the town.

Abu Obeidah, by a stratagem, deprives the people of Hems of their provisions.

As soon as the foregoing capitulation was signed by Abu Obeidah and Herbîs in the Moslem camp before Baalbec, the former marched with his army to reduce the city of Hems. The truce granted to the inhabitants of that place, by virtue of which they were intitled to the protection of the Arabs, was now expired; so that Abu Obeidah was at full liberty to lay siege to the town, if the citizens did not prevent such a violent measure by their timely submission to the khalif. The Moslem general, before hostilities com-

menced, wrote a letter to the imperial governor, wherein he magnified his own ſtrength, and invited him to embrace the Mohammedan religion; or, in caſe he ſhould not think fit to accept of this invitation, to come to the Moſlem camp, and ſettle with him the tribute and capitation to be exacted of the people over whom he preſided: but if neither of the foregoing offers ſhould pleaſe him, he inſiſted upon his meeting him in the open field, and leave the quarrel between them to the deciſion of the ſword. The governor, expecting ſpeedy ſuccours from the emperor, was ſo far from paying any regard to Abu Obeidah's letter, or even returning him an anſwer, that, immediately after he had received it, he made a ſally upon the Arabs. The diſpute between the contending parties, who ſeemed to be greatly exaſperated againſt each other, on this occaſion, was extremely obſtinate and bloody; though at laſt the Arabs drove the Greeks back into the town. However, the former ſuſtained ſuch a conſiderable loſs in this action, that, for the preſent, they abandoned all thoughts of reducing the place by force; and therefore Abu Obeidah was obliged to have recourſe to a ſtratagem, ſuggeſted by a Moſlem officer of great ſagacity and penetration, which had the deſired effect. In order to deprive the citizens of Hems of their proviſions, that he might have the fairer opportunity of ſurpriſing them, Abu Obeidah pretended to have formed a deſign of attacking ſome of the other principal fortreſſes in Syria; and therefore offered to raiſe the ſiege of Hems, provided the inhabitants would ſupply his troops with the proviſions they could ſpare. This propoſal ſo pleaſed both the imperial garriſon and the people of the town, who were very deſirous of getting rid of ſuch troubleſome gueſts, that they immediately ſtripped their magazines, and brought all the proviſions they were not in preſent want of to the Moſlem camp. Abu Obeidah having now carried his point, advanced at the head of his troops to Arreſtân, a ſtrong place, well watered, and full of ſoldiers, which he ſummoned to ſurrender. In the mean time, ſome of the imperial ſpies in the Moſlem camp, obſerving the gates of Hems to be opened to the Arabs, when the proviſions were preſented to Abu Obeidah, before he began his march to Arreſtân, they ſpread a report, that the fortreſs itſelf had ſurrendered. This produced a very bad effect, as it ſtruck all the emperor's ſubjects in thoſe parts with terror; and conſequently rendered ſeveral cities leſs capable of defending themſelves, when the Moſlem forces beſieged them.

The

The governor of Arreſtân, or rather of the caſtle there, paying no regard to Abu Obeidah's ſummons, the Moſlem general deſired permiſſion to depoſit ſome of his heavy baggage, which he pretended would retard his march, in the citadel. This requeſt the governor, not ſuſpecting any treachery, readily granted. The baggage conſiſted of twenty cheſts, every one of which incloſed an Arab ſoldier, having locks, to prevent all ſuſpicion, put on the out-ſide, and a bottom ſo contrived as to ſlip backward and forward, as the perſon within pleaſed. Theſe being received into the caſtle, Khâled poſted himſelf in ambuſcade, near the gates of the city, with a conſiderable detachment, in order to ſupport the ſoldiers concealed in them, if a favourable opportunity ſhould offer. Soon after Abu Obeidah, with his forces, had diſappeared, the governor and people of Arreſtân went to church, to return thanks for the departure of the enemy, and were heard ſinging a pſalm by Derâr, Abd'alrahmân, Abd'allah, and the other Arabs, confined in the manner here related; who, finding every thing ſecure, immediately ſallied out of the cheſts, ſeized upon the governor's wife, from whom they forced the keys of the gates, and then eaſily ſurpriſed the unarmed multitude at church in the midſt of their devotions. This firſt ſtep having ſucceeded ſo well, Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar, who commanded the party, ſent five of his men with the keys to open the gates; which being done, they inſtantly cried out "Allah Acbar!" and Khâled advancing at the ſame time with his detachment to ſuſtain them, Arreſtân was taken by this ſtratagem without oppoſition. *He takes Arreſtân;*

Abu Obeidah having left a garriſon of two thouſand men at Arreſtân, which he judged ſufficient to defend the place, moved with his army to Shaizar, where there is a bridge over the Orontes, that runs through the town, which has been deſcribed by ſome of the eaſtern geographers. The reduction of Arreſtân ſo alarmed the inhabitants of Shaizar, that many of them were inclined to ſurrender both the town and the citadel to the Arabs, at the firſt ſummons; thinking neither of them tenable againſt ſo formidable a power. The governor, however, being a man of courage, was of a contrary opinion. He rejected the ſummons ſent him by Abu Obeidah, and ſeemed determined to defend the place to the laſt extremity: but the principal men of the city being intimidated by what they had heard of the atchievements of the Arabs, which had been greatly exaggerated, refuſed to concur with him in *and Shaizar;*

taking the neceſſary meaſures for the defence of the place. This backwardneſs ſo exaſperated him, that he ſeverely reproached them, ordered his ſervants to beat them, and treated them in the moſt opprobrious manner. Which they not being able to bear, drew their ſwords, cut him and his whole party to pieces, and then opened their gates to the Moſlems. Abu Obeidah received them with open arms, gave them thanks for putting him in poſſeſſion of their city without any effuſion of blood; telling them at the ſame time, that as they had preferred his maſter's government to that of the emperor, he would not diſmiſs them without ſome diſtinguiſhing mark of favour. In fine, he aſſured them, that if they would become converts to the Mohammedan faith, they ſhould be exempted from all the taxes and cuſtoms paid by thoſe of that religion for two years; and that if they choſe to continue Chriſtians, they ſhould pay no tribute for the following year. Thus the Moſlems made themſelves maſters of Shaizar merely by the fame of their arms, and the puſillanimity of the emperor's ſubjects: for the place was not inferior to many of the principal fortreſſes of Syria, either in the number of its garriſon, or the ſtrength of its ſituation.

as alſo Hems.

After Abu Obeidah had ſecured this conqueſt, he returned at the head of his forces to Hems, and once more inveſted that city. The governor now plainly perceived that he had been outwitted by the Arabs; and that it would be impoſſible for him, as he was in a manner deſtitute of proviſions, long to defend the town. Being grieved, therefore, at his own weakneſs, he upbraided the Moſlem general with perfidy and breach of promiſe. Abu Obeidah, in his own vindication, replied, that, by the former agreement, he was not to undertake the ſiege of Hems before he had taken ſome of the other fortreſſes of Syria; and that conſequently, ſince he had reduced Arreſtân and Shaizar, he was now at liberty to oblige Hems likewiſe to ſubmit to the domination of the khalif. The inhabitants finding in what diſmal perplexities their credulity had involved them, and that they were not able to ſuſtain a ſiege, at the inſtigation of their governor, reſolved to try their fortune in the field. That night he received the holy communion at St. George's church, whither the people alſo repaired to prayers, to implore the divine aſſiſtance on this melancholy occaſion. In the morning he ſallied out of the town at the head of five thouſand horſe, and attacked the Arabians with ſuch fury, that he forced them to give way, and even at laſt to betake themſelves to a preci-

a precipitate flight. Khâled, endeavouring to restore the battle, narrowly escaped being killed by a Greek, whom he engaged in single combat, his sword breaking in his hand; though at last, according to Al Wakedi, he closed with his antagonist, and threw him dead from his horse. However, about noon, Mirkâl and Meisarah, two Moslem commanders, rallied the fugitives, and made an impression upon the Christian right wing, as Kais Ebn Hobeirah, another of the Arab officers, did on their left. Ikrimah, Khâled's cousin, likewise greatly distinguished himself on this occasion. He charged the Christians with all the fury of fanaticism; cut his way through great numbers of them, and even at last penetrated almost to the spot where the governor himself was posted: but here he found that which he seemed so ardently to desire, the crown of martyrdom; for he was pierced by a lance, and fell dead on the spot. Nor could the Arabs recover themselves, till the approach of night obliged the Christians to retire; which, however, they did with a determined resolution to renew the battle next day. Abu Obeidah finding he could not possess himself of the place by force, was obliged to have recourse to another stratagem, suggested by Khâled, which enabled him to carry his point. Early next morning, he drew his forces off from before the town, and marched in such disorder that his retreat looked like a precipitate flight. This expedient he used, to amuse the Greeks, make his loss appear to them much more considerable than it really was, and convince them that his men durst not look them in the face; and it had the desired effect. A great part of the garrison observing this sudden and unexpected motion of the enemy, rushed out all at once upon them, without any order or precaution; which confusion being perceived by the Arabs, they rallied in an instant, hemmed the Greeks in on all sides, and would have put every man to the sword, had not their brethren in the city opportunely made a vigorous sally, in order to favour their retreat. The imperial troops suffered so much in this action, that, notwithstanding the advantage they had gained the day before, they found themselves obliged to surrender Hems to the Moslems; though this conquest was not at present of any great service to the victors: for, having received advice, that a very formidable imperial army was in full march to attack them, they could not spare a sufficient number of troops to garrison the place, which was of a very considerable extent; so that Abu Obeidah did not think fit at that time to take possession of it: but after the famous battle of Yermouk,

Yermouk, of which we shall now give our readers a succinct and circumstantial relation, the Arabs expelled the Christians from Hems.

Heraclius sends a great army against the Arabs.

The emperor Heraclius receiving advice of the progress made by the Arabs in Syria, resolved to send such an army against them as should drive them into their own dominions, and effectually secure the repose of his subjects in that country. The general he appointed to command these forces was an Armenian called Mahân by Al Wakedi, but Manuel by the Greek historians. He also reinforced the garrisons of Cæsarea, Jaffa or Joppa, Acca or Ptolemaïs, Tyre or Sur, Sidon or Saida, Beirout, Bairout, or Berytus, Tripoli, Tripolis, Tarabolis, or Trablous, Tiberias, Taberria, or Taberya, and all the other fortresses left him by the Arabs. As he apprehended likewise that Jerusalem might be attacked, or at least insulted by the Arabs, he ordered a large body of troops to post themselves before that city; and, in short, made all the necessary dispositions for securing his territories on that side from all attempts of the enemy. The army consisted both of European and Asiatic troops, and was joined by a body of sixty thousand Christian Arabs, under the command of Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham, king of Ghassân; after which junction, the imperial forces destined to act against the Moslems, according to Al Makîn, amounted to two hundred and forty thousand men. The Christian Arabs Mahân posted in front, thinking them the most capable of standing the first shock of their countrymen, and indeed the Moslems were the most afraid of them, as appears from the attempts of Abu Obeidah, though in vain, to bring them to a neutrality.

The Moslem army moves to Yermouk.

The news of the great military preparations of the emperor, and even of the near approach of the imperial army, reaching the ears of the Moslems in their camp before Hems, they were filled with the most terrible apprehensions, and knew not what measures to pursue at this critical juncture. Some would have persuaded Abu Obeidah to return home, in order to receive a more speedy reinforcement, and to avoid the fatal effects of famine, which so numerous a host must necessarily carry along with it; but this advice was opposed by that general, as such a conduct would be imputed to cowardice, and be severely condemned by the khalif. Others proposed to wait for the enemy in the camp; where they doubted not but the Greeks, in case of an attack, would meet with a proper reception; but Khâled thought this scheme by no means advisable, as the emperor's

emperor's ſon lay encamped at Cæſarea with a body of forty thouſand men. He therefore propoſed that the army ſhould march to Yermouk, where they might, better than in any other place, expect aſſiſtance from the khalif. As this ſeemed likewiſe to Abu Obeidah to be the moſt ſalutary advice, the army immediately decamped, and advanced to that place, where the Moſlems again pitched their tents. Soon after the departure of the Arabs from Hems, the emperor's ſon wrote a letter to Mahân, reproaching him for ſuffering the enemy to ſlip out of his hands. In the mean time Mahân, in purſuance of the emperor's orders, made ſome overtures of peace to Abu Obeidah; which, notwithſtanding the apparent inferiority of the Moſlem forces, were rejected by that general. Khâled finding it impoſſible to detach Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham, with his Arabs, from the enemy, reſolved to attack him without loſs of time, taking it for granted, that if he could diſperſe the body he commanded, the imperial forces would be eaſily defeated. He therefore put himſelf at the head of a ſelect body of troops, compoſed of Anſârs and Mohâjerîn, and aſſaulted Jabalah's Arabs with ſuch fury, that he put them into diſorder, and forced them to retire. However, the action was very hot, and Khâled ſuffered conſiderably. The king of Ghaſſân ſuſtained a much greater loſs: but this action was by no means deciſive; nor did either ſide reap any great benefit from it. Beſides, as Khâled's corps contained a greater number of Anſârs than Mohâjerîn, that general diſguſted the whole body of Mohâjerîn by his partiality to the Anſârs; and was affronted by one of them called Kathib. This incident might have proved of ill conſequence to the Moſlems, had not Abu Obeidah, with his uſual prudence, brought about a reconciliation between Khâled and Kathib. Notwithſtanding which, the ill blood produced by this accident remained for ſome time after it happened. Our readers will remember here, that the Mohâjerîn were the refugees who fled from Mecca, in the infancy of Mohammediſm, for the ſake of their new religion; and that the Anſârs were the helpers, or the Arabs of Medina, who received Mohammed and his followers when they fled thither into their protection.

The Moſlems terrified at the approach of the imperial army.

The approach of the imperial army, which was much larger than any that had ever been ſeen in Syria ſince the firſt irruption of the Moſlems into that country, gave great uneaſineſs to Abu Obeidah. He, therefore, ſent Abd'allah Ebn Kort expreſs to Omar, to give him an account of the preſent ſituation of his troops, and to deſire a ſpeedy reinforce-

reinforcement of Unitarians, a title the Mohammedans claim, pretending to be only assertors of the unity of the divine nature. The khalif and his court were extremely surprised at the news brought by Abd'allah; but comforted themselves, says our author, with the promises made in the Koran, which seemed now to be all they had to depend upon. To encourage the people Omar ascended the pulpit, and descanted largely upon the excellency of suffering martyrdom, and distinguishing themselves for the cause of God. Then he returned an answer to Abu Obeidah, full of such spiritual comfort as could be afforded by the Koran.

The khalif sends eight thousand recruits to the army in Syria.

Although the khalif was extremely alarmed at the advice he had received of the enemy's motions, he instantly ordered a proper number of recruits to be raised, being determined to carry on the war with vigour in Syria. The command of these recruits he conferred upon Said Ebn Amir, honoured him with a flag of red silk, and after having given him some good advice, dispatched him at the head of this detachment to the Moslem army. Said, losing his way, fell in with a body of five thousand Greeks, commanded by the prefect of Amman, whom he immediately attacked. After a sharp dispute he cut all the foot to pieces, and put the horse to flight. However, these were met by a party of the Arab cavalry, sent out from the camp to forage, who put every one of them to the sword. Zobeir, who commanded the Arabs, killed the prefect with his own hand, by piercing him through with a lance. His men cut off all the heads of the Greeks they had slain, scalped them, and carried them fixed on the points of their lances, to the great terror of the country through which they passed, in triumph to the Moslem camp. Upon their arrival they animated their countrymen by a relation of the advantage they had gained; and the joy occasioned by this was soon after heightened by an account of the victory they had obtained by the new levies commanded by Said Ebn Amir: for Zobeir had scarce finished his relation when Said appeared, imparted the good news of the prefect's defeat to Abu Obeidah, and reinforced his army with a body of eight thousand men.

Khâled's conference with Mahân, the imperial general.

This accession of strength inspired the Moslem soldiery with fresh resolution; for they now thought themselves capable of engaging any number of men the enemy could bring into the field; but still they were very uneasy at the loss of five Arabs of distinction taken prisoners by Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham, king of Ghassân, in the late action between

tween Khâled and that prince. To ranſom theſe Khâled was ſent, at his own deſire, by Abu Obeidah, eſcorted by a guard of a hundred men, the moſt reſolute ſoldiers in the Moſlem army. Both he and his men were examined by Jabalah Ebn Al Ayman himſelf, before they could be introduced to the imperial general. Mahân at firſt inſiſted upon Khâled's diſmiſſing his eſcorte; a condition with which the Arab abſolutely refuſed to comply, as he repreſented the lieutenant of the khalif. He likewiſe propoſed that the Moſlems ſhould alight, and deliver up their ſwords, as they approached; but this propoſal they alſo rejected. At length they were brought into Mahân's preſence, and had ſeats prepared for them: theſe they removed, and choſe to ſit upon the ground, after the manner of the Moſlems. Then the general began to expoſtulate with Khâled upon the irruption of the Moſlems into Syria, and the hoſtilities they had committed. Khâled replied in ſuch terms as ſeemed to ſatisfy Mahân. The conference was pretty long, and not carried on throughout with the ſame temper; for though ſometimes they reaſoned coolly, at others they ſuffered a violent tranſport of paſſion to prevail. Khâled told the general that he ſhould one day ſee him led with a rope about his neck to Omar to be beheaded. Mahân replied, that though the law of nations ſecured ambaſſadors themſelves from violence, which he ſuppoſed encouraged him to take that indecent freedom; yet he would chaſtiſe his inſolence, in the perſons of the five priſoners, whom he would cauſe inſtantly to be beheaded. Upon this declaration Khâled ſwore by God, by Mohammed, and by the Caaba, that if he put that menace in execution, he would diſpatch him with his own hands; and that every one of the Arabs that attended him ſhould kill his man, whatever the conſequences of ſuch an action might be. Then riſing up, he drew his ſword, and every one of his attendants did the like; but Mahân not intending to come to ſuch extremities as he had threatened, pacified him again, and made him a preſent of the five priſoners whoſe liberty he ſo earneſtly deſired. Khâled, by way of return, gave the general his ſcarlet tent which he had brought with him; and then, with the priſoners that had been releaſed by Mahân, and his eſcorte, rejoined the Moſlem army.

The battle of Yermouk.

The two armies, after ſeveral movements, coming in ſight of each other, both ſides made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for an engagement. How the Greeks were drawn up, or what were their tactics on this occaſion, our author does not

not inform us; but with regard to the method of fighting obſerved by the Arabs, and their behaviour in the battle of Yermouk, he has preſerved the following particulars. Khâled being indiſputably the beſt officer in the Moſlem army, both with reſpect to his courage and conduct, Abu Obeidah reſigned to him the command of all the forces, and poſted himſelf in the rear, under the yellow flag, or ſtandard, that Abu Becr himſelf had given him when he firſt ſet out for Syria; being the ſame which Mohammed himſelf had fought under during the war of Khaibar. This was the place aſſigned him by Khâled, who imagined his preſence might prevent the Arabs from flying, if they ſhould be hard preſſed by the Greeks. For the ſame reaſon, he poſted the women likewiſe there. The Greeks, animated by their numbers, attacked the right wing of the Moſlem horſe with ſuch fury, that they broke it entirely, and ſeparated it from the main body of the army. But the fugitives were ſo warmly received by the women, and loaded by them with ſuch reproaches, that, in order to avoid this ſtorm, they were obliged to return to the charge. The Greeks forced them again to give ground; and were upon the point of routing them, though their generals, before the beginning of the action, had told them, that paradiſe was before them, and the devil and hell-fire behind them. Abu Soſiân, in particular, who had uſed that very expreſſion, was obliged to retreat; and one of the women that ſtood near him gave him a violent blow on the face with a tent-pole, for being deficient in his duty. That day the Moſlems were thrice repulſed, and as often rallied by the women, who exerted themſelves in an extraordinary manner. At laſt night parted the contending armies, though victory ſeemed to incline to the Arabs. Abu Obeidah ſaid at once thoſe prayers that belonged to two ſeveral hours, in order to procure his men the longer repoſe. He was extremely tender of them, eſpecially thoſe that were wounded, binding up their wounds with his own hands, and aſſuring them, that their enemies ſuffered the ſame pain, without being intitled to the ſame reward. Next day, or the following, the fight was renewed, and the Chriſtian archers did ſuch execution, that ſeven hundred of the Arabs loſt either one or both of their eyes, which they conſidered as a particular mark of the divine favour. For this reaſon, the Moſlems ſtyled that day the Day of Blinding. The troops on both ſides behaved now with ſuch intrepidity, that Abd'allah Ebn Kort, who had been in all the wars of Syria, declared, that he never ſaw any

victory

victory more obstinately disputed. Though the Moslem generals, as well as the soldiers, greatly distinguished themselves on this auspicious day, their efforts would have proved ineffectual, if the women, by their unparalleled bravery, had not rendered them successful. Kaulah, Derâr's sister, was wounded though not mortally, by a Greek; whose head was immediately struck off by Ofeirah, another Arabian lady, and one of her companions. The enemy being pushed on all sides, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, were forced to abandon the field of battle, and in the night to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. To add to the misfortunes of the Greeks, at this melancholy juncture, a gentleman of Yermouk, whose wife some Christian officers had abused, decoyed a body of their cavalry into a large water, very deep, where the greatest part of them perished. In short, the Greeks were entirely defeated, one hundred and fifty thousand of their men were killed, and forty thousand taken prisoners; whereas the whole loss sustained by the Moslems on this occasion, according to the account sent by Abu Obeidah to the khalif, did not amount to above four thousand and thirty men. It can scarce be doubted, but the Arab author, whom we have followed in this relation, greatly diminishes the loss of the Moslems, and as much magnifies that of the Christians. However, that the emperor's forces were overthrown in this most bloody engagement, and that the consequence of the victory now gained by the Arabs was the total expulsion of the Christians, at least of their power and authority, out of Syria, is a melancholy truth too apparent to be denied. Such was the battle, or rather battles, of Yermouk, fought in the month of November 636, or the 15th of the Hejra [q].

Abu Obeidah sends the khalif advice of the victory he had gained.

After the dispersion of the imperial troops, Abu Obeidah wrote a short letter to the khalif, containing a succinct account of the late glorious actions, and of some of the immediate consequences of them, with regard to the Moslems. He informed him, that, since the defeat of the Greeks, Noomân Ebn Al Kamah had killed Mahân, their general, at Damascus; that Abu Joaîd, who belonged to them before they were overthrown by the Moslems, and came from Hems, drowned a great number of them, known only to God himself; and that he had destroyed all those of the enemy who had taken refuge in the deserts and mountains.

[q] Al Waked. ubi supra. Al Makin, in Hist. Saracen. lib. i. cap. 3. p. 22. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 276, & p. 280.

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He likewise begged the khalif to compose a difference that had happened between two Moslems of rank, whose names he thought proper to conceal, that neither party might think himself ill used by the khalif's decision, or have the least reason hereafter to complain. Those Moslems were Serjabil Ebn Shahhnah, who had formerly been secretary to the prophet, and Derâr, an officer of distinction, frequently mentioned in this history. The former having engaged in single combat an officer of the Christian army, and being rendered weak by watching and fasting, to which he had wholly devoted himself, would have lost his life, had not the latter interposed, and killed his antagonist, when he was upon the point of dispatching him. This happened in the heat of the action; and after the conclusion of it, both Serjabil and Derâr demanded the spoil of this officer, the one as having engaged and tired him, the other as having slain him in the field of battle. He also informed the khalif of several other single combats that had been fought whilst both armies were engaged. The letter was dated from Damascus, to which place the Arabs thought proper to move after they had defeated the Greeks. Here they refreshed themselves a month; before the expiration of which term Abu Obeidah received an answer from the khalif, wherein he expressed great satisfaction at the glorious progress of his arms, thanked his troops for their bravery, and commanded the general to remain at Damascus till farther orders. He also adjudged the spoil above mentioned to Derâr, though his name had been concealed, as he had killed an infidel, and saved the life of a Moslem.

He also takes Jerusalem.

Soon after the arrival of the last courier from Omar, Abu Obeidah dispatched another, to know whether he should attack Cæsarea or Jerusalem; as he thought it would be for the good of the khalif's service to reduce both those places. Ali being with Omar when the courier arrived, persuaded him to send his forces against the latter of those cities; telling him, that such an expedition would be more conformable to the sentiments of the prophet, which he had formerly imparted to him. It being, therefore, resolved by the khalif to lay siege first to Jerusalem, orders were directly sent to Abu Obeidah to begin immediately the military operations against that city. Abu Obeidah, in pursuance of these orders, instantly detached Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân, with a body of five thousand men, to invest that town; and then, for five days successively, commanded considerable numbers of his men to file off

after

after him, under such officers as he thought fit to appoint. The principal of these were Ayyad Ebn Ghanem, Moâwiyah Ebn Abu Sofiân, Amru Ebn Al As, and his son Abd'allah. The inhabitants of Jerusalem were not at all intimidated at the approach of the Moslem troops, under the command of Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân, but planted their engines upon the walls, and made all the necessary dispositions for a vigorous defence. Upon his arrival before the town, Yezid, by an interpreter, summoned the soldiers of the garrison to surrender the place, and offered them the usual terms; which were rejected with scorn. This refusal incensing the troops under his command, they desired to be led on instantly to the attack, in order to make the besieged feel the effects of their temerity and presumption. But Yezid not having orders to fight, contented himself at present with investing the city. However, he sent an express to Abu Obeidah, to acquaint him with the ardour of the troops, and to receive farther orders: whereupon the general permitted him immediately to begin the siege. Having, therefore, assigned his men their posts, the next morning, after prayers were over, he made a general assault, which continued till evening, when he was obliged to desist from his attempt. In this manner he continued to harass the besieged, for ten days together, with reiterated attacks; but without effect. In these conflicts the garrison galled his troops terribly with showers of arrows, and destroyed abundance of his men. On the eleventh day the general, with the main body of the army, presented himself before the city, and sent a letter to the besieged, requiring them either to embrace Mohammedism, or to pay tribute to the Moslems; threatening the garrison and inhabitants otherwise with extirpation, and their children with perpetual slavery. Notwithstanding these menaces, the besieged retained their former courage, and defended themselves for four months with incredible bravery; scarce a day passing, during that term, without an action, wherein the besiegers generally sustained the greatest loss. However, the inhabitants being at length reduced to the last extremity, and finding the Moslems resolved to carry the town, cost what it would, prevailed upon Sophronius, the patriarch, to have a conference with Abu Obeidah, and endeavour to settle with that general the terms of an honourable capitulation. This task the patriarch undertook, and, by the help of an interpreter, first told him, that whoever came into the Holy Land, and before Jerusalem, the Holy City, with any hostile intent, would

render himself obnoxious to the divine pleasure. Abu Obeidah answered, that they knew Jerusalem to be a noble city; but that as the Moslems were more worthy of the possession of it than the Christians, as it was the mine of the prophets, whose sepulchres lay in it, and as Mohammed himself went from it in one night to heaven, where he was suffered to approach within two bow-shots of his Lord, or nearer, the khalif was determined to continue the siege, till the place was delivered into his hands. After several conferences between the patriarch, who had placed himself on the top of the wall for that purpose, and the Moslem general, it was finally agreed, that the city should be surrendered to the Arabs, on condition that the inhabitants should receive from the khalif's own hands the articles of their security and protection. Omar, having approved of the terms granted the besieged by Abu Obeidah, resolved to visit Jerusalem in person, and immediately made the necessary preparations for a journey to the Holy City. This Othmân endeavoured to dissuade him from undertaking, but without effect; he chusing to follow the advice of Ali, who was of a different opinion. The reduction of Jerusalem was the first consequence of the battle of Yermouk.

Omar sets out for that place.

The khalif having made the preparations for his intended journey to Jerusalem, after he had performed his devotions in the mosque he always frequented, visited Mohammed's tomb, and constituted Ali his lieutenant at Medina, set out, attended by a numerous retinue, for that city. He rode upon a red camel, and carried with him two sacks; one of which contained his sawik, a sort of provision consisting of barley, rice, or wheat, sodden and unhusked, in use amongst the Arabs, and the other fruits. Before him he had a leathern bottle, very necessary in those desert countries, to contain water, and behind him a wooden platter. Before he left the place where he had rested the preceding night, he constantly said the morning-prayer; after which he addressed himself to his attendants in a devout strain, always uttering some pious ejaculations. Then he communicated his sawik to them; every one of his fellow-travellers eating with him, out of the same platter, without distinction. His cloaths, according to Theophanes, were made of camels hair, and even in a very ragged and tattered condition; nor could any thing be more mean and sordid than the appearance he made.

During his journey, he failed not to administer justice to all those who had recourse to his decision. A man was brought

brought before him for marrying two wives, that were sisters both by father and mother. Such marriages had been deemed lawful amongst the Arabs in the times of ignorance, or idolatry; but they were abolished by Mohammed, and expresly prohibited in the Koran. The man being interrogated by Omar about it, and asked what religion he was of, said he was a Moslem; but swore he neither knew nor believed that his marriage was unlawful. Omar swore that he lied, and that he would either oblige him to part with one of his wives, or strike off his head. To which declaration the man made answer, in an angry tone, that he wished he had never been of the Mohammedan religion, since he had never been the better for it in any respect. Upon which, the khalif calling him a little nearer, gave him two blows on the head with his stick, and severely reprehended him for speaking with so much irreverence of Mohammedism. He then forced him to part with one of his wives, by casting lots; as he loved them both so well, that he would not tell which of them he preferred to the other. After this sentence the khalif assured him, that all who renounced Islamism were to be put to death; and that if he enjoyed the wife he had dismissed, he should be most certainly stoned.

Distributes justice on the road.

The khalif observing some poor tributaries exposed to the heat of the sun, a very cruel punishment in those hot countries, for not being able to pay the sum demanded of them, he ordered them to be released; telling his attendants, that he once heard the apostle of God say, do not afflict men in this world; for those who do so God shall punish in hell-fire at the day of judgment. While he prosecuted his journey, another person was cited to appear before him: this was an old man, who had suffered a young one to be a partner with him in the fruition of his wife. Though they both professed Islamism, they swore, upon their being examined by Omar, that they did not know such a partnership to be illicit, or forbidden by the law of God. The old man being asked by Omar, what could induce him to consent to such a beastly practice? he answered, that as his strength failed him, and this young man was very serviceable to him, in assisting him to feed and water his camels, he found himself obliged to allow him access to his wife, not being able to recompense him in any other manner; but promised that, as he found it to be unlawful, he would put an end to this sort of commerce. Upon which Omar ordered him to take his wife by the hand, and told him, that nobody ought to approach

her but himself; then directing his discourse to the adulterer, he said, "If ever I hear, young man, that you are concerned in such an unlawful commerce hereafter, I shall not fail to take off your head." Such acts of justice as these, from whatever motive they might proceed, attracted both the love and esteem of the Moslems; especially as Omar generally founded his decisions either upon some of the sayings of the prophet, of which he had preserved a considerable store, or upon some of the precepts and institutions of the Koran.

Arrives in the Moslem camp before Jerusalem, and signs the capitulation.

Abu Obeidah receiving advice of the khalif's arrival on the confines of Syria, went to meet him with an escorte at some distance from Jerusalem, where he was expected with great impatience by the inhabitants, who had sustained great fatigues during the siege. From thence he conducted him to the Moslem camp, where he was received amidst the acclamations of his subjects, and with all possible demonstrations of joy. The morning after his arrival, the khalif repeated the usual prayers, and preached to the troops. In his sermon he produced the following passage out of the Koran: "Whomsoever God shall direct, he shall be rightly directed; and whomsoever he shall cause to err, thou shalt not find any to defend or to direct." Upon which a Christian priest rose up, and said aloud twice, "God causes no one to err." Omar made no answer to him, but ordered the Moslems near him to strike off the infidel's head, if he repeated those words again. This order being heard by the priest, he took care not to interrupt the khalif any more in his discourse. After the conclusion of his sermon, he pitched his tent, made of hair, within sight of the city. Then he signed the articles of the capitulation, by virtue of which the inhabitants were entitled to the free exercise of their religion, the possession of their properties, and his protection; and he, in return, to the sovereignty of the place and all the adjacent territory. These articles being the basis of most, if not all those of the same nature, that have been since granted by the Mohammedan princes to the Christians, our curious readers will not be displeased to find the substance of them inserted here.

I. The Christians of Jerusalem shall build no new churches, either in that city, or the adjacent territory thereunto belonging, after the signing of the capitulation.

II. They shall not refuse the Moslems admission into their churches, either by day or by night.

III. They

III. They ſhall ſet open the doors of their churches to all travellers and paſſengers whatſoever.

IV. If any Moſlem ſhould be upon a journey, they ſhall be obliged to entertain him gratis for the ſpace of three days.

V. They ſhall not teach their children the Koran, talk openly of their religion, perſuade any Moſlem to be of it, nor hinder any of their relations from becoming Mohammedans, if at any time they ſhould be inclined to prefer Iſlamiſm to their own religion.

VI. They ſhall pay a proper deference and reſpect to the Moſlems, and riſe up to them whenever they are diſpoſed to ſit down.

VII. They ſhall never appear in the ſame dreſs with the Moſlems; their caps, ſhoes, turbans, parting of the hair, forms of ſalutation, and even names, ſhall be different from thoſe of the true believers.

VIII. They ſhall not ride upon ſaddles, nor carry any ſort of arms, nor uſe the Arabic tongue in any of the inſcriptions engraven on their ſeals.

IX. They ſhall not ſell wine, nor any other intoxicating liquors.

X. They ſhall always wear the ſame ſort of habit wherefoever they go, and keep their girdles at all times about their waiſts.

XI. They ſhall erect no croſſes upon their churches, nor exhibit either their croſſes or their books in the ſtreets openly to the Moſlems.

XII. They ſhall not ring, but only toll their bells; nor take any ſervant that has once belonged to the Moſlems.

XIII. They ſhall not overlook the Moſlems in their houſes, nor in any reſpect act the part of ſpies upon them. To which conditions ſome add, that Omar commanded the citizens of Jeruſalem always to have the fore-parts of their heads ſhaven, and to ride upon their pannels ſideways, in a manner different from that of the Moſlems.

XIV. They ſhall pay, with all poſſible punctuality, the capitation, as well as the uſual tribute impoſed by the true believers upon all the infidels in their ſituation.

XV. They ſhall acknowlege the ſovereignty of the khalif Omar, and never in any reſpect act either directly or indirectly againſt him.

XVI. By virtue of their compliance with the preceding articles, the khalif ſhall ſecure to them their lives, properties, and the free exerciſe of their religion. He ſhall alſo ſkreen them from all inſults and violence whatſoever,

and take them in common with his other subjects into his perpetual and more immediate protection.

Thus fell Jerusalem into the hands of the Moslems, in which it has continued ever since; excepting only that interval of near ninety years, during which it was possessed by the Christians in the holy war, who were finally expelled by Saladin. With regard to the manner of reducing it, and the circumstances attending that event, authors are not perfectly agreed; though it is allowed on all hands, that Omar took a journey thither at the request of the besieged. Al Wakedi intimates, that the place was reduced by the Moslems in about four months; but, according to Theophanes, at least two years were elapsed before they could force it to a capitulation [r].

Omar enters Jerusalem.

After the preceding articles were signed, Omar, in pursuance of his engagements, gave the inhabitants of Jerusalem the following order, as a proper security against any violences that might be offered them, written with his own hand. "In the name of the most merciful God. From Omar Ebn Al Khattâb to the inhabitants of Ælia, or Jerusalem. They shall be protected and secured both in their lives and possessions. Their churches shall neither be demolished, nor made use of by any but themselves." After the delivery of the schedule, on which this was written, the gates were opened, and he entered the town. The patriarch Sophronius waited upon the khalif, who conversed familiarly with him, and asked him many questions concerning the antiquities of the city. One of the first places they visited was the Temple of the Resurrection, in the midst of which Omar sat down. When the hour of prayer was come, he told the patriarch he had an inclination to pray; and therefore begged he would shew him a place where he might perform his devotions. Sophronius told him he might do that on the spot where he then was; but this he absolutely refused. Then the patriarch led him to St. Constantine's church, and spread a mat for him; but there he likewise declined saying his usual prayer. At last he thought proper to kneel down alone at the east-gate of the church, upon one of the steps. After he had finished his prayer, he sat down, and asked Sophronius, whether he knew the reason of his refusing to pray in the

r Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 257, 258, 259. MS. Arab. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Num. 362. Bohadin Ebn Sjeddad. in Vit. Salad. Abulfed. in Hist. Gen. Jallalo'ddin, MS. Arab. Huntingdon. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Al Waked. ubi supra. Theophan. ubi supra.

church

church? To which interrogation when the patriarch answered in the negative, he said, "Had I prayed there, or in any other of your churches, the Moslems would most certainly have taken it from you: for notwithstanding the engagements we have entered into, they would have said, here Omar prayed, and therefore we will pray here too. Thus they would gradually have possessed themselves of your church; contrary both to your expectation and my intention. Nay, as this may still be the case, unless I take all the necessary precautions to prevent it, give me some paper, that I may secure you with a written order, which will have its effect upon my people." Being supplied with pen, ink, and paper, he wrote the following words: "In the name of the most merciful God. From Omar Ebn Al Khattâb to the inhabitants of Ælia. The Moslems shall not pray on the steps of the church called St. Constantine, in any numbers, but only one by one. They shall never meet there to go to prayers. The muedhdhins, or *criers*, that call the people to prayers, shall never stand there." Having given this paper to the patriarch, for the future security of the Christians, he asked him, according to Eutychius, whether he could not assign him a proper place to erect a mosque upon, for the celebration of the Mohammedan service? The patriarch replied, "I will shew the emperor of the faithful a spot, where he may build a place of worship for himself and his subjects." Then he conducted the khalif to the place where Jacob's stone lay, on which he slept, when he saw his vision. Upon this spot, says Eutychius, which they held in the highest veneration, the Israelites afterwards erected a chapel, or oratory. Nor could they imagine any place to be more proper for the house of God to stand upon, than that which Jacob himself emphatically styled "the house of God, a place to be revered, and the gate of heaven." For which reason, continues the same author, the Israelites, wheresoever they were, prayed with their faces turned towards this place. However, before Sophronius complied with the khalif's request, he obtained a written order, that no other mosque should be erected within the precincts of Jerusalem. When the Roman empire became Christian, and Helena, the mother of Constantine, had built several churches in Jerusalem, that stone was slighted, and the oratory upon it, which had been demolished, was consequently not rebuilt; because our Saviour had predicted, that the habitations of the unbelieving Jews should be left unto them desolate; and

that there ſhould not be left here one ſtone upon another that ſhould not be thrown down. In order that this prophecy might have its full completion, the Chriſtian emperors would not ſuffer any church, or other building, to be erected upon that ſtone; ſo that it was now quite covered with dirt. The khalif, therefore, took as much of this as he could hold in his veſt, and removed it. Which circumſtance being perceived by the Moſlems, they all haſtened to aſſiſt him. Some filled their bucklers, ſome their veſts, ſome pitchers, others baſkets; inſomuch that they ſoon removed all the rubbiſh from about the ſtone. Omar, leaving the churches to the Chriſtians, erected a new moſque on Mount Moriah, in the place where Solomon's temple formerly ſtood; which was afterwards much enlarged, and greatly adorned with many beautiful and magnificent buildings, by the khalif Abd'almalec Ebn Merwân, as will be ſeen in its proper place. We are told by Theophanes, that when Omar entered the temple or church of the Reſurrection, he appeared in ſuch ſordid and filthy attire, as gave great offence to the patriarch Sophronius; who, with much difficulty, at laſt prevailed upon the dirty Barbarian to put on ſome clean linen and cloaths which he offered him, till his own filthy rags were waſhed. The ſame author relates, that when the patriarch firſt ſaw Omar in that place, he could not forbear breaking out into the following exclamation: "This is of a truth the abomination of deſolation, ſpoken of by Daniel, the prophet, ſtanding in the holy place!" Which words the Moſlems afterwards hearing, they inferred from thence, that the patriarch owned their conqueſt of Jeruſalem to have been foretold by the prophet Daniel; and this circumſtance enabled them to trump up a fabulous ſtory of an ancient prophecy kept in Jeruſalem concerning Omar; wherein his name and religion were ſpecified, his perſon deſcribed, and he declared to be the only man that could then reduce that city. From Jeruſalem the khalif went to Bethlehem, where he prayed in a church; an incident which procured another written order from him, in order to preſerve that church in the hands of the Chriſtians, couched in the ſame terms as the former drawn up at Jeruſalem: but notwithſtanding this precaution, the Moſlems afterwards ſeized upon that church, as well as the other of St. Conſtantine at Jeruſalem. Half of the porch, covering the ſteps on which Omar performed his devotions, belonging to the latter of theſe, they took firſt, and erected a moſque upon it, in which they included thoſe ſteps.

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This, in the days of Eutychius, they denominated the mosque, or oratory, of Omar. We must not forget to inform our readers, that, according to Al Makîn, the Arabs took Jerusalem in the 16th year of the Hejra; or, as appears from Al Wakedi, about April or May, in the year of our Lord 637[s].

The Arabs meet with great success in the territories of Persia.

The same year in which Abu Obeidah reduced Jerusalem, Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs, another of Omar's generals, met with an uninterrupted course of success in the territories of Persia. He advanced with a body of Moslem troops to Al Madâyen, a city near the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates, and made himself master of that town. Here he found the shâh, or *king* of Persia's treasury, which was immensely rich, and one of his principal magazines. He took out of the treasury, according to Al Makîn, three thousand million of dinars; a sum which appears almost incredible. From thence Saad found his way to that part of the royal palace where Khosrû's plate was deposited, and another full of camphor; both of which were plundered by the Moslems. The camphor they were not very well acquainted with the nature of, and therefore mixed it with their leaven; which rendered their bread bitter and disagreeable to the taste. Afterwards the Arab general found Khosrû's crown, and his cloaths, adorned with gold and jewels of inestimable value; all which he carried away. He also plundered his armory, which was well furnished with helmets, coats of mail, and weapons of various kinds. Then he ordered the roof of Khosrû's porch to be opened, where he found one million of methkâls, every one of which, says Al Makîn, was worth ten dirhems. He also discovered, amongst Khosrû's furniture, a piece of silk tapestry, sixty cubits square, adorned with a great variety of beautiful flowers, herbs, and plants, drawn to the life, and formed of silver, gold, and jewels, the most valuable that could be procured. This being brought to Omar, he cut it in pieces, and distributed it amongst the Moslems. That part which fell to Ali's share, which yet was none of the best, he sold for twenty thousand dirhems, or pieces of silver; from whence we may infer, that the whole must have been almost invaluable. Nine months after the reduction of Al Madâyen, the Arabs defeated the Persians in a great battle near Jaloûlah, and put a great number to the

[s] Al Makin, ubi supra. Eutych. Patriarch. Alexandrin. Annal. tom. ii. p. 284—289. Gen. xxviii. 16, 17. Mat. xxiii. 38. Mar. xiii. 2. Theophan. ubi supra. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 137—149. Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 248, 249.

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ſword. According to ſome of the eaſtern authors, the city of Al Madâyen, at this time the capital of the Perſian dominions, was now ſo pillaged, that it did not recover itſelf for many ages. Yazdejerd, or Khoſrû Yazdejerd, finding things every day grow worſe and worſe, retired with great precipitation to Fargâna, or Fargânah, the capital of a large province of the ſame name, ſometimes called Andojiân, or Andujiân, though the laſt is more properly the name of one of its dependencies.

A Jew converted to Iſlamiſm by Omar.

Omar remained ten days in the Moſlem camp, after the reduction of Jeruſalem, in order to ſettle matters there. During this interval one Caab, a Jew, came to the khalif to be inſtructed in the principles of the Mohammedan religion, and told him, that he had been informed by his father, who was perfectly ſkilled in the law of Moſes, that Mohammed was to be the ſeal of the prophets; and conſequently, that, after him, the world muſt not expect any farther inſpiration. He then demanded of Omar what account of Iſlamiſm was to be found in the Koran? The khalif, in order the more effectually to carry his point, cited ſuch texts of that book as were ſuited to the principles of one who had been brought up in the principles of Judaiſm. The Jew pretending to be convinced by ſome of theſe texts, that Mohammediſm was in reality no other than the religion of Abraham and the patriarchs, repeated inſtantly the Moſlem confeſſion of faith, "There is but one God, and Mohammed is his apoſtle." This exclamation gave great ſatisfaction to Omar, who invited his new proſelyte to go with him to Medina, to viſit the prophet's tomb; to which invitation he very readily agreed.

Omar returns to Medina.

Before the khalif took his leave of Syria, he divided that country into two parts; one of which, that lay between Haurân, or Aurân, and Aleppo, and was not entirely conquered, he committed to the management of Abu Obeidah, giving him the ſtricteſt orders to reduce it as ſoon as poſſible to his obedience. Yezid Ebn Soſiân was commanded to take upon himſelf the care of the other, which comprehended Paleſtine and the ſea-coaſt, and to make himſelf abſolute maſter of it, having a body of troops aſſigned him for that purpoſe. Amru Ebn Al As, in purſuance of his inſtructions, was to invade Egypt, then in a very exhauſted condition, with a body of the Moſlem forces. After he had made theſe diſpoſitions for extending his conqueſts, Omar departed for Medina, where he arrived in perfect health. His preſence inſpired the inhabitants with inexpreſſible joy; who, from his long ſtay at

Jeruſalem,

Jerusalem, concluded that he did not intend to return to their city. Soon after his departure, Abu Obeidah exacted of the inhabitants of Alhâdir and Kinnisrîn five thousand ounces of gold, as many of silver, two thousand suits of cloaths of various kinds of silk, and five hundred assloads of figs and olives, for the refreshment of his troops. We are informed by Eutychius, that he moved likewise about this time to Hems, in order probably to extort from the citizens a sum of money, and a proper quantity of provisions: but how he treated them, what he actually proposed by the visit he made them, or what sort of a reception he experienced, at this juncture, we have not been informed by any of the Arab historians.

Abu Obeidah moves towards Aleppo.

Soon after Omar had left Syria, Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân advanced to Cæsarea, in order to besiege it; but he found it so well fortified, and the garrison so strengthened by a reinforcement of two thousand men, sent them lately by the emperor, that he judged such an attempt would be impracticable. Besides, the small body of troops he commanded was not sufficient to form the siege of a place defended by so numerous a garrison. Nor could he entertain the least hopes of starving them to a surrender, as they had lately been supplied with a great quantity of all sorts of provisions by sea. He therefore was obliged to continue for some time in a state of inaction. In the mean time Abu Obeidah having visited Haurân or Aurân, the province called by Josephus Auranitis, and one of the extremities of that part of Syria over which he presided, he marched from thence towards Aleppo; which, conformably to the khalif's orders, he proposed immediately to invest. Besides Tiberias or Tabarriyah, and Bosra or Bostra, its capital, in the province of Haurân, there were several other considerable towns. The castle of Aleppo was at this time, as we learn from Al Wakedi, the strongest citadel in Syria.

The governor of Aleppo defeats a body of the Arabs.

The citizens of Aleppo being informed of the surrender of Alhâdir and Kinnisrîn, were struck with great terror and consternation, expecting soon to see the Moslem army before the town. They had at that time two governors, who were brothers, and resided in the castle, which was not within the city, but stood at a little distance from it. The names of these two governors were Youkinna and John. Their father, by the emperor Heraclius's appointment, presided over the whole tract situated between Aleppo and the Euphrates; and after his death, Youkinna had the chief management of affairs, John spending his time in retirement, reading, and acts of charity. As he had

had therefore no notion of war, he would willingly have prevailed upon his brother to purchase a peace of the Arabs for a great sum of money rather than make his country a scene of blood, ravages, and confusion: but this scheme by no means suiting Youkinna's martial genius, he armed a considerable number of citizens, amongst whom were several Christian Arabs, and distributed a sum of money amongst them. He then told his men, that he intended to act offensively against the Arabs, and even, if possible, to engage them before they drew too near the district of Aleppo. In order to inspire them with the greater courage and resolution, he observed that the grand army of the Arabs was divided into several bodies; one of which had orders to besiege Cæsarea, another to march to Damascus, and a third to invade Egypt. From whence he concluded, that Abu Obeidah's troops, of whose march towards Aleppo they had received some intelligence, could not be so formidable but that they might easily oppose them. Having thus animated his troops, he put himself at the head of twelve thousand of them, and marched forwards, to get advice of the enemy's motions. In the mean time Abu Obeidah had sent before him Caab 'Ebn Damarah, with a thousand men, and given him express orders not to fight till he had received certain information of the strength of the enemy. Youkinna's spies discovered Caab and his men reposing themselves, and watering their horses, quite secure, and not in the least apprehensive of any danger. Youkinna being apprized of this circumstance, posted one part of his troops in an ambuscade, at a small distance from them, and with the other advanced to attack the Moslems. The dispute that ensued was sharp and bloody, and the Moslems at first repulsed the Christians with great bravery; but the troops that formed the ambuscade at last rushing upon them, they were forced to retire, a hundred and seventy of their men being killed upon the spot, and most of the rest wounded. Had they not been enabled by favour of the night, which then very opportunely approached, to make a tolerable retreat, every one of them would have been inevitably put to the sword[t].

The inhabitants of Aleppo submit to Abu Obeidah;

After Youkinna's departure with his forces in quest of the Arabs, the wealthier part of the citizens of Aleppo, considering that they should be stripped of every thing valuable, and perhaps put to death likewise, if the Moslems carried the city by storm, resolved without farther delay

[t] Al Waked, ubi supra.

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to submit to Abu Obeidah. They, therefore, sent a deputation to that general, then at Kinnisrîn, and upon the point of beginning his march to Aleppo, in order to make proposals of submission. At first Abu Obeidah seemed averse to a pacification, not being perfectly convinced of the sincerity of their intentions; but at last they prevailed upon him to take them into his protection. Their submission was accepted upon the same terms as those which the Moslem general had before granted the khalif's protection to the inhabitants of Alhâdir and Kinnisrîn; excepting that the tribute and capitation imposed upon them did not amount to above half the sum exacted of the citizens of Kinnisrîn; for that city was then in a much more flourishing condition than Aleppo, and consequently able to pay a much more considerable tribute and capitation. The merchants, on their return home, meeting with one of Youkinna's officers, gave him an account of the whole transaction, which he immediately communicated to his master, who was then making the proper dispositions for pursuing Caab, who had made his escape only by favour of the night. Youkinna receiving this disagreeable intelligence, was afraid lest any attempt should be made upon the castle in his absence; and therefore marched back with all possible expedition. This retreat gave Caab an opportunity of rejoining the Moslem army, which soon after, with Khâled and Abu Obeidah at the head of it, arrived at the spot where the late action had happened. Immediately after their arrival the Moslems buried the bodies of their countrymen that had been killed, whom they called martyrs, all bloody as they were, together with the arms that lay by them, and the cloaths with which they were covered.

who besieges the castle;

In the mean time Youkinna arrived at Aleppo soon enough to secure the castle from all attempts the citizens might make upon it, and put himself in a posture to receive the enemy. He was greatly incensed at the conduct of the deputies, who had concluded a treaty with Abu Obeidah, and threatened the inhabitants with instant death if they did not join him against the Arabs, disannul that treaty, and deliver into his hands the authors of the late defection, that he might receive condign punishment. The citizens not immediately complying with this demand, he assaulted them with great fury, killed about three hundred, and amongst the rest his brother John, whose head he caused to be cut off, charging him with being the contriver and abettor of the late pernicious scheme. Nor would he have stopped here, had not the

Moslem

Moslem army at that instant arrived before the town; upon which he retired, and threw himself, with a considerable body of troops, into the castle; but before this step could be taken he was obliged to sustain an attack from the Arabs, wherein, according to Al Wakedi, he lost three thousand men. The action was no sooner ended than the inhabitants of Aleppo brought out forty of Youkinna's men, whom they had taken prisoners, and put them, as a proof of their fidelity to him, into Abu Obeidah's hands. Of these seven embraced Mohammedism, and the rest were beheaded.

but in vain.

Immediately after Youkinna had shut himself up in the castle, a council of war was held in the Moslem camp, to concert what measures were to be pursued on this occasion; and all the principal officers of the army assisted at those deliberations. Some were of opinion that the citadel should be besieged in form by one part of the army, whilst the other was sent out to forage; but Khâled, whose judgment was generally followed, thought it most advisable to attack the castle with all the Arab forces, that they might be able to reduce it before any supplies could be sent from the emperor. In pursuance of this advice Abu Obeidah caused the citadel to be invested, and soon after made a vigorous assault. The besieged defended themselves with great bravery, and, after a very warm dispute, drove the enemy to their camp. As they threw a vast number of stones out of their military engines in this action, they destroyed abundance of the besiegers, and wounded many more. This success encouraged Youkinna to make a sally, with a strong party of the garrison, the following night. The fires being then extinguished in the Moslem camp, and the besiegers not expecting so unseasonable a visit, Youkinna killed sixty upon the spot, and carried off with him fifty prisoners into the castle. However, being vigorously attacked by Khâled, who soon assembled a body of troops to oppose him in his retreat, he lost about a hundred men. The prisoners were beheaded by Youkinna's order, next day, in sight of the Moslem camp. Youkinna then receiving advice that a strong detachment of the Arabian cavalry was sent out to forage, ordered a body of his horse to drive them to their camp; an order which they executed accordingly, killing a hundred and thirty in the action, and seizing all their camels and horses, with which they retired into the mountains. Here they proposed to lie concealed till the following night, and then return to the castle; but Abu Obei-

dah

dah being informed of what had happened by some of those who had escaped the fury of the Christians in the late engagement, detached Khâled and Derâr with a body of troops to pursue the Greeks, and revenge the late affront. Khâled was conducted by some of the fugitives to the place where the action happened, and received intelligence there of the route the Christians had taken. Upon this information he possessed himself of the only passage by which they could return to the castle, and posted there in ambuscade a party of his men, whose courage he could depend upon. The Greeks, not apprehensive of any danger, advanced to this passage, when about a fourth part of the night was past, in order to rejoin their countrymen who defended the castle; but, upon their arrival, they were surprised by the Arabs, who fell upon them with such impetuosity, that they took three hundred prisoners, and put all the rest to the sword. The prisoners were all brought out next morning before the castle, and beheaded in sight of the garrison.

He continues the siege,

Notwithstanding the late disaster, the garrison made several sallies with great success, wherein they killed a great number of men, and harassed them in such a manner, that Abu Obeidah found himself obliged, for his better security, to remove his camp to about a mile's distance from the castle. He had likewise a farther view in this point of conduct: he imagined, that after such a step was taken, Youkinna would be less upon his guard, and afford him an opportunity of taking the citadel by surprize: but the Greek commander, by the prudent measures he took, frustrated his expectations. Abu Obeidah perceiving all his designs unsuccessful, had a strong suspicion that he was betrayed by some Christian spies lurking about the camp, who gave the enemy secret intelligence of what was transacting. This induced him to cause a strict search to be made. Upon which Khâled, who assisted in this scrutiny, discovered a Christian Arab, of the tribe of Ghassân, who, upon examination, appeared to be a spy, employed by Youkinna to procure intelligence of the Moslems designs. Indeed he owned his crime, and confessed that he had had several accomplices, who were returned to the castle; but avoided death by professing himself a Mohammedan.

but without effect.

Though the siege of the citadel continued above four months after the last mentioned blow given by Khâled to the garrison, the Moslem general had scarce any prospect of bringing it to a happy conclusion: nor had he any thing material to write to the khalif; so that the

Arabian

Arabian pontiff grew very uneasy. He, therefore wrote to Abu Obeidah, to inform him, that he was extremely concerned at his long silence, and, therefore, ordered him to give him an account of the present situation of his affairs in Syria. That general, accordingly dispatched a courier to the khalif, with advice, that Alhâdir, Kinnisrîn, and the city of Aleppo, had surrendered; and that the citadel of Aleppo was the only place in that part of the country which held out against him, before which he had lost a considerable number of men. This loss had induced him to entertain thoughts of raising the siege, and moving with his army into that tract which lay between Antioch and Aleppo; but that he would remain in his camp till the return of the courier with farther orders. The khalif commanded him at all events to continue the siege, and sent him a reinforcement of Arab troops, together with seventy camels, to assist the infantry in their march, with all possible expedition.

At last he takes the citadel by a stratagem.

In the body of troops sent by Omar to reinforce his army before the castle of Aleppo, there was an Arab of a gigantic stature, called Dames, possessed of great courage and resolution. Though the Moslems, in pursuance of the khalif's orders, had carried on the siege with all the vigour they were capable of, yet very little progress had been made in it for forty-seven days after Dames's arrival in the camp; so that he began to meditate the reduction of that fortress by a stratagem, as it seemed so difficult a thing to effect it by force. He desired that Abu Obeidah would assign him the command of a party, consisting of only thirty men; which, at Khâled's request, was immediately granted. Then he begged the general to raise the siege, and pitch his tents at about three miles distance from the castle; which petition likewise was immediately complied with. The following night, Dames, who had posted himself with his party very near the citadel, found means to seize a Greek belonging to the garrison, from whom, by the assistance of a Christian Arab he had taken, who served him for an interpreter, he learned several agreeable particulars. The Greek informed him, that, after the siege was raised, Youkinna had exacted large sums of money of the citizens, in order to punish them for the treaty they had concluded with the Arabs; and that he (this Greek) was one of those who had endeavoured to make their escape from the oppression of such a tyrant, by leaping down from the wall. This man Dames took under his protection, by virtue of the submission made by

by the townſmen to Abu Obeidah; but beheaded five or ſix others, who fell into his hands, and could not give a proper account of themſelves. He then covered his back and ſhoulders with a goat's ſkin, which he had provided for that purpoſe, and took a dry cruſt in his hand, creeping gradually on the ground to the foot of the wall. If he heard any noiſe, or ſuſpected any perſon to be near, in order to prevent being diſcovered, he made ſuch a noiſe with his cruſt as a dog does when he is gnawing a bone; his companions ſometimes walking, and ſometimes creeping along after him. He had before diſpatched two of his men to Abu Obeidah, to deſire that a detachment of horſe might be ſent by break of day, to ſupport his ſmall party, and facilitate the execution of the plan he had formed. At laſt Dames found an opportunity of raiſing ſeven men upon his ſhoulders, who ſtood upon one another's ſhoulders in ſuch a manner that the higheſt of them reached the top of the wall. Here he ſoon placed himſelf, ſeized a watchman he found aſleep, and threw him down among his companions, who immediately cut him to pieces. Two others in the ſame condition he ſtabbed with his dagger, and ſent them after the former. Then he laid down his turbant, and drew up the ſecond of his brethren, as they two did the third. By this method, at laſt, Dames himſelf, and the remainder of his men were enabled to mount the wall. The commander having enjoined ſilence, went himſelf to ſee what poſture the governor was in; and at laſt found an opportunity of obſerving him, and that without being diſcovered himſelf, engaged in diſcourſe with his officers, for whom he had prepared an entertainment, probably on account of Abu Obeidah's raiſing the ſiege of the caſtle, and not the leaſt apprehenſive of any impending danger. Then Dames privately ſtabbed the centry poſted at every gate, and, by favour of the night, put his men in poſſeſſion of them all, without oppoſition. However, the ſoldiers of the garriſon were at laſt alarmed, and ſurrounded the Arabs. The latter defended themſelves for ſome time with great bravery; but being borne down by the multitude, they were upon the point of periſhing, when Khâled, with a detachment of cavalry, advanced to their relief. As ſoon as that general, who was grown terrible to the Chriſtians, appeared, the beſieged threw down their arms, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. Youkinna, and ſome of the principal officers, in order to have their wives, children, and riches, reſtored to them, turned Mohammedans; though others

chose rather to lose every thing that was dear and valuable than to give their consciences a mortal wound, by preferring to the sublime truths of Christianity the crude absurdities and blasphemous effusions of a most infamous impostor. The castle being taken by storm, it was pillaged by the Moslems; Abu Obeidah reserving a fifth part of the spoil, which was very valuable, in compliance with an injunction in the Koran, and dividing the rest among his troops. Dames acquired great glory on this occasion; and, out of compliment to him, the army did not decamp from Aleppo before he and his men were perfectly cured of their wounds [u].

The Moslems take Aazâz.

After the reduction of the citadel of Aleppo, Abu Obeidah intended to have marched with his army to Antioch, in order to force that city likewise, then the seat of the Greek emperor, to submit to the khalif. But he was diverted from carrying that design into execution by Youkinna, who was now become a violent enemy of the Christians. He told the Moslem general, that his conquest of that part of the country would not be complete till he had taken the castle of Aazâz, a place of great importance, where Theodorus, his cousin-german, was then commandant. This fortress he proposed to reduce, by putting himself at the head of one hundred Arab horse, dressed in the Greek habit, who were to attend him to Aazâz. Upon his arrival, he was to assure his cousin Theodorus that he was still in reality a Christian, and had taken that opportunity to escape from the Moslem camp. But to make this story appear the more probable, Abu Obeidah was to send after him a detachment of one thousand horse, who were to pursue him as far as Morah, a village in the neighbourhood of Aazâz, with orders to post themselves there; from whence, if such a measure should be judged necessary, they might easily advance to Aazâz, to facilitate the conquest of that place. Youkinna having prevailed upon Abu Obeidah to approve of his scheme, marched at the head of one hundred Arab horse, who appeared like Greeks, to Aazâz; but was, with all his men, immediately taken prisoner by Theodorus, to whom the whole affair had been discovered by an Arab of the tribe of Ghassân, then a spy in the Moslem camp, by means of a pigeon that had carried a letter to him from thence, tied under one of its wings. To oppose the Moslems on this occasion, Theodorus had assembled a body of three thousand

[u] Al Waked. ubi sup. Al Aziz. apud Ism. Abulfed. in Geographic. ut & ipse Abulfed. ibid.

Greeks

Greeks and ten thousand Christian Arabs, besides some other forces that marched to his assistance out of the neighbouring villages. He also expected a reinforcement of five hundred horse from the governor of Arrawendân, to whom he had sent an account of the intelligence he had received. With these troops he doubted not but he should be able to make a stand against the Moslems. In the mean time, Abu Obeidah sent a detachment of one thousand horse, under the command of Malec Al Ashtari, after Youkinna, in the manner concerted between him and the Moslem general, which advanced to Morah. This village Malec found the inhabitants had abandoned at his approach; however, he there intercepted a Christian Arab, who informed him, that Theodorus was apprized of Youkinna's design, and made great preparations to oppose him. Malec afterwards fell in with the five hundred Arrawendânian horse, sent to the assistance of the governor of Aazâz, and made them all, with Lucas, the prefect, at their head, prisoners. Then ordering his men to disguise themselves in their cloaths, and to take the Christian colours in their hands, he advanced to Aazâz. But before he reached that fortress, he dispatched Thârik Al Ghassâni, the Arab he had intercepted, who, at his request, had professed himself a Moslem, to Theodorus, to inform him that the governor of Arrawendân was on his march, and would soon join him with a body of five hundred horse. This stratagem, in all probability, of itself would have produced the desired effect; but Malec was introduced into the town by an accident altogether unforeseen, that rendered him master of Aazâz, without the least effusion of Moslem blood. Theodorus had committed Youkinna, and the other prisoners, to the care of his son Leon; who being desperately in love with Youkinna's daughter, whom he had visited at Aleppo, released them all, restored them their arms, and admitted Malec's detachment into the castle. His elder brother Lucas, at Leon's instigation, killed his father Theodorus while he was asleep and intoxicated with wine. It was, therefore, no difficult matter for the Moslems to possess themselves of the castle of Aazâz. The two youths above mentioned renounced the Christian faith, embraced Mohammedism, and were received by the Moslems with open arms. Nay, Malec himself caressed them both in an extraordinary manner, and was pleased to confer upon the parricide his particular benediction. The forces assembled by Theodorus, at the approach of the Arabs, had taken care to

disperse themselves. However, there still remained in the castle one thousand young men, two hundred and forty five old men and monks, one thousand young women and girls, and one hundred and eighty old women; all which the Moslems carried into captivity. Then leaving Saad Ebn Amer with a garrison of one hundred men at Aazâz, Malec marched with the spoil he had acquired in this expedition to Aleppo. Nothing can give a more just portrait of Islamism, and the infernal disposition of its professors, at least in the time of Omar, than the conduct of Malec on this occasion, which was authorized by the example of Mohammed himself: that impostor oftener than once, when other means failed, carried his point by assassinations, as has been already observed.

Haïm Ebn Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham defeats a Moslem detachment.

Whilst Malec was on his march for Aleppo, he was joined by a Moslem detachment of one thousand horse, under the command of Al Fadl Ebn Al Abbâs, whom Abu Obeidah had sent to plunder all the villages about Manbij. This service he had effectually performed, and was with the spoil on his route to the Moslem camp. There were in Al Fadl's detachment about two hundred renegadoes who had formerly served under Youkinna in the castle of Aleppo, and with him likewise had renounced the Christian faith. These Youkinna desired Al Fadl to permit to march under his orders to Antioch, that he might have an opportunity of doing some service to the khalif, by their assistance. This request being granted, he, with four friends that he could entirely confide in, struck out into a private way that led to Antioch, the other renegadoes being commanded to keep the high road to that place. Youkinna and his friends soon met with a party of imperial horse, that seized them, and conducted them to Antioch. Youkinna being brought before his old master Heraclius, who then resided at Antioch, informed him, that he was still a Christian, though, in order to be the more capable of serving his imperial majesty, he had pretended to be a Moslem; and that he had taken the opportunity of flying to him from Aazâz, solely with a view of demonstrating his fidelity. This open and explicit declaration made such an impression upon the emperor, that he not only appointed him the commander of the two hundred men, who, as he pretended, had made their escape with him, and who arrived soon after at Antioch, but also sent him with a body of two thousand two hundred men, to conduct his youngest daughter, then in a place at a considerable distance from home, to court. Youkinna, with the

the troops under his command, who served the princess for an escorte, being on his return to Antioch, received advice from some of his advanced guards, that he would soon come up with a party of Arabs asleep, with their horses feeding by them, all of whom he might easily put to the sword. But Youkinna taking these to be Moslems, whom he had a secret inclination to serve to the utmost of his power, commanded them to be taken prisoners, in order to be exchanged for some Christians that Abu Obeidah had still in his hands. However, they happened not to be Moslems, but Christian Arabs, of the tribe of Ghassân, under the conduct of Haïm Ebn Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham, who had surprised a Moslem detachment, commanded by Derâr, that had been foraging in the northern parts of Syria. Derâr himself was taken prisoner, with two hundred of his men, and many of the Moslems likewise were killed in the action. Youkinna paid his respects to Haïm in a very complaisant, though at the same time hypocritical, manner, and congratulated him upon his success. We are told by Al Wakedi, that when the prisoners were brought into the emperor's presence, they refused to approach him with those marks of homage and submission that his subjects paid, which they termed adoration; and that Derâr being asked the reason of this refusal, replied, that their prophet had forbidden them to pay adoration to any creature. The emperor then proposed several questions to an old Arab, called Kais Ebn Amer, concerning Mohammed; and he answered in such a manner, that a Christian bishop who was present, broke out into the most virulent expressions against the prophet. Derâr Ebn Al Azwar, one of the prisoners, was so exasperated at these reproaches, that he reviled the prelate in the most opprobrious language, affirming, that Mohammed was a prophet divinely inspired, but that the knowlege of such an excellent truth was intercepted from him by the veil of infidelity. Some of the Christians who heard it drew their swords, to chastise his insolence; but he was saved by the interposition of Youkinna [w].

After Abu Obeidah had been rejoined by all his detachments, which he had sent out on different occasions, he be-

[w] Al Waked. ubi supra. Al Kor. Moham. s. xcvi. lxxiii. lxxiv. vi. xl. xlviii. xxxiii. &c. Sale's Notes on the Kor. s. xcvi. lxxiii. xxiv. Ism. Abulfed. in Geogr. Yacut, Ælian, Hist. Animal. ib. xii. cap. 11. Appian. in Parthic. p. 223. Plin. lib. v. cap. 23, 24. Strab. lib. xvi. Steph. Byzant. Theophan. Chronograph. Vide etiam Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 260, 261, 262. & Christ. Cellar. Geograph. Antiq. lib. iii. cap. 12, p. 428. Lipsiæ, 1706.

Abu Obeidah advances to the Iron Bridge near Antioch;

gan his march to Antioch, which he proposed to reduce to the obedience of the khalif. He took possession of several fortified places, that surrendered to him on his march, and then advanced to the bridge called the Iron Bridge, at a very small distance from Antioch. In the mean time, the emperor appointed the treacherous Youkinna governor of that city, constituting him at the same time commander of all his forces on that side, and delivered to him a crucifix that was never exposed to public view but upon very extraordinary occasions. The emperor then being informed of the approach of the Moslem army, discovered an inclination to put all the prisoners taken by Haïm Ebn Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham to death; but was diverted from that design by Youkinna, who represented, that it would be better to exchange them for an equal number of Christian captives, that either had or might fall into the hands of the Arabs. Amer Ebn Refâa, one of them, embraced the Christian religion, and was baptized in the great church of Antioch. After his baptism, he was received with great kindness both by the bishops and the emperor: the latter of whom made him a present of a young woman and a horse; and ordered him to be incorporated in the body of Arab troops commanded by Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham. The emperor then desired to know what could induce the khalif to appear in such mean and sordid attire, so different from that of other princes, when he had taken so much wealth from the Christians? Refâa told him, "The consideration of the other world, and the fear of God." When they were farther asked, what sort of a palace the khalif had? they answered, "One of mud." "Who (said the emperor) are his attendants?" "Beggars (replied they), and poor people." "What tapestry does he sit upon?" "Justice and equity." "What is his throne?" "Abstinence and certain knowlege." "What is his treasure?" "Trust in God." "Who are his guards?" "The stoutest of the Unitarians." To which they added, "Knowest thou not, O king! that some have said to him, O Omar! thou possessest the treasures of the Cæsars; kings and great men are also subdued unto thee; why, therefore, putteſt thou not on rich garments? To whom he made answer, Ye seek the outward world, but I the favour of him who is Lord both of that and the other [x]."

[x] Al Waked. ubi sup. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 281. Georg. Cedren. Historiar. Compend. p. 426, 427.

Abu

Abu Obeidah being arrived at the Iron Bridge, in the neighbourhood of Antioch, with all his forces, made the proper dispositions for attacking that important post. The two towers erected there were places of considerable strength, and furnished with numerous garrisons, commanded by three hundred officers: but they surrendered to the Moslem general, without making any defence. A certain great man coming one day from court to visit these towers, observed a total neglect of duty; the soldiers being engaged in drinking and riotous living, and having deserted all their posts. Incensed at such an intolerable relaxation of discipline, he ordered them fifty lashes a-piece; which inspired them with vindictive sentiments. As soon, therefore, as Abu Obeidah with his army appeared, they proposed articles of capitulation, which he immediately signed; and they, in consequence of this, delivered the towers into his hands. This is a full and incontestable proof of the great degeneracy of the Greeks, and of the irrecoverable loss of discipline amongst their troops, at this fatal period; which will of itself, even without the additional considerations that have already been offered, enable us to account for the rapid progress, made at this time by the Moslems, in the conquest of Syria.

and takes the two towers there.

When the emperor received advice of the surrender of the Iron Bridge in so ignominious a manner, he could not forbear giving Antioch itself up for lost, and bewailing the unhappy fate of Syria. Jabalah Ebn Al Ayham, king of Ghassân, told him, that however embroiled his affairs might then appear, they would be perfectly re-established by an assassination of the khalif: he therefore undertook to perform this piece of service for the emperor; and dispatched Wathek Ebn Mosâfer, an Arab of his tribe, and a resolute young man, to Medina for that purpose. Wathek, some time after his arrival, observing Omar to fall asleep under a tree on which he had placed himself, so as not to be discovered by any person whatsoever, drew his dagger, and was upon the point of stabbing him, when, lifting up his eyes, he saw a lion walking round about him, and licking his feet. Nor did the lion cease to guard the khalif till he awoke; but then instantly went away. This phænomenon struck Wathek with a profound reverence for Omar, whom he now revered as the peculiar care of Heaven. He, therefore, came down from the tree, on which the lion had forced him to remain, kissed the khalif's hand, confessed his crime, and embraced the Mohammedan religion; being so strongly affected with the wonderful deliverance

An attempt to assassinate the khalif miscarries.

verance he had been an eye-witness of. In the mean time, the Moslem and Christian armies before Antioch were drawn up in order of battle. Nestorius, one of Heraclius's commanders, challenged any man in the Moslem army to fight him in single combat, before the beginning of the action. This challenge was accepted by Dames, who had distinguished himself on a former occasion, and a combat was accordingly fought: but Dames's horse stumbling in the engagement, he was seized before he could recover himself, and carried bound to Nestorius's tent. This affair being over, Nestorius engaged, in a second combat, Dehâc, who behaved with great bravery and resolution. The multitude of soldiers on both sides that assembled to see the combatants, was so great and tumultuous, that they overturned Nestorius's tent; and, in the hurry and confusion which this occasioned, Dames, who was there confined, found means to make his escape. Nothing decisive happened between Nestorius and Dehâc, who were so equally matched that they found themselves obliged to part by consent. Meanwhile, Youkinna remained within the city, and turned all the power he possessed against his natural sovereign, who had entrusted him with it. He not only released all the prisoners taken by Haïm Ebn Jabalah above mentioned, and restored them their arms, but likewise assured them, that many persons of quality engaged in the emperor's service were disposed to a revolt. Heraclius having some intimation of his design; and being at the same time greatly terrified by his crown's falling from his head, and a dream, in which a person seemed to thrust him out of his throne, he left his troops in and about Antioch, and embarked for Constantinople with some of his domestics, who attended him privately to the sea-shore. Though he was a prince of admirable courage and conduct, had done what possibly could be attempted to restore the discipline of the army, and met with great success against the Persians; yet the very vitals of the empire seemed then to have been mortally wounded; so that the Arabs, from the extreme degeneracy of the Greeks, who were at this time become even the very dregs of mankind, found it no difficult matter to carry the vast designs they had formed into execution [y].

After the two combats, which had no great effect either upon the Christian or the Moslem affairs, the two armies

[y] Al Waked. ubi sup. Ockley, ubi sup. p. 19, 20. Theophan. in Vit. Heracl. Sale, ubi sup.

came

came to a general action. The Christians at first behaved with bravery and resolution; but, through the treachery of Youkinna and several other officers of rank, as well as the activity of Derâr and his companions, who were intermixed with Youkinna's men, they were at last routed with very great slaughter. This defeat, which rendered the Greeks incapable of making any farther resistance, occasioned the loss of Antioch. The people of the town perceiving the battle lost, surrendered immediately to Abu Obeidah, and paid him down the sum demanded, which amounted to three hundred thousand dinârs. After which capitulation, the Moslem general triumphantly entered the town, on Tuesday, August 21, in the year of our Lord 638, and the 17th year of the Hejra.

Abu Obeidah overthrows the Christians, and takes Antioch.

Abu Obeidah having thus reduced Antioch, dispatched an express to the khalif with an account of the success that still attended his arms. He informed him, that Heraclius had fled to Constantinople; and that, by abandoning his subjects in Syria, he had thrown Antioch into the hands of the Moslems. He added, that the Moslems had discovered a strong inclination to marry the Greek women; which intercourse, as a practice not at all conformable to the spirit of the Koran, he had prohibited. Omar, in answer to his lieutenant in Syria, expressed great satisfaction at the reduction of Antioch, permitted his subjects who had no families in Arabia to marry Greek women, and allowed them the liberty of purchasing female slaves without restriction. In the conclusion of his letter, he commanded Abu Obeidah to pursue the enemy into the mountainous part of the country, and to take the most effectual measures to secure the conquests he had made.

Abu Obeidah sends the khalif advice of this by an express.

Soon after the surrender of Antioch, Khâled Ebn Al Walid, one of the most active of the Moslem generals, advanced with a body of troops as far as the Euphrates, took Manbij, Berâa, Bales or Balis, and several other towns. He also exacted of the inhabitants a hundred thousand dinârs, for their present security, and obliged them to submit to an annual tribute.

Khâled takes several towns not far from the Euphrates.

Besides Manbij, Berâa or rather Bira, and Balis, the Arabs, about this time, if not the preceding year, possessed themselves of Raabân, Dulouc, Korus, the Cyrus or Cyrrhus of the ancients, Tezin, and several other fortified towns in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates; nothing now being able to resist them.

Abu Obeidah perused with great attention the letter he received from the khalif; and finding an order therein to invade

Zeid invades the mountainous parts of Syria.

invade the mountainous part of Syria, he demanded of the general officers, which of them would command the body of troops destined for that expedition. For some time they were all silent, though from what motive their silence proceeded no one could pretend to account: but at last, Meisarah Ebn Mesrouk offered his service, and received from the general a black standard, with the following inscription upon it in white letters: "There is but one God; Mohammed is the apostle of God." The body assigned him for this expedition consisted of three hundred Arabs, besides a thousand black slaves commanded by Dames. Meisarah, at the head of his troops, with some difficulty, ascended the mountains, and advanced to that part of the tract where the emperor's forces were posted. The cold was so intense on the summits of these mountains, that the Arabs, who had always been used to a hot climate, could scarce sustain the severity of it. For some time, they could not meet with a single person to give them intelligence of the enemy's motions; but at last they took a Greek prisoner, who informed them, that the imperial army, which consisted of thirty thousand men, lay encamped at the distance of three leagues. The prisoner refusing to profess Islamism, the Moslems cut off his head, and then advanced towards the Imperialists. The Greeks, having received advice of this invasion of the Moslems, advanced to meet them, and quickly appeared in sight. Then the action began, and Meisarah was surrounded on all sides, though for some time he defended himself with extraordinary bravery. However, being overpowered at last, he was obliged to dispatch a courier to Abu Obeidah, to inform him of the danger he was in, and to desire a speedy reinforcement. Upon the arrival of the courier at the Moslem camp, Abu Obeidah instantly detached Khâled Ebn Al Walid with a body of three thousand horse, to support Meisarah; and, after him, Ayyad Ebn Ganem, with two thousand more, for the same purpose In the mean time, Abd'allah Ebn Hodâfa, an Arab of distinction, and one of Omar's particular favourites, was taken prisoner by the enemy, and sent directly to Constantinople. Notwithstanding the advantage gained by the Greeks, they retired at the approach of the Moslem horse, under the conduct of Khâled, who was extremely dreaded by the Christians, and abandoned in the night all their tents, together with the rich furniture and most valuable effects. However, as Meisarah and his men had little knowlege of the country, he did not judge it proper to pursue them, but returned with his detachment

tachment to Abu Obeidah, and gave him an account of what had happened. This event the Moslem general took care to notify to Omar, who was greatly concerned at the captivity of Abd'allah Ebn Hodâfa; and, in order to procure his liberty, wrote to the Greek emperor the following letter: "In the name of the most merciful God. Praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures; who hath taken no wife, neither hath he begotten any issue. And the blessing of God be upon Mohammed, his prophet and apostle, divinely assisted. From the servant of God, Omar Ebn Al Khattâb, to Heraclius, king of Greece. As soon as this letter shall reach thee, send me the prisoner that is with thee, whose name is Abd'allah Ebn Hodâfa. This if thou shalt think proper to do, I shall hope that God will direct and lead thee into the right way: but if thou refusest, I shall send thee men, whom trade and merchandize shall not divert from the remembrance of God. Health and happiness be upon every one that follows the right way." Heraclius having received this letter, not only dismissed Abd'allah Ebn Hodâfa, but likewise made both him and the courier several very valuable presents, and allowed them a sufficient guard to conduct them safe through that part of his territories they were to traverse. He also sent a jewel of very great value as a present to the khalif, who offered it to the jewellers at Medina; but they were ignorant of the worth of it. The Moslems begged him to keep it for his own use; but that he said he could not answer to the public. It being therefore sold, the money arising from the sale, was put into the treasury; of which the khalifs, in these early times of Islamism, considered themselves only as the stewards and managers.

Amru Ebn Al As marches into Palestine;

It has been already observed, that after the reduction of Jerusalem, Omar sent an army, under the command of Amru Ebn Al As, to invade Egypt. That general did not march directly into Egypt, but remained some time in Palestine, in order to take some places that still held out. As he was advancing to Cæsarea, he found the weather extremely cold. It happened during this march, that Sobeih Ebn Hamzah, by eating some grapes, was so chilled that he could scarce keep paee with the army; which disorder being perceived by an old man, who was a Christian, he persuaded him and his companions, who suffered likewise by eating grapes, to drink some wine that he set before them, which he assured them would infallibly cure the disorder they laboured under. In consequence of this advice, they drank so freely of that liquor, that

that Amru plainly discovered them to be inebriated, upon their arrival in the camp. This discovery so provoked him, that he informed Abu Obeidah of the crime they had been guilty of, who immediately ordered them to receive the number of stripes usual on such occasions upon the soles of their feet; which punishment was accordingly inflicted. This disgrace so irritated Sobeih, that he would have killed the poor man that supplied him with wine, as a remedy for his disorder, had he not before been taken under the protection of the Moslems [z].

and has a conference with the emperor's son Constantine.

Upon Amru's arrival in Palestine, he was informed, that Constantine, the emperor's son, lay encamped with a body of troops near Cæsarea, and was very attentive to his motions. That prince frequently sent some of the Christian Arabs, whom he employed as spies, into the Moslem camp; where one of them swearing by Christ, was discovered, and instantly cut to pieces. This rash action gave great offence to Amru, who ordered his men for the future to bring all the spies they should detect to him, in order for their examination, before they proceeded to such extremities; especially as it was probable that such spies, in case of conviction, would rather embrace Islamism than suffer death. About this time, Constantine dispatched a priest to Amru, to desire, that he would send an emîr, or principal officer, to the Christian camp, that he might have a conference with him. Belâl, a black, or Ethiopian, who had formerly been the muedhdhin, or *crier*, of the prophet, and valued himself not a little on that account, desired to be employed on this occasion; which request, though not without great difficulty, was at last granted by Amru. But Belâl having more the appearance of a slave than a principal officer, he was denied admission; a circumstance which determined Amru himself to go in person. Upon his being introduced to Constantine, he refused to make use of a seat that was offered him, and took his place cross-legged on the ground, after the Arab manner, with his sword upon his thigh, and his lance laid across before him. Constantine then made some overtures of a pacification, which the other rejected with great insolence, insisting upon his paying tribute or embracing the religion of Mohammed.

The conference producing no good effect, all hopes of an accommodation vanished; so that the generals on both

z Al Waked. ubi sup. Al Kor. Moham. sec. ii. & sec. v. Jallalo'ddin. Al Zamakshar. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 696. Hadr. Reland. de Relig. Mohammed. lib. i. cap. viii. p. 78, 79.

sides

sides prepared for action. In the mean time an officer from the Christian camp, in very rich apparel, challenged to fight the stoutest man in the Moslem army. This challenge was accepted by a young Arab officer of Yaman, who being animated by a notion derived from the prophet himself, that the spirits of the martyrs should rest in the crops of green birds, which eat of the fruits and drink of the rivers of paradise, discovered an uncommon eagerness to engage his antagonist: but the Christian officer not only killed this youth, but two or three more of the Moslems, who had the rashness to enter the lists against him. Nay, he would finally have dispatched Serjabil Ebn Hosanah, a person so weakened and emaciated by fasting, that he was not able to stand before him, though he could not be diverted from encountering this champion, had not a horseman of the Greek army very fortunately interposed, and with one blow of his scymiter cut off the Christian's head. This unexpected deliverance greatly surprised Serjabil; he asked the supposed Greek who he was, and from whence he came? Who replied in the following terms: "I am the unfortunate Toleiha "Ebn Khowailed, who set up for a prophet; and, lying "against God, pretended to inspriration." "Brother," answered Serjabil, "knowest thou not, that God said to "our prophet, *My mercy is extended to every creature that* "*desires it*; and that the prophet himself has declared, "*that repentance takes away what was done before it.*" He added many other considerations, in order to comfort his dejected deliverer. The truth of the matter was; Toleiha was afraid of Khâled Ebn Al Walîd, who had defeated both him and Moseilama, and was the scourge of false prophets: but Serjabil introducing him to Amru, to whom he related what had happened, that general engaged to bring about between him and Khâled a reconciliation, and even to procure him, notwithstanding his former defection, a favourable reception at the khalif's court. Writing, therefore, a recommendatory letter to Omar, he acquainted him with the signal proof Toleiha had given of his unfeigned repentance, and the sincerity of his conversion. Toleiha found the khalif at Mecca, where he delivered the letter, and told him who he was, expressing at the same time a most hearty sorrow for the enormous crime he had been guilty of. Omar no sooner heard his name mentioned, than he hastily ran off, saying, "Alas for thee! If I forgive thee, how shall I answer to God the murder of Ocâsah?" "Ocâsah," answered

The Christian and Moslem armies prepare to enter upon action.

anſwered Toleiah, "ſuffered martyrdom by my hand; which I am very ſorry for, and hope that God will forgive me what I have done." Omar then having peruſed the letter ſent by Amru, immediately pardoned him, took him with him to Medina, and employed him afterwards in his wars againſt the Perſians. When Khâled defeated him, he was at the head of the tribe of Aſad, which had adhered to him, together with great numbers of the tribes of Ghatfân and Tay. His ſhattered troops, after the defeat they had received, were obliged to retire into Syria. There he lived for ſome time privately with a Mahommedan, who entertained him in a very hoſpitable manner, till the falſe prophet diſcovered himſelf: but then being diſmiſſed by his benefactor, he propoſed to withdraw into ſome iſland, where he might the more eaſily keep himſelf concealed. This deſign the Chriſtian army prevented him from carrying into execution, by marching at that very juncture into that part of Syria where he had been forced to ſeek for refuge; ſo that he found himſelf obliged to enliſt in the emperor's ſervice. Nor was he greatly averſe to this meaſure, as he flattered himſelf it would ſupply him with an opportunity of ingratiating himſelf again with his countrymen the Arabs. After he had been pardoned by Omar, he took the oath of fidelity to him, embraced Mohammediſm in his preſence, and we are informed by Al Beidâwi and Al Makîn, being of the tribe of Aſad, returned to his own country and people [a].

Youhinna takes Tripoli from the Chriſtians by perfidy and ſurprize.

Though the two armies, which lay encamped very near one another, did not come to a general action, yet frequent ſkirmiſhes and rencounters happened between their parties and detachments, wherein the Arabs always had the advantage; and in ſome of theſe the Greeks ſuſtained conſiderable loſs. This, together with the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, which was then extremely cold, ſo dejected the Greek ſoldiery, that they began to deſert in great numbers. Conſtantine finding his forces diminiſh daily, and the Arabs grow ſtronger and ſtronger, began to be uneaſy for Cæſarea; and therefore, in order to animate the inhabitants by his preſence, he reſolved to retire into that city. A proper opportunity offering, he made his eſcape thither in a tempeſtuous night, and abandoned his camp to the Moſlems. Amru conſidered this as a victory obtained

[a] Al Waked. ubi ſup. Al Makin, ubi ſup. p. 16. Al Beidawi, in Al Kor. Moham. ſec. v. See alſo Sale's Notes on the Kor. cap. v. p. 90.

without

without any effusion of blood, and immediately dispatched a courier to Abu Obeidah with advice of the precipitate retreat, or rather shameful flight, of the Greeks, and received express orders from him to march directly to Cæsarea, where he promised speedily to join him, in order to form the sieges of Tripoli, Acca, and Tyre. Soon after this event Tripoli was taken by Youkinna, who made himself master of it by perfidy and surprize. He had scarce entered the town when fifty ships from Cyprus and Crete, with a supply of arms and provisions for Constantine's troops, entered the port. These he seized, together with a considerable number of officers, who were not apprized that Tripoli was possessed by the Arabs, on board them; all which he put into the hands of Khâled Ebn Al Walid, who came in a short time after this seizure happened, with a Moslem detachment, to take possession of the town.

Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân reduces Tyre.

The ships Youkinna captured in the port of Tripoli enabled him to undertake an expedition against Tyre, after the reduction of the former city. Having, therefore, put a body of land-forces on board, he sailed for Tyre. Upon his arrival, he told the citizens, that he had brought with him a supply of arms and provisions for Constantine's army, and therefore desired that they might be admitted into the town. This request being granted he landed about nine hundred of his men, and met with a kind reception from the Tyrians; but being soon discovered by one of his own soldiers, they were all seized, and immediately put under arrest. In the mean time Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân left Cæsarea to be besieged by Amru Ebn Al As, who had a larger body of troops under his command, and advanced with his detachment, which did not amount to above two thousand men, to Tyre. At his approach the governor of the castle ordered Youkinna and his men to be carried prisoners thither, and made a vigorous sally upon the Arabs. In the heat of the action, which was very sharp, Basil, a Greek officer, belonging to the garrison of the citadel, who had long had a secret inclination to favour the Moslems, having been intimately acquainted with Boheira the monk, and with him when he had first an interview with Mohammed at Bosra, released Youkinna and his men; who finding means to inform the other land-forces on board the ships, as well as those commanded by Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân, of what had happened, the place was carried by storm; for, as soon as Youkinna and his troops found themselves at liberty, they opened the gates, and introduced their countrymen; so that all the Moslem troops

now

now joining in a body, the inhabitants and garrison found it impossible to oppose them. Some, therefore, fled one way, and some another; but the Arabs pursuing them very closely, great numbers were put to the sword. However, Yezid at last told them, that though by remaining, till the town was carried by assault, they had forfeited their lives, or at least their liberty, yet if they would become converts to Islamism, they should be treated as Moslems. The greatest part, therefore, in order to secure their liberty, privileges, and possessions, embraced Mohammedism. Constantine receiving advice of the surrender of Tripoli and Tyre, set sail with his family, and the greatest part of his wealth, for Constantinople, on board a ship he had prepared for that purpose; so that the war in Syria now seemed to be drawing towards a conclusion.

Amru Ebn Al As takes Cæsarea;

At the time that Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân, by means of Basil's and Youkinna's treachery, made himself master of Tyre, Amru Ebn Al As, with the Arab forces under his command, was pushing on the siege of Cæsarea; which, till the surrender of Tyre, and the departure of Constantine, continued to make a vigorous defence; but the citizens having received advice of those two fatal events, thought it high time now to shift for themselves, and to procure the best terms they could both for themselves and their families. They, therefore surrendered the city to Amru, and paid him down two hundred thousand dirhems, in consideration of which, and an annual tribute imposed upon them, they were secured in the free exercise of their religion, as well as the possession of their properties and effects, and taken under the khalif's protection. As Constantine, with his family, and the greater part of his wealth, abandoned Cæsarea upon intelligence of the loss of Tripoli and Tyre, the inhabitants considered themselves as deserted by him, and therefore delivered into Amru's hands all the effects of that prince which he could not carry off. Thus was Cæsarea taken by the Arabs towards the close of the 17th, or the beginning of the 18th year of the Hejra, and the fifth of the khalifat of Omar; which answered to the year of our Lord 638, or 639, and the twenty-ninth of Heraclius's reign.

upon which all the other fortresses of Syria surrender to him.

The surrender of Cæsarea, which immediately followed the reduction of Tripoli and Tyre, struck the remaining imperial garrisons of Syria, with such terror, that Ramla, Acca, Joppa or Joppe, Jafa or Jaffa, Ascalon, Gaza, Sichem, Nabolos or Naplosa, and Tiberias, Taberria, or Tabariyah, opened their gates to the Arabs upon the first summons; and

and ſoon after Beirût, Bayreut or Berytus, Saida, Seida or Sidon, Jabalah, and Ladikia, Latikia, or Laodicea, followed their example.

The Arabs complete the conqueſt of Syria.

After the Arabs had poſſeſſed themſelves of theſe towns, which were the only places of ſtrength the emperor had left in Syria, all the other fortified poſts of courſe ſubmitted; ſo that the khalif was now maſter of the whole country of Syria; his forces having driven the Greeks out of every part of the tract extending from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates; which comprehended all the provinces of that wealthy and populous region denominated Syria by the ancients. And we are told by Theophanes and Cedrenus, that two years before the reduction of the fortreſſes laſt mentioned, that is, in the twenty-ſeventh year of the emperor Heraclius, Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân advanced with a body of Arab troops to the frontiers of Meſopotamia, and would have actually made an irruption into the province of Oſroene, had not John Cateas, the imperial procurator of that province, prevailed upon him not to paſs the Euphrates, by ſubmitting to pay a very large annual tribute, amounting to a hundred thouſand pieces of gold, or dinars. The ſame author adds, that in conſequence of this treaty, the imperial procurator paid the money, when it became due, as a tribute, exacted of him, and then returned to Edeſſa, a city near Mount Taurus, on the Meſopotamian bank of the Euphrates, where at that time he reſided. However, Theophanes likewiſe obſerves, that as ſoon as the emperor was informed of the ignominious treaty concluded with Yezid (for this, it ſeems, was kept a ſecret as long as it could poſſibly be concealed from him), he ſent Cateas into exile, and diſannulled all his clandeſtine negociations. The Moſlems completed the conqueſt of Syria in ſix years; that term elapſing between the firſt expedition againſt Syria, which was undertaken in Abu Becr's reign, and the final expulſion of the Greeks by Omar, in the eighteenth year of the Hejra [b].

A great mortality in Syria and Arabia.

There happened this very year ſuch violent ſtorms of hail in the peninſula of the Arabs, that a conſiderable extent of territory was deſolated by them, and a great number of animals of various kinds deſtroyed. An epidemical diſtemper likewiſe raged at Medina, which ſpread it-

[b] Al Waked. ubi ſup. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 282. Georg. Cedren. Hiſtoriar. Compend. p. 429. Plin. Strab. Tacit. Joſeph. Ptol. Steph. Byzant. &c. Abulfed. in Hiſt. Gen. Eutych. Al Makin. Abu'l-Faraj, &c.

ſelf over all the adjacent territory, and ſwept away abundance of people. Omar himſelf and Abbâs were viſited by the common calamity; but by the application of proper remedies they recovered. Nor did Syria eſcape the fatal effects of ſuch a terrible malady, the plague this very year making dreadful ravages in that country. The Moſlems loſt twenty-five thouſand men, carried off by the peſtilence; and amongſt them Abu Obeidah himſelf, Serjabil Ebn Haſanah, who had been Mohammed's ſecretary, Maad Ebn Hamil, Al Fadl Ebn Al Abbâs, an Arab commander, who had been ſent by Abu Obeidah to plunder Manbij, Yezid Ebn Abu Sofiân, and other perſons of diſtinction. In ſhort, the mortality occaſioned by the plague, both in Arabia and Syria, was ſo horrible, that the Arabs ſtyled the 18th year of the Hejra, notwithſtanding the beginning of it had proved ſo favourable to them, the Year of Deſtruction. Khâled Ebn Al Walîd ſurvived Abu Obeidah only three years.

Amru Ebn Al As marches into Egypt.

Amru Ebn Al As having executed the khalif's orders in Syria, began his march for Egypt, at the head of the forces aſſigned for the invaſion of that country. In the mean time, Amru having had ſome ill offices done him at court by Othmân Ebn Affân, as was ſuppoſed, the khalif diſpatched a courier to him with a letter couched in the following terms: "If this letter reaches you before you enter Egypt, return; if not, continue your march, and the bleſſing of God attend you. The ſupplies you may at any time ſtand in need of, ſhall be ſent you with all poſſible expedition." The courier overtook Amru before his troops were out of Syria, though they were all then in motion for Egypt, and delivered him the khalif's letter: but he either ſuſpecting, or having received ſecret intelligence of what had happened, ordered him to follow the army till he ſhould be at leiſure to read it; and then, by forced marches, he advanced from Rafakh, where the courier found him, to a village not far from Ariſh, a place within the territories of Egypt, where he ordered his army to halt. Here he opened the letter before the meſſenger, and all the officers aſſembled in his tent, with the ſame gravity and formality as if he had been altogether ignorant of the contents. Having then read it in the preſence of them all, he aſked whether they were in Syria or in Egypt? to which queſtion they replied, in Egypt. "Then," ſaid he, "we are to purſue our march, and ſubdue that country." We are told by Eutychius, that Othmân Ebn Affân prejudiced Omar againſt Amru Ebn Al As, by re-

preſenting

presenting him as an officer too rash and precipitate, who would in all probability expose his troops to very great dangers. Be that as it may, Amru suspected, if he did not know, that the contents of Omar's letter were not favourable to him. Some say, that the khalif himself had informed him, when he was engaged in the siege of Cæsarea, privately, what measures he was to pursue: but the Arab writers themselves were not perfectly agreed as to the circumstances of this affair [c].

He takes Farma.

It being determined to penetrate farther into Egypt, Amru resumed his march, and advanced to Farma, or, as it is called by some authors, Farama and Faramia, a town situated on the Mediterranean, known amongst the Copts, or Coptis, by the name of Baremûn, where he immediately ordered his tents to be pitched. We are not informed of the strength of the garrison; but the troops of which it was composed made a vigorous defence, since Amru found himself obliged to carry on in form the siege of it a month before he could force it to surrender. Farma was seated on the isthmus that separates the Arabian gulf from the Mediterranean, or rather connects Egypt with Syria and Arabia, not far from Tina, or Pelusium, on the first mouth of the Nile. After Amru had made himself master of this place, he minutely examined its situation; and, according to Ebn Said, formed a design to cut a channel through the isthmus on which it stood, and thereby open a communication between the Arabian gulf and the Mediterranean: but this project by no means met with the approbation of the khalif, as he imagined that the execution of it would facilitate the entrance of the Christians into Arabia. We are told by Abulfeda, that the isthmus between the seas Al Rûm and Al Kolzom, as he termed the Mediterranean and the Arabian gulf, was about seventy miles over; and that the canal projected by Amru was to have been made in a part of that isthmus called, in his time, by the Arabs, Dhanab Al Tamsâh. That author gives the town we are now speaking of, the name of Al Farama.

He marches to Mesr.

Amru having reduced Farma, marched directly to Mesr, Misr, or Misra, the Memphis of the old geographers, and the residence of the ancient Egyptian kings. It was situated on the western, or Libyan bank of the Nile, and oc-

[c] Eutych. Annal. tom. ii. p. 296—303. Al Makin. ubi supra, p. 29. Ism. Abulfed. in Descript. Ægypt. Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 345.

cupied the spot on which the village of Geeza at present stands. Being the most considerable and strongest fortress of Egypt, except Alexandria, in the time of Omar, the Greeks had strongly fortified it, expecting a visit from the Arabs. They had surrounded the castle, of itself a place of considerable strength, with a foss, or ditch, into which they had thrown great quantities of nails, and iron spikes, in order to render the place inaccessible to the enemy. However, Amru, though with great difficulty, first invested the town, and then besieged it in form: he continued the siege seven months, without being able to make any impression upon the citadel; from which, indeed, the greatest resistance was apprehended by the Moslems. His troops at first did not exceed four thousand men, and many of these he had lost since the commencement of the siege. This circumstance he apprized the khalif of by a courier, dispatched for that purpose; who, immediately after the intelligence came to hand, sent him a reinforcement of four thousand men: but neither would this additional force, that marched instantly under the command of Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm into Egypt, have been sufficient to enable him to carry his point, had not Mokawkas, a Copt, the governor of Mesr, treacherously delivered up both the city and the castle into his hands.

and besieges it.

Mesr delivered into the hands of the Arabs.

Mokawkas, who had for some time been the emperor's lieutenant, or prefect, of Mesr, was of the Jacobite sect, and a mortal enemy to the Greeks. When Khosrû, the king, or shâh, of Persia, besieged Constantinople, he considered the emperor as upon the brink of destruction; and therefore thought he had then a fair opportunity of rendering himself independent of Mesr, or Egypt. Instead of affording his master any assistance at that perilous conjuncture, he converted the public revenues of Mesr to his own use. Conscious of his guilt, and apprehensive of the punishment he deserved, he afterwards did his utmost to prejudice and embarrass the emperor's affairs. His intention now was not to defend the citadel, but to surrender it to the Arabs, upon as good terms as he could procure, and, above all, to secure to himself the possession of the immense treasure he had so villainously acquired; not being at all solicitous for the welfare of the Greeks, to whom he bore the most implacable hatred. In order, therefore, to facilitate the execution of the scheme he had formed, he prevailed upon the Greeks to abandon the castle, and retire into a little island formed by the Nile, between the citadel and the opposite bank, where he told them they would

would not be exposed to the attacks of the besiegers, who had lately received a strong reinforcement, and must of course soon possess themselves both of the town and citadel of Mesr. The Copts withdrew with Mokawkas, when he deserted his post, and accompanied the body of the Greeks to the island whither he had decoyed them; so that a very small number of men were left to defend the castle. He had no sooner taken this step, than the Nile began to overflow. Then he sent messengers to Amru, to know the reason of his invasion of Mesr, and what he proposed to himself by such an unexpected irruption into that country. In answer to which message, Amru informed him, by an Ethiopian, named Abadah Ebn Al Samet, whom he immediately dispatched to Mokawkas, that the khalif's orders were, to oblige the people of Mesr either to embrace Mohammedism, or pay an annual tribute, or, lastly, to leave the dispute between them and his subjects to the decision of the sword. Mokawkas and the Copts, without any farther delay, submitted to become tributaries to the khalif, and concluded a treaty of peace with Amru; the Greeks, however, refused to accede to that treaty: but they were too weak to defend the castle any length of time; so that, upon intelligence given the enemy of the weakness of the garrison by Mokawkas, Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm stormed it, and either killed or took prisoners all the Greeks they found in arms. The body of Greek troops that had taken post on the island, who were joined by some that had made their escape out of the citadel, finding themselves deceived by Mokawkas, reached the opposite bank of the Nile, and marched to Keram Al Shoraik, between Kairo, or Al Kahirah, and Alexandria, where they endeavoured to put themselves in a posture of defence, and resolved to wait for the Arabs. The articles of the treaty concluded between Amru and Mokawkas, which included the whole nation of the Copts, were to the following effect.

I. The Coptic boys, not arrived at the years of puberty, the men worn out with old age, and all the women, shall be exempted from the payment of the annual tribute to be imposed upon all the other individuals of the Coptic nation.

II. All the Copts, except those above mentioned, that live both above and below Al Mesr, shall pay yearly two dinars each, without any difference or distinction; no regard being had to the circumstances of the persons of whom the money is to be exacted.

III. The Copts shall entertain all the Moslems that shall occasionally pass through the country, for three days together, if required, at their own expence.

IV. The Copts shall supply, for ready money, with provisions, the Moslem camp; repair two bridges, that have been broken down; build others, that are necessary for the more expeditious march of the army; and render the roads more convenient between the city Al Mesr and Al Escandaraïah, or Alexandria, which the Moslem general has an intention soon to besiege.

V. The Moslems shall be at liberty to continue the war against the Greeks, who deserve the most rigorous treatment, till they have either reduced them to a state of slavery, or pursued them to utter destruction.

VI. Mokawkas himself shall always be considered as a Copt by the Moslems; and, after his death, his body shall be interred, by the khalif's permission, in the Coptic church of St. John in Alexandria.

VII. In consideration of the foregoing concessions, the khalif shall also secure to Mokawkas, and the Copts, the free exercise of their religion, as well as the possession of their properties and effects, and take all of them under his immediate protection [d].

These articles being signed by Amru and Mokawkas, who had acted such a perfidious part, the Copts remained in quiet possession of all their properties and effects. The traitor Mokawkas, therefore, enjoyed the fruits of his iniquitous conduct, as his immense treasures so wickedly amassed were not touched by the Moslems, and escaped being brought to that condign punishment he so richly deserved. The reduction of Al Mesr, in the manner here related, happened in the 18th according to some, or, as others maintain, in the 19th year of the Hejra.

Al Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm takes the citadel by storm.

Al Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm, in order to facilitate the attack he made upon the citadel, stormed, by the assistance of his military engines, the weakest part of it, on the side called Sukol Hamam, that is, *the Market-place of the Bagnio*; and, by the help of a scaling-ladder, mounted the walls, before the besieged had any intimation of his design. We are told by Al Makîn, that the Copts, of whom the tribute was collected, were at least six millions of souls, and consequently, that the sum now advanced, as well as that paid afterwards to the khalif yearly, by the Coptic nation,

[d] Eutychius & Al Makin, ubi supra. Ism. Abulfed. ubi supra, & in Hist. General. Greg. Abu'l Faraj. in Hist. Dynast. p. 178.

amounted

amounted to twelve millions of dinars. We must not forget to inform our readers, that the city of Al Mesr, notwithstanding the treaty concluded with Mokawkas and the Copts, was afterwards destroyed by Amru Ebn Al As, and the city of Al Fostât built on the opposite bank of the Nile, by the command of the khalif Omar. Very considerable remains of the ruins of Al Mesr were to be seen in the days of Abulfeda; but these remains are now so entirely buried in the ground, that no traces of them are to be discovered. The Copts, after the retreat of the Greeks to Keram Al Shoraik, not only gave the Arabs a particular account of their situation, but likewise animated Amru to pursue them, without giving them time to breathe, and (so inveterate was their enmity to their fellow Christians!) even, if possible, to complete their utter excision [e].

The Arabs drive the Greeks into Alexandria.

In compliance with the reiterated solicitations of Mokawkas and the Copts, Amru, after he had settled matters to his satisfaction at Mesr, advanced at the head of his troops to Keram Al Shoraik, where the Greeks had taken post, after their departure from the island in the Nile. Both armies being animated by resentment, an action immediately began. The Greeks for some time behaved with great bravery, but were at last forced to give way. The Arabs, flushed with their late success, bore down all before them, dislodged the enemy from Keram Al Shoraik, and possessed themselves of that post. Several other actions happened before the Greeks arrived at Alexandria; to which place they were pursued by the Arabs. According to Eutychius, the battle of Keram Al Shoraik lasted three days; after which the Greeks retreated to S. Salstam, and maintained themselves in that post nineteen days; but were at last forced to abandon it to the Arabs. They made another stand against Amru, if we believe the same author, at Karyun; but, after a sharp dispute, they were likewise driven from thence, and obliged to take shelter within the walls of Alexandria.

Amru besieges Alexandria;

The Greeks had not long entered Alexandria before Amru at the head of the Moslem forces, presented himself before the town. He first summoned the garrison to surrender the place to the khalif, offering the Christians the usual alternative, either to profess Mohammedism, or to pay tribute: but neither of those proposals pleasing them, he caused the city to be immediately invested; and, as soon as

[e] Eutych. & Al Makîn, ubi supra. Abulfed. in Descript. Egypt. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 152. Sharif Al Edrisi, Alb. Schult. ubi supra.

every thing could be got ready for that purpose, began the operations of the siege. The garrison, however, made a brave defence, frequently sallying out upon the besiegers, and killing abundance of men. Amru observing his troops to be greatly annoyed by the besieged from the castle, resolved, if possible, to make himself master of that place. He, therefore, attacked it with such intrepidity, that he carried it sword in hand; but after a very warm dispute, the Arabs were driven out of it again by the Greeks, who, on this occasion, behaved with extraordinary bravery. The Arabs lost a great number of men in this vigorous action, and, amongst the rest, several persons of distinction. Amru Ebn Al As, the general, Moslemah Ebn Al Mokhalled, and Werdân, Amru's slave, were taken prisoners, and carried into the town. Being brought before the governor, he asked them why they committed such ravages and depredations in the Christian territories? Amru resolutely replied, "We are come hither to oblige you either to profess Islamism, or pay an annual tribute to the khalif, to one of which conditions you must submit, or all be put to the sword." A Greek that stood by, hearing this declaration said to the governor, "This man is certainly the enemy's general; therefore take off his head." Werdân understanding Greek, and seeing the danger his master was in, took him by the collar, and gave him a box on the ear, saying, "Hold thy tongue, and suffer thy betters to speak. Sure! this is unparalleled impudence! Shall one of the lowest wretches in the army give himself such airs! Then Moslema Ebn Al Mokhalled addressed himself to the governor in the following terms: "Our general has been for some time disposed to raise the siege of Alexandria, Omar Ebn Al Khattâb, the emperor of the faithful, has also wrote to him on that subject. In that letter he has signified his intention of sending to you an honourable embassy, consisting of ten persons of the first distinction, in order to confer with you about what is proper to be done on this occasion, and to settle such preliminaries as may serve for the basis of a future treaty, and prove agreeable to both parties. If, therefore, you will be so generous as to dismiss us, we will acquaint our general with the courteous treatment we have received, and employ the utmost of our endeavours to facilitate an accommodation. Nor do we doubt but ten persons of the highest rank will soon be sent to you, to negotiate that affair; after which, the siege will be immediately raised." The credulous governor being imposed upon by this idle fiction, and convinced, from Werdan's behaviour to him that,

that Amru was as mean as his slave had represented him, released them without hesitation. Upon their arrival in the Moslem camp, they were received with the loudest acclamations, and all possible demonstrations of joy; which gave the Greeks sufficiently to understand, that they had lost an opportunity of embarrassing the Moslem affairs, which could not easily be retrieved. This story is supported by the joint authority of Al Wakedi, Al Makîn, and Eutychius, though told by those authors with some variation of circumstances, however improbable in several particulars it may at first sight appear [f].

and takes it by storm.

The Moslems, animated by the safe return of their general, resolved to make another assault upon the citadel; and either to carry it, or perish in the attempt. The attack was so vigorous, that the Greeks could not maintain their posts, but were obliged to give way to the fury of the Moslems. The castle, therefore, was taken by storm, and all the garrison either killed, taken prisoners, or entirely dispersed. Some of those that made their escape, fled farther up into the country, and others, by the assistance of certain vessels that were ready to receive them, went off by sea. Thus was Alexandria taken by the Arabs, under the command of Amru Ebn Al As, on Friday, in the beginning of the month of Al Moharrem, and the 20th year of the Hejra, after they had besieged it fourteen months, and lost before it twenty-three thousand men. With regard to the circumstances attending this event, the Arab writers are not perfectly agreed. Al Makîn, or Elmacinus, and Eutychius, clearly intimate, that Alexandria was carried by storm; whereas it was surrendered upon terms, or taken by capitulation, if we give any credit to Abulfaraj [g].

Amru drives the Greeks a second time out of Alexandria.

In order to secure the repose of the Copts, as well as that of the Moslems, Amru thought proper to pursue the Greeks, who had escaped from the citadel, and fled farther up into the country; rightly concluding, that the public tranquility might be disturbed, and the possession of his conquests in Egypt rendered precarious, as long as any considerable body of them should remain in arms. He, therefore, marched out of Alexandria, at the head of his forces, in quest of those fugitives, leaving but a very slender garrison in the place, not being apprehensive of any immediate danger on that side. The Greeks, who

[f] Eutych. & Al Makîn. ubi supra. Al Waked. ubi supra. Abulfed. & Ebn Abd'alhakin, ubi supra. [g] Eutych. & Al Makîn, ubi supra. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 160. Abulfed. Ebn Abd'alhakim & Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra.

had

had before fled on board their ſhips, being apprized of this circumſtance, ſuddenly returned, ſurpriſed the town, and put all the Arabs they found therein to the ſword. Amru, receiving advice of what had happened, moved towards Alexandria, attacked the enemy, whom he found in poſſeſſion of the caſtle, as well as of the town, with ſuch bravery, that after an obſtinate diſpute, he forced them to fly for ſhelter a ſecond time on board their ſhips. Many of the Greeks were cut to pieces in this action, and the reſt ſo intimidated, that the Arabs had nothing farther to fear. Things being in this ſituation, Amru informed the khalif, by an expreſs, of the progreſs of his arms in Egypt; at the ſame time acquainting him, that his troops were deſirous of plundering Alexandria, which they had taken by aſſault. Omar, in his anſwer to Amru, expreſſed a grateful ſenſe of his ſervices, and of the bravery of his troops; but at the ſame time cenſured him for even mentioning the bare inclination of the ſoldiery to plunder ſo rich a city, which at that time was one of the moſt celebrated empories of the Eaſt. He commanded him abſolutely to reſtrain the rapacious impetuoſity of his men, to ſuffer no violence of any kind to be committed, to preſerve every thing valuable that might contribute towards enabling him to defray the expence of the war, and, finally, to depoſite the money brought into his coffers, by the tribute impoſed upon the Copts, in ſome ſafe place within the precincts of Alexandria, that the neceſſities of the Moſlems might be therewith fully ſupplied. Beſides the tribute of two dinars a head, already mentioned, there was a tax laid upon lands, vineyards, and farms, proportionable to their annual value; which, excluſive of many other articles, produced of itſelf a prodigious revenue for the khalif. In order to enable our readers to form a more adequate idea of the immenſe wealth Omar acquired by the conqueſt of Egypt, of which that was only one particular city, we ſhall inſert a paſſage of Amru's letter to the khalif, preſerved by Eutychius, which is couched in the following terms: "I ſhall not pretend to give a particular deſcription of the city I have taken, nor ſend you an account of all the curious and valuable things contained in it. At preſent it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that I have found in it four thouſand palaces, four thouſand baths, forty thouſand Jews that pay tribute, four hundred royal circi, or places ſet apart for public diverſions, and twelve thouſand gardeners, who ſupply the city with all kinds of herbs in great plenty. Abulfeda, Ebn Abd'al Hakim, and others, declare

clare that Alexandria, when taken by Amru, consisted of three cities, viz. Menna, or the port which included the Pharos, and all the neighbouring parts; Alexandria, properly so called, where Scandarea, or the modern Alexandria, at present stands; and Nekita, probably the Necropolis of Josephus and Strabo.

Amru destroys the Alexandrian library.

The Arabs having been hitherto sufficiently employed in the conquests they had made, had not yet applied themselves to any branch of literature but poetry, in their own language; and even that, for several years, had been in some degree neglected by them. They were at this time altogether ignorant of the sciences, and of every language but their own. However, Amru being a man of parts, and blessed with an uncommon capacity, had no dislike to the conversation of learned men. On the contrary, he sometimes, when the more important business of his province would permit, took great delight in hearing philosophical points discussed; and discovered a higher regard for those rational entertainments that please learned men, than the generality of the Arabs at that time did. It happened that John, surnamed the Grammarian, a man eminent for his extensive erudition, lived in Alexandria when it was taken by the Arabs. This man finding an opportunity of insinuating himself into the good graces of Amru, was resolved to cultivate an acquaintance with him. This he did with such success, that he wonderfully conciliated the affections of that general, who was highly entertained with his philosophical discourses, and, for that reason, treated him with singular marks of respect. John finding himself a favourite, one day took the liberty to desire Amru to bestow upon him the famous Alexandrian library, in the following terms: "You have visited all the repositories of Alexandria, and sealed up every thing curious and valuable in them. With regard to those things that will be of real service or advantage to you, I have no intention to ask for any of them; but since there are other things likewise, which cannot in any respect be useful to you, these, I hope, I may be allowed to consider as of importance to myself." "What are the things (said Amru), that you seem so desirous of?" "The philosophical books (replied John), deposited in the royal library." "Those (returned Amru), it is not in my power at present to give you. However, I will write to the khalif about them; and if Omar Ebn Al Khattâb, the emperor of the faithful, will permit me to dispose of them, they shall be at your service." He accordingly wrote, and received an answer from the khalif, importing,

importing, that if the books he mentioned agreed in all points with the book of God, this last would still be perfect without them, and consequently they would be superfluous; but if they contained any thing repugnant to the doctrines and tenets of that book, they ought to be condemned as pernicious, and of course should be destroyed. As soon as the khalif's letter arrived, Amru in obedience to his master's command, dispersed the books amongst those who kept warm baths, amounting to four thousand, to heat the water with. And notwithstanding the great havock that must have been made of them by this use, their number was so immense, that they were not entirely consumed in less than six months time. Such was the fatal end of that noble and stupendous Alexandrian library in the Serapæum and suburb Rhacotis, called the daughter of that founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus, in the part of the city denominated Bruchium; the loss of which can never be sufficiently regretted by the learned world. The latter of these was reduced to ashes, and the books it contained, amounting to four hundred thousand volumes, entirely consumed, in Julius Cæsar's time; and the former, whose number of MSS. when the other perished, was at least five hundred thousand, and afterwards increased to a much larger number, was destroyed in the manner here related by Amru Ebn Al As, in pursuance of the order for that purpose he received from Omar. Had this invaluable collection of books been still extant, several curious philosophical discoveries, which have since been lost, might possibly have been preserved to the present time, and farther improvements in various branches of science been made. A fuller and more extensive knowlege of antiquity in particular, by the assistance of some of those valuable manuscripts, at this time destroyed by fanatical madness, would undoubtedly have been obtained, as well as a clearer and more perfect discovery of the origin of letters, the basis and foundation of our historical researches, which has of late so much exercised the pens of the learned [g].

The Moslems penetrate farther into Africa.

The citadel of Alexandria having been twice taken by storm, the Greek inhabitants of that city, after the second reduction of the castle, were not considered as upon the same footing with the Copts; the governor, or prefect, appointed over them by the khalif, being left at li-

[g] Poc. in Orat. Præfix. & in Calce Notar. ad Carmen Tograi, p. 10, 233, &c. Jallalo'ddin Al Soyuti, apud Pocockium, in Not. ad Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 159. &c. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, in Hist. Dynast. p. 180, 181. Prid. Connect. b. i. part ii. p. 12, 13, 14. Lond. 1718.

berty

berty to impose what tribute he thought proper. Meanwhile, Amru detached Okba Ebn Nafe', with a body of troops, to penetrate into the western part of Africa; whilst this general made himself master of all the country lying between Barka and Zaweilah. The people of that tract punctually sent the tribute exacted of them to Amru, at the time agreed upon. Tripoli in Africa, according to Al Makîn, was about this time likewise taken by the Moslems. That city, called by the author last mentioned Tripoli of the Arabs, is seated on the Mediterranean, and denominated by the Italians Tripoli di Barbaria, as it is by the present Arabs Traublous Ifrikia.

A grievous famine in Arabia.

Soon after the Moslems had reduced Alexandria, a grievous famine raged in Arabia, and particularly at Medina, then the residence of the khalif. This induced, or rather obliged, Omar to write to Amru, to send him a supply of corn, with which Egypt at that time abounded. Amru, in compliance with that order, sent a large train of camels laden with corn, in a continued line from Egypt to Medina, the first of which were entering Medina when the last were within the limits of Egypt. But this method of transporting corn proving too tedious and expensive, the khalif ordered Amru to open a communication between the Nile and the sea Al Kolzom, by cutting a canal through the interjacent tract. This work, if we credit Eutychius and Al Makîn, that general effected; and gave to this canal the name of the River of the Emperor of the Faithful. But here we must dissent from these writers; since it does not sufficiently appear from history, that there was ever any passage for vessels dug between the towns of Al Fostât, on the eastern bank of the Nile, and Al Kolzom, on the sea of that name, as they have asserted. The river, or rivulet, denominated by them the River of the Emperor of the Faithful, was undoubtedly no other than the Amnis Trajanus of Ptolemy, or the Khalis, which annually supplies the city of Kairo, or Al Kahira, with water, running from one end of it to the other, as well as the neighbouring country for several miles. It is, therefore, far more probable that, on the present occasion, the khalif ordered Amru to make the Khalis more navigable, by clearing it of the gravel or sand with which it was then choaked up; and that, for this reason, it received the name of the River of the Emperor of the Faithful. And that this was really the case, we are certainly informed by Abd'alhakim, in his History of the Conquest of Egypt; whose opinion in this point is supported by the concurrent testimony of Al Makrizi

rizi and Abulfeda. The former of these authors makes the Khalis to have been first formed by some of the ancient Egyptian kings in the days of Abraham, and afterwards cleansed and enlarged by Hadrian; and the latter asserts, that Al Fostât had its situation close to the Nile, and that the vessels navigated on that river received their lading there, and set sail from thence when they departed to any other port. According to Al Makîn, Amru built Al Fostat, by the command of Omar Ebn Al Khattâb himself, if we believe Abulfeda, after the reduction of Alexandria.

The Greek and Arab writers do not in all points agree.

It is intimated by one of the Greek writers, that the Arabs made an irruption into Egypt a little before that country was subjugated by Amru Ebn Al As; and that they were prevailed upon to retire from thence by Cyrus, an Egyptian bishop, who gave them a considerable sum of money to induce them to comply with his request. The emperor being informed of this transaction, sent for Cyrus to Constantinople, to give an account of his conduct; and dispatched, in great haste, Manuel, an Armenian, to Egypt, to command his forces in that country; but he was defeated by the Arabs. The imperial troops were almost all cut to pieces in this action, and Manuel himself, with great difficulty, made his escape to Alexandria. This blow threw the emperor into such a consternation, that he immediately dismissed Cyrus without inflicting any punishment upon him, and ordered him, if possible, to conclude a treaty, or truce, with the Moslems, upon the same terms as formerly; but this he found it impossible to effect, they being grown more haughty and intractable by their late success. Dionysius Telmarensis, the Jacobite patriarch, also pretends, that the Arabs conquered part of Armenia and Mesopotamia, before they reduced Cæsarea in Palestine, and made themselves absolute masters of Syria. But as all the particulars here mentioned seem to contradict what we have already extracted from the Arab historians, who ought to have been the best acquainted with the heroic actions of their own countrymen, perhaps they may not altogether merit the attention of our learned and curious readers.

Aiyad Ebn Gânem marches into Mesopotamia;

In the 20th or the 21st year of the Hejra, Aiyad Ebn Gânem, by the khalif's order, with a powerful army, invaded Mesopotamia. Having assembled all his forces, he advanced to the Euphrates, passed that river, and made the necessary dispositions for undertaking the siege of Edessa. But the governor, garrison, and inhabitants of that place, being apprehensive that they could not defend it

it against the Arabs, the imperial commandant offered to surrender the town to Aiyad, provided he would secure to them the possession of their properties and effects, and grant them the free exercise of their religion. These proposals being agreeable to Aiyad, he signed the capitulation; upon which his troops were immediately admitted into the town. Edessa, called by the Arabs and natives at this day Roha, is about a day's journey distant from Charræ, Carræ, or Harrân, a famous city amongst the ancients, and situated on the eastern bank of the Euphrates.

and conquers that country.

From Edessa Aiyad marched to Constantia or Constantina, at the head of the Moslem forces. This city was likewise seated on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, but in a southern direction from Edessa, and is taken by Cellarius for the Nicephorium of the ancients. The inhabitants of this place, as well as the garrison, refusing to surrender on capitulation, Aiyad found himself obliged to besiege it in form. At last he took the town by assault, and put three hundred Greeks to the sword. From thence he moved to the strong fortress called Daras, which he likewise carried by storm, and massacred all the people he met with in the place. This severity struck the other fortified towns of Mesopotamia with such terror, that most of them submitted without making any resistance. Harrân, in particular, surrendered to Amru Ebn Said upon the same terms as those that had been granted to Edessa. This city is the principal seat of the Sabians, whose chief temple was erected upon the top of a hill, insomuch that the words Harranite and Sabian have been considered as synonymous by some of the Oriental writers. It has produced many learned men, and particularly some that have made a very considerable progress in mathematics and philosophy. The religion of the Sabians is one of those, the practice of which, on paying tribute, is tolerated by the Mohammedans; and the professors of it are often included in that expression of the Koran, "those to whom the Scriptures have been given," or literally, "people of the book." They go on pilgrimage to a place near this city, and have also a great respect for the temple of Mecca and the pyramids of Egypt, fancying these last to have been the sepulchres of Seth, and of Enoch and Sabi, his two sons, whom they revere as the first propagators of their religion. At these structures they sacrifice a cock and a black calf, and offer up incense. Besides the book of Psalms, the only true Scripture they read, they have other books, which they esteem equally sacred, particularly one in

in the Chaldee tongue, which they call the Book of Seth, full of moral discourses. They derive the name of Sabians from the above mentioned Sabi, though others deduce it from צבא *saba*, or the *host of heaven*, which they worship. Travellers commonly call them Christians of St. John the Baptist, whose disciples also they pretend to be, using a kind of baptism, which is the principal mark they bear of Christianity. After the surrender of Harrân, Aiyad easily made himself master of Racca or Rakka, Nisibis or Nisibîn, Mawsel or Mawsil, Beled, Beleda or Belath, Rasain or Rasein, Amîd or Amîda, and many other towns of considerable strength; all which surrendered without the least opposition. Al Makîn relates, that Amru Ebn Said took Ainwerda about this time. Habib Ebn Moslema also, according to Abu'l-Faraj, possessed himself of Karkisia, or Kirkisia, a city of Diyâr Modar, seated upon the river Chabora or Aboras, together with the district belonging to it, by capitulation. We must remind our readers, that by the inundation of Al Arem, so famous in the Arabian history, eight of the Arab tribes were forced to abandon their habitations; at which time some of those tribes or colonies were probably led into Mesopotamia by three chiefs, Becr, Modar, and Rabia, from whom the three provinces of that country are still called by the Arabs Diyâr Becr, Diyâr Modar, and Diyâr Rabîa. The tract, comprehending these three provinces, and limited on every side but the north, where it is bounded by Mount Taurus, by the Tigris, and the Euphrates, and consequently forming a sort of peninsula, is for that reason not improperly denominated by some of the eastern writers Jezira, or Al Jezira, that is, the *island* or *peninsula*; that word being applied by the Orientals to peninsulas as well as islands, as we have already observed in our history of the ancient Arabs. By the reduction of Amîd or Amida, which stood near the foot of Mount Taurus, at a small distance from the western bank of the Tigris, Aiyad seems to have completed, in less than a year, the conquest of Mesopotamia [h].

The Moslems extend their conquests.

Nor did the Moslems meet with less success in other parts. Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaba, one of the khalif's commanders, with a body of troops, made himself master

[h] Steph. Byzant. Suid. Christ. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. lib. iii. cap. 15. p. 713, 714. Lipsiæ, 1706. Theophan. & Cedren. ubi sup. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 25. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. p. 726, & alib. Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 128, & alib. Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 362.

of Shiz, a place famous for the birth of Zerdusht, situated between Zenjân, Shahrozûr, Dainawâr, and Marâgah, and over-run the whole province of Aderbijân. He also took, after a short siege, the city of Adabin in Armenia, and subdued all that part of this country bordering on Mount Taurus, and consequently in the neighbourhood of Mesopotamia, obliging, in a manner, the whole region to recognize the authority of the khalif, and penetrated into Cappadocia. The large town of Siwâs, the Sebastia of Pliny, at that time perhaps belonging to Armenia, he obtained by composition, and subjugated all the inhabitants of the neighbouring tract. We are told by Eutychius, that Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaba, who conquered the province of Aderbijân, was the first who gave Omar the title of the Emperor of the Faithful, which at first disgusted the khalif, though he was afterwards reconciled to it; but this does not agree with what we find advanced by Abu'l-Faraj in that particular, as has been already observed. That general, according to the first of these authors, when this event happened, was governor of Basra; the whole district of which place, together with Obolla and other towns, had been reduced by Utbal Ebn Arkan, with a body of the Moslem forces. Utbal afterwards advanced to Al Madâyen, overthrew the governor of that place, who commanded a large body of Persian troops, with great slaughter, and cut off his head. After which exploit he obtained leave of the khalif to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca; but before his departure from the army, he made himself master of Al Madâyen, and left a garrison there. Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaba succeeded him in the post of governor of Basra, as well as that of general of the Moslem forces in Persia; but he not remaining long in that honourable situation, Abu Musa Al Ashari was appointed his successor, and also prefect of the territory of Misan, with orders from the khalif to build several towns or villages in the neighbourhood of Basra, and settle some Arabian colonies therein. This order he obeyed, and finished the buildings of the city of Basra, in which he thought proper to erect a Moslem temple, or mosque, of a moderate size. The city of Shiz, according to Golius, seems, by way of eminence, to be called the Pyreum, or *fire-temple*, by Abulfeda, as having given birth to Zerdusht, the great prophet and pontiff of the Magians, or *fire-worshippers*, if not the author and founder of their religion, and is one of the principal places in the province of Aderbijân.

The Moslem arms make a considerable progress in Khûzestan.

The Moslem arms likewise made a very considerable progress in Khûzestân, the ancient Susiana, a little time before the 21st year of the Hejra. The general that commanded the khalif's forces on the side of Persia, in this expedition, who, from several circumstances in the Arabian history, appears to have been Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs, possessed himself of Ahwâz, the principal town of that province, with little opposition; a circumstance which facilitated the conquest of the whole. The city of Ahwâz is the capital of Khûzestân, as well as of a particular district, called by the Persians the province of Ahwâz.

This town, however, seems to have fallen again to the Persians, after it had been reduced by Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs, according to Al Makîn; though, if we believe that author, it did not remain long in their hands; for Abu Musa Al Ashari, as he asserts, made himself master of Ahwâz and Siwâs in the 21st year of the Hejra.

The Arabs conquer part of Khorasân.

About the same time the Arabs, under the command of Al Nooman Ebn Al Makrân, subdued Khorâsan, according to Al Makîn; though that large and extensive province was reduced to the obedience of the khalif in the 21st and 22d years of the Moslem æra, according to Khondemir, the Persian historian. Khorasân is bounded on the south by a vast desert, that separates it from the province of Fars, Farsistân, or Persia properly so called; on the north by Turkestân, Mawarâ'lnahr, and sandy deserts on the side of the kingdom of Khowarazm, on the east by Sijistân, and the territories of the mogul, and on the west by another solitude contiguous to Jurjân, Georgia, or Georgiana, and Al Jebâl, or the Persian Irâk. From which description of its limits preserved by the Persian geographer, it appears to be a region of prodigious extent.

The Nohawandian war.

Before we conclude our account of the military exploits of the Arabs in the khalifat of Omar, we must present our readers with a concise relation of the Nohawandic, or Nohawandian war, which happened, according to Al Makîn, in the 21st year of the Hejra. The Persians receiving advice of an irruption made by the Arabs, under the conduct of Al Nooman Ebn Al Makrân, into their territories, assembled all their forces at Nohawand, an inconsiderable town in Fars, if we give credit to Abulfeda; though, according to Yakût, it was one of the principal cities of that country, in order to drive them from thence into their own dominions. Al Nooman being apprized of the enemy's motions, marched directly against them,

came

came up with them at Nohawand, and immediately engaged them. This action, which was extremely bloody, ended in the defeat of the Persians, who could never afterwards make head against the Arabs. The latter, however, sustained a very considerable loss by the death of their general, Al Nooman Ebn Al Makrân, who was killed in the action. Al Makîn seems to intimate, that this battle continued several days; by which expression, as we apprehend, he must mean, that, during the movements of the two armies in the neighbourhood of Nohawand, several skirmishes happened, which at last brought on a general action, that put a period to this war. After the Persians had received this overthrow, Nohawand surrendered to the victors, and submitted to pay tribute. The first sum the people of that town paid the Arabs was distributed amongst the citizens of Basra, who had supplied Al Nooman with a great number of recruits. That general had been intimately acquainted with Mohammed, and was therefore styled by the Moslems one of the Companions. Nohawand was situated upon a hill, fourteen parasangs south of Hamedan, abounded with rivers and gardens, that furnished the inhabitants both with plenty of water and excellent fruits; of the latter of which very considerable quantities were carried into Assyria. Hodaifa Ebn Yamân, who, after the death of Nooman Ebn Al Makrân, took upon him the command of the Moslem forces, following his blow, reduced the whole kingdom of Persia under the dominion of the khalif, except the two dependent provinces of Kermân and Sijistân, which held out for some time, though they were obliged at last to submit. In fine, Yazdejerd being almost stripped of his dominions by the last defeat, fled to Merû, a city of Khorasân, situated in a remote part of the country, upon the Oxus. We are told by a Christian writer, that the Arabs carried off all the rich furniture of Yazdejerd's palace, and took his daughters prisoners in this expedition; as also, that after the khalif had completed his conquests in Persia, he ordered a list or roll to be drawn out, containing an exact account of the number of all the men, cattle, and other useful animals, in his extensive dominions. It has been already observed, that the Arabs, under the command of Abd'allah Ebn Nadil, immediately before the commencement of the Nohawandian war, had taken Ispahân, or Asfehân, the Aspa of Ptolemy, and at present the metropolis of the kingdom of Persia. About the same time, they likewise reduced the city of Istachra, that stood

on the spot which had formerly been occupied by the antient Persepolis. This place made a considerable figure in the days of Omar, and has, since that time, been pretty populous for a certain period; but at present it has scarce the appearance of a poor obscure village. A little before the battle of Nohawand, Jarir Al Bajali, with the Arab forces under his conduct, took Hamadân, or Hamedan, a very large city of Fars, according to Ebn Hawkel, and at no great distance from Nohawand, or Nihawand. This must have happened soon after the reduction of that part of the province of Khorasân, which was conquered by the Arabs in the days of Omar. Al Makîn affirms, that Khâled Ebn Al Walîd died at Hems the year in which the battle of Nohawand was fought; with whom, as in the time of that event, another Arab author of reputation, perfectly agrees[i].

Omar assassinated.

About two years after the conclusion of the Nohawandian war, in which the Arabs probably still farther extended their conquests, though no account of their military operations during that period has reached us, that is, in the 23d year of the Hejra, according to Abu Jaafar Al Tabari, the khalif Omar Ebn Al Khattâb was assassinated by a Persian slave; of which horrid fact the Arab writers have handed down the following particulars: Abu Lulua, a Persian of the Magian sect, whose name was Firûz, one of Al Mogheira Ebn Al Shaabah's slaves, was obliged by his master to pay daily two dirhems, in conformity to the Mohammedan custom, for the free exercise of his religion. Firûz resenting this treatment, complained of it to the khalif, and desired that some part, at least, of the tribute exacted of him might be remitted; but this favour being refused by Omar, the Persian threatened his destruction; which he soon after effected, by stabbing him thrice in the belly with a dagger, whilst he was in the mosque at Medina performing his morning devotions. The Arabs then present perceiving that the villain had embrued his hands in the blood of their sovereign, immediately rushed upon him; but he made so desperate a defence, that he wounded thirteen of the assailants, and seven of them mortally. At last, one of the khalif's at-

[i] Al Makin. ubi sup. p. 25. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi. sup. Ism. Abulfed. in Hist. Gen. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 221, 222. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 296, 297. Khondemir, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 485. Georg. Cedren. Historiar. Compend. p. 429. 430. Author of the History of Jerusalem, MS. Arab. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 362.

tendants

tendants threw his vest over him, and seized him; upon which, he stabbed himself, and soon after expired. According to Theophanes, this Firûz was an apostate, or renegade, and consequently had before embraced the Mohammedan religion; but this assertion is by no means probable, because, on his becoming a convert to Islamism, he must have been manumitted by his master, and on his relapsing into Magism, he would have been put to death by the khalif's order: neither of which particulars are consistent with what we find related by the Arab historians, and even by our Greek chronographer himself. Omar languished three days, and then died, in the month of Dhu'lhajja, and the 23d year of the Hejra, which began in year of our Lord 643. Authors are not agreed with regard to the duration of his khalifat. The Arab historians, whom we are inclined to follow, say that he reigned between ten and eleven years. Theophanes affirms, that he was murdered in the 12th year of his khalifat, and Dionysius Telmarensis extends the length of his reign to twelve complete years. Only one of the wounds given him by Firûz was mortal, and that he received under his navel. At his death he was sixty-three years old; which, as we are told by an Arab author, was the age of Mohammed himself, Abu Becr, and Ayesha, one of the prophet's wives, when they died. When Omar fell in the mosque, Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf, one of Mohammed's first converts, supplied his place during the remainder of the service; and three days before his death, Sahib Ebn Tarsib, at his command, officiated for him. His body was interred in Ayesha's apartment, near that of the prophet Mohammed. We are informed by Eutychius, that during his khalifat, he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca nine times [k].

His character.

The khalif Omar, as to his person, was very tall, bald, and of a swarthy complexion. One author says, that he was left-handed; and another, that he used his left hand as well as his right. His head and his beard he tinged with al henna, which gave them a beautiful red colour, in the same manner as practised by Mohammed, and his predecessor Abu Becr. With regard to his disposition, the Moslem writers pass the highest encomiums upon him; though in this particular, perhaps, they may not have alto-

[k] Eutych. Patriarch. Alexandrin. Annal. tom. ii. p. 320—323. Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 25, 26. Greg. Abu'l Faraj. ubi. sup. p. 79. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 284. Dion. Telmarens. ubi sup. Auth. of the History of Jerusalem, MS. Arab. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 362.

gether divested themselves of partiality. His singular justice, abstinence, and piety, say they, procured him more reverence from his subjects than his successors could command by their grandeur. His cane, or walking-stick, according to Al Wakedi, struck more terror into those that were present, than another man's sword. His food was chiefly barley-bread, and his sauce salt. Sometimes, however, by way of abstinence and mortification, he would eat the former without the latter: his drink was only water: he was a constant observer of religious duties, and extremely regular in the performance of his devotions: his administration of justice was very impartial, his ears being always open to the complaints of the meanest; nor could the rank of an offender ever screen him from condign punishment: he punctually adhered to the true and genuine sense of the Koran, and the traditions of Mohammed, in all his decisions; a circumstance which rendered him extremely agreeable to his people: he was so far from being of a jealous or suspicious temper, that he did not always take the measures and precautions necessary for his own preservation. This careless disposition sufficiently appears from the following relation, transmitted by Abu'l-Faraj, of some of the principal circumstances attending his death, as well as of the cause and occasion of that fatal event [1].

The cause of Omar's death.

The reason of Omar's assassination was this: Abu Lulua complaining of the rigorous treatment he met with from his master, who exacted of him every day two dirhems, by way of tribute, the khalif said to him, "The money demanded by your master is no such great matter; since, as I am informed, you can construct a wind-mill, if you please." Abu Lulua replied, "I'll take care to construct a wind-mill for you, that shall not cease grinding till the day of the resurrection." Upon which Omar cried out, "The slave threatens me; if I was disposed to put any person to death, upon bare suspicion, I should immediately take off the varlet's head." Afterwards, when he had been stabbed, whilst at prayers in the mosque, Omar sent for a physician, and commanded him to examine the wounds he had received. This being done, the doctor desired the khalif to drink a draught of wine, which he did; but when the liquor came from him, it appeared in such a form, that no one could tell whether it was wine

[1] Al Makin. ubi supra. p. 26. Eutych. ubi supra, p. 322, 323. Al Waked. ubi supra. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, Hist. Dynast. p. 179, 180. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 179, 180.

or blood. The khalif then sent for another physician, who, after inspecting his wounds, requested him to take off a draught of milk: this prescription that prince likewise complied with, and when the liquor ran out of one of them, it was of the same colour and consistence as at first, or rather, according to some of the manuscript copies of Abu'l-Faraj, stinking milk; which being observed by the doctor, he said to the khalif, "O emperor of the faithful, make your will without delay; your departure is at hand." From which relation we may infer not only that the khalif Omar was void of the least propensity to jealousy or suspicion, but likewise that, in his days, some persons at least not altogether unacquainted with physic were to be found in Arabia [m].

Omar surnamed Al Farûk.

One of the names, or rather surnames, of Omar Ebn Al Khattâb Ebn Nofaïl was Abu Hafs, according to Al Kodai. Omar was of the posterity of Ada Ebn Caab Ebn Lowa, and had the surname likewise of Al Farûk, that is, the *Divider*, or *Distinguisher*, which he received from the prophet himself on the following occasion: a wicked Moslem having a dispute with a Jew, appealed from Mohammed's decision, which was against him, to Omar; whose love of justice and equity at that time, though he could be considered in no other light than that of a private person, was most conspicuous amongst the Arabs. Omar, greatly incensed at the Moslem's obstinate presumption, in daring to prefer his judgment to that of the prophet himself, at one blow with his scymiter cut him in two; saying aloud, "This is the reward of him who refuseth to submit to the judgment of God and his apostle." Mohammed being informed of the fact, immediately gave Omar the surname, or title, of Al Farûk; which alluded both to the division of that infidel's body, and to his distinction between truth and falshood. The Moslem at first insisted upon referring the matter to Caab Ebn Al Ashraf, one of the principal Arabs of the Jewish religion; but at last agreed to leave it to the determination of Mohammed: for which reason the prophet gives Caab Ebn Al Ashraf the name of Tâghût, that is, the *Devil*, or *Seducer*, in the Koran. We are told by Ebn Shehâb, that Omar was first called Al Farûk by the Jews, and not by Mohammed; but Jallalo'ddin and Al Beidawi, two of the most authen-

[m] Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra. Khondemir. Ahmed Ebn Mohamm. Ebn Abdi Rabbihi, MS. Huntingt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 554. Vide etiam Gagn. la Vie de Mahom. tom. ii. cap. 21. p. 405—413. Amsterdam, 1732.

tic commentators on the Koran, are of a different opinion [n].

Some other particulars relating to Omar.

This khalif's conquests were so considerable and extensive, that, had no future additions been made to the Moslem empire, it would have been one of the most powerful and formidable monarchies in the world. He expelled both the Christians and Jews out of the peninsula of the Arabs: he subdued Syria, Egypt, a considerable part of Barka, the western Tripoli, with its territory, and almost the whole kingdom of Persia. Besides which conquests, his troops possessed themselves of the whole province of Aderbijân, a large extent of territory in Khorâsan, the greatest part of Armenia, and some other neighbouring tracts. He left behind him a numerous army, composed of the best soldiers in the world, such as the forces of no other potentate at that time durst look in the face: and, notwithstanding all this power, he persisted to the last in his abstemious way of life; nor could any person ever infer an increase of his riches and power from any increase of his expences and retinue. The truth of the matter is, if we believe the oriental historians, he was generous, liberal, and munificent, to a surprising degree; frequently supplying with large sums of money great numbers of his subjects, and even strangers, who stood in need of his support: he was extremely punctual in the payment of his creditors, and often paid them more than their due. His equal and impartial distribution of justice is greatly celebrated by the eastern writers, which appears from several instances already produced in the course of this work; to which many more might be added, would the limits we have here prescribed ourselves permit: he surrounded the city of Cûfa with a wall, and repaired, or rather rebuilt, both the temples at Jerusalem and Medina. The æra called the Hejra, or the supputation of time from the flight of Mohammed to Yathreb, was introduced first amongst the Arabs in his reign, and still prevails amongst the Moslems in every part of the world: he was the first who kept an exact list of all the persons who either served in the army or received any stipend from the public. A decree was first issued out in this khalifat, by which the Moslems were forbidden to sell any woman that had been delivered of a child for a slave; which afterwards passed into a law. As Abu Becr divided the money in his trea-

[n] Al Kodai, Al Tabari, Ebn Shehab, apud Al Kodaium, Jalla'loddin, Al Beidawi.

ſury every Friday night amongſt his ſubjects, in proportion to the different degrees of merit of which they were poſſeſſed; ſo Omar made ſuch a diviſion of his money amongſt the Moſlems weekly on the ſame night, in proportion to their neceſſities only: for which he aſſigned this weighty reaſon, viz. "becauſe the good things of the preſent life were given us by God for the relief of our neceſſities; whereas the proper reward of virtue, and real intrinſic merit, belonged to another world." We are told by ſome of the oriental writers, that the tomb of Sennacherib, king of Aſſyria, was diſcovered on Mount Lebanon, in the khalifat of Omar; and that Al Khedr, or Elias, or at leaſt one of his diſciples, named Bar Elias, then appeared. Amongſt the remarkable ſayings of Omar, the following has been recorded by a Moſlem author: "The Arab empire will fail, when the prince at the head of it ſhall be deſtitute both of the piety of the Moſlems, and the liberality of the Gentiles." In fine, Omar, who in his diſpoſition ſo reſembled Abu Becr, that the Arabs called thoſe khalifs Omarân, or the two Omars, built the city of Baſra, at the mouth of the Tigris, in order to command the Perſian gulf, and conſequently to facilitate the importation of all thoſe rich and valuable commodities, that were the produce of India, into his own dominions [o].

Omar refuſes to name a ſucceſſor.

As ſoon as it was known that one of the wounds Omar had received from Abu Lulua was mortal, and that the milk he had drank iſſued from thence without meeting in its paſſage with the leaſt alteration, the Moſlems about him preſſed him to nominate a ſucceſſor, without delay. To theſe he anſwered, that if Salem was alive, he ſhould prefer him to any other perſon. Then they aſked him what he thought of Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb, whoſe affinity and near relation to the prophet, as well as his own perſonal merit and bravery, ſeemed to render him worthy of ſo elevated a ſtation. "He is not ſerious enough (replied the khalif), for the diſcharge of the duties of ſo important a poſt." Then they propoſed to him Othman Ebn Affân, as a perſon every way qualified for ſo weighty a charge; but he rejected him, as a perſon too much inclined to favour his own friends and relations. They afterwards recommended Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm, who had been of great ſervice to Mohammed, ſoon after he entered upon his prophetic

o Al Waked. Eutych. Al Makin, Abu'l-Faraj, Theophan. Cedren. Abulfed. Dionyſ. Telmarenſ. & Ebn Shohnah, ubi ſupra. Khondemir, D'Herbel. Biblioth Orient. p. 687, 688, 689.

function;

function; but his avarice, in Omar's opinion, rendered him unworthy of the khalifat. Nor could he be prevailed upon to name Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs, whom he judged of too fierce and untractable a disposition for his successor. Telha Ebn Obeid'allah, one of Abu Becr's relations, he esteemed too proud and haughty for so sublime a dignity; since, in his opinion, the prophet's successor ought to be a person of the greatest affability and condescension. Nor could he be induced to nominate his son, when he was mentioned to him; saying, "It was enough for the family of Al Khattâb to have one to give an account of so arduous an office as the khalifat." Omar, however, appointed six persons to deliberate about the election of a successor, for three days after his decease; excluding his son at the same time from the right of voting, though he commanded him to assist at their deliberations. These were Othmân Ebn Affân, Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb, Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm, Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf, Telha Ebn Obeid'allah, and Saad Ebn Abu Wakkâs: all of them had been intimately acquainted with Mohammed, and were therefore styled, by way of eminence, the Companions.

Othmân elected khalif.

The six commissioners, or rather electors, assembled after Omar's death, in order to deliberate about the choice of a new khalif. At their first meeting, Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf declared, that he would resign all pretensions to the khalifat, provided he might be indulged the liberty of electing out of his five companions an emperor of the faithful. To this proposal they all agreed, except Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb, who thought himself injured, because he was not the immediate successor of Mohammed. He, therefore, imagined, that, as one of the prophet's nearest relations, and the husband of Fâtema, he ought to be called to the succession without any farther deliberations, and even without the formality of an election. However, he at last acquiesced in the proposal, after Abd'alrahmân had sworn, that he would not favour any of the candidates who should offer himself. Abd'alrahmân having now carried his point, consulted with the other commissioners, and the leading men, amongst the people, in order to discover the person they had principally in view. Finding, therefore, that they were almost unanimously inclined to favour the elevation of Othmân Ebn Affân, he declared him khalif; and his five companions, as well as the people in general, then assembled for that purpose, immediately recognized his authority. With regard to the precise day of Othmân's inauguration, authors are not perfectly agreed.

agreed. Some say, that it happened on the last day of Dhu'lhajja, in the 23d year of the Hejra; others the year following, in the month of Al Moharram; and others again fix it upon the 20th day of Al Moharram, three days after the death of Omar. Be that as it may, the new khalif at that time had the hearts and affections of all his subjects, though he afterwards unfortunately lost them. We are told by Abu'l Faraj, that Abu Obeidah came to Ali, and demanded of him, "Whether, if he was chosen, he would govern the Moslems according to the contents of the Koran, the traditions of Mohammed, and the decisions of the two seniors?" meaning, we suppose, his two predecessors, Abu Becr and Omar. To which questions Ali made answer, that he was very willing to make the two former the basis and standard of his government, but could not prevail upon himself to put the latter upon the same footing. The same terms being offered to Othmân, he readily embraced them, without the least limitation or restriction; and was, in consequence thereof, immediately elected khalif. But here, whatever regard in general we may pay to his authority, we must beg leave to dissent from this historian; since the death of Abu Obeidah preceded that of Omar, and consequently he could have no share in the election of his successor, as has been already observed. Besides, Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf was a much more considerable person than Abu Obeidah, notwithstanding all his conquests, as having been one of the first converts to Islamism, and even one of the principal of the first and most intimate companions of the prophet; so that had both he and Abu Obeidah been living at the time of Omar's decease, the former, in exclusion of the latter, would probably have been appointed one of the six commissioners, or electors, above mentioned. However, that what has been attributed to Abu Obeidah by Abu'l Faraj, ought to be ascribed to Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf, so that the story in some degree may be true, very clearly appears from Al Makîn. We must not forget to remark, that Othmân Ebn Affân is called Othmân the son of Phan, or Fan, by Theophanes; that Ebn Arraheb, in his Chronicon, asserts, Othmân to have been inaugurated on the first day of Al Moharram; and that Abi'l Walîd places that event on the third day of the same month, in the 24th year of the Hejra; which was nearly coincident with the year of our Lord 645[p].

SECT.

[p] Al Makîn, ubi sup. cap. iv. p. 31. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 182, 183. Abu Jaafar, apud Al Makîn, ubi sup. p. 25. Eutych. ubi

SECT. III.

The Reign of Othmân, Successor to Omar.

The Arabs extend their conquests.

AS soon as Othmân was settled in the government, he sent a body of troops, under the command of Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaba, to complete the conquest of the territory of Hamadan; which he effected without any great difficulty. He also attacked the castle of Bira in Mesopotamia, seated upon the Euphrates, which had either never been reduced by Omar, or had been taken by the emperor, after the departure of the Moslem troops out of the province to which it belonged. With regard to Hamadan, or Hamadsan, as it is pronounced by the Arabs, it was, according to Abulfeda, one of the largest cities of Al Jebal, enjoyed a very salubrious air, and abounded with gardens, fruitful plains, and fountains. There is a very high and famous mountain in its neighbourhood, named Al Wend. The kings, or shâhs, of Persia retired formerly to this place, for the sake of its delightful situation, and the fine breezes that greatly refreshed them, in the summer time; on which account it is denominated by Hamdalla the City of Kings, or the Royal City. Golius seems inclined to think, that it was the Ecbatana of the ancients. Darâb the son of Darâb, erected a citadel in it, which has been for a considerable time demolished. Hamadan stands about two days journey from Derkezîn, another very considerable city, little inferior in any respect to Hamadan, except that the inhabitants of the former follow the decisions of the Sonna, and consequently pay tribute to the king of Persia, for the free exercise of their religion; whereas those of the latter adhere to an observance of the doctrines and tenets of the Shiites, considering Ali as the first lawful imâm, or rightful successor of Mohammed. The fortress of Bira, reduced in the 24th year of the Hejra by Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaba, is said to have been founded upon a rock; so that it was undoubtedly a place of exceeding great strength. It had a valley appertaining to it in the time of Ebn Said, that went by the name of the Valley of

ubi sup. p. 320—323. Ebn Arraheb, in Chronic. Oriental. Abu'l Walid, apud Dionys. Telmarens. in Chronic. sive Annal. ut & ipse Dionys. Telmarens. ibid. Vide etiam Joseph. Sim. Asseman. in Bib. Orient. tom. ii. p. 103. Romæ, 1721. Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. Ockley, ubi sup. & Theoph. Chronograph. p. 284.

Olives,

Olives, and abounded with trees and fountains. It was then one of the most advanced garrisons of the Arabs against the Tartars. A little before the reduction of Bira, Mah Al Basra, and the remainder of the tract belonging to Ispahân and Ray, or Raya, one of the most ancient cities of Al Jebâl, were compelled also to submit to the khalif, by a Moslem army, that obeyed the orders of Abu Musa Al Ashari. There was such a sharp contention between the Shiites and Sonnites in the city of Raya, that it broke out into a civil war, which ended in the extinction of the Shiites; after which, the Shâfeïtes and Hanîfites, the two sects of which the victors were composed, quarrelled amongst themselves, and almost totally ruined the city. Its remains, according to Hamdalla, was soon after destroyed by the Tartars. It is about a day's journey distant from Komes, and thirty parasangs from Cazbîn. Komes and Raya, if we believe Abulfeda, terminate on the west of the desert of Khorasân. Raya is famous for the birth of that celebrated philosopher and physician Abu Becr Mohammed Ebn Zakaria, from the place of his nativity surnamed Rhazis, Rhazes, or Al Razi, who died at Raya, in the year of the Hejra 311. This year Moâwiyah Ebn Abu Sofiân, who was then the Moslem prefect of Syria, made an irruption into the imperial territories, took many towns, and ravaged the country through which he marched in a dreadful manner. Nor did he sustain any considerable loss, notwithstanding the signal advantages he gained in this expedition.

The Arabs drive Yazdejerd out of his dominions.

Othmân likewise sent another body of troops, under the command of Abd'allah Ebn Amer, to act on the side of Persia, with orders to repossess themselves of Istachra, or Estakhr, which had found means to revert to its old master Yazdejerd. The motive for this expedition seems to have been the seizure of Yazdejerd, who then resided in that place. Abd'allah first advanced to Darabajerd, from whence he detached Abd'allah Majase' Ebn Masûd, with a considerable detachment, in quest of Yazdejerd. That prince being hotly pursued, found himself obliged to traverse a solitude, or desert, in order to reach the province of Kermân: but not thinking himself safe there, he fled to Sijistân, and entirely abandoned Persia.

Alexandria taken by the Christians, and retaken by the Arabs.

Next year, the khalif dismissed Amru Ebn Al As from the government of Egypt, and advanced his foster-brother, Abd'allah Ebn Sa'îd, to that honourable and lucrative post. This conduct perfectly answered the idea Omar had entertained of him, when he judged him unworthy of the khalifat,

khalifat, as being too much inclined to favour his friends and relations. His treatment of Amru on this occasion was an instance both of injustice and ingratitude; for that general had greatly contributed to the extension of the Moslem empire, not only by reducing many strong fortresses in Syria, but likewise by annexing Egypt to the khalif's dominions. He had also wonderfully ingratiated himself with the Egyptians, as being not only of a very affable temper, but likewise perfectly well acquainted with the genius and disposition of that people, and having a thorough knowlege of the customs and constitution of the country over which he had with so much reputation presided. His dismission, therefore, was considered as a public loss, and even disposed the Egyptians to revolt. Abd'allah Ebn Sa'îd had scarce entered upon his government, when Constantine, the Greek emperor, received intelligence of the disaffection of the Egyptians to Othmân; which induced him to meditate the reduction of Alexandria. For this purpose, he sent Manuel, an eunuch, his general, with a powerful army, to retake that place; which aim, by the assistance of the Greeks in the city, who kept a secret correspondence with the imperial forces whilst at sea, and joined them as soon as they had made a descent, he effected without any great effusion of Christian blood. The loss of so important a fortress alarming the khalif, who now plainly discovered the cause of it, he immediately restored Amru to his former dignity. This step was extremely agreeable to the Copts, who having had experience of the military skill and bravery of this renowned general, and apprehending that they should be called to an account by the Greeks for their former perfidious conduct, had petitioned Othmân to send him once more into Egypt, to re-establish his drooping affairs in that country. Upon Amru's arrival, therefore, at Alexandria, the Copts, with the traitor Al Mokawkas at their head, not only joined him, but supplied him likewise with all kinds of provisions, and excited him to attack the Greeks without delay. He attacked them accordingly, and, after a most obstinate dispute, which continued for several days, at last drove them into the town. However, for some time they defended themselves, and repelled all the efforts of the besiegers, with unparalleled bravery. This so exasperated Amru, that he swore, according to Ebn Abd'alhakim, "If God enabled him to conquer the Greeks, he would throw down the walls of the city, and make it as easy of access as a brothel, which lies open to every body." Nor did

did he neglect carrying this menace into execution. For, when he had made himself master of the town, which he did after a gallant defence, he dismantled it, entirely demolishing all the walls and fortifications. However, he spared the lives of most of the citizens; though some of them, as the place seems to have been taken by storm, were put to the sword. In one part of the town, particularly, Amru found his men butchering the Alexandrians with unrelenting barbarity; but, by his seasonable interposition, he restrained their fury. In commemoration of this happy event, he ordered a mosque to be erected on the spot where it happened; which he called, on that account, the Mosque of Mercy. The Greeks having thus a third time lost Alexandria, which never afterwards recovered its pristine grandeur, but dwindled away gradually to the state in which it still remains, Manuel, the imperial general, returned with disgrace to Constantinople. We must not forget to observe, that this Manuel, by the assistance of the Greeks, recovered Alexandria about five years after it had been taken by Amru Ebn Al As, and soon after lost it again, in the manner here related. According to Theophanes, Amru's successor in Egypt invaded the dominions of Gregory, an African tyrant, defeated the troops he led against him, cut most of them in pieces, and obliged his subjects to submit to the payment of an annual tribute. Abd'allah, who had succeeded Amru in the government of Egypt, during his continuance in that post, possessed himself of the territories of a neighbouring African prince, not improbably the Gregory of Theophanes, and carried off with him all his treasures into Egypt, after he had put him to death.

Moâwiyah takes Cyprus;

About the same time, that is, in the 27th year of the Hejra, Moâwiyah Ebn Abu Sofiân invaded the island of Cyprus. The imperial troops being then very weak, and the people of that island in no condition to oppose the Moslems, the inhabitants agreed to pay the tribute Moâwiyah demanded, in order to be taken under the khalif's protection. Which tribute, if we credit Al Makîn, they paid very punctually for the space of two years. Theophanes has preserved very few particulars relating to this expedition. He only intimates, that Moâwiyah reduced Constantia, or Salamis, and subdued the whole island. He also relates, that Moâwiyah, upon receiving advice that Cacorizus was in motion with a powerful army to invade Cyprus, failed with his fleet, and a body of land-forces on board, to the island of Aradus, which he endeavoured

voured to subdue; but without effect. Abu'l-Faraj informs us, that Cyprus surrendered to Moâwiyah by capitulation. Some authors assure us, that the Moslem general engaged to secure the people of Cyprus in the perpetual possession of their properties and effects, as well as the free exercise of their religion, upon condition that the revenues of the island should be equally divided between the khalif and the Greek emperor. In consequence of which treaty, Moâwiyah received annually seven thousand two hundred pieces of gold, during the term above mentioned; at the end of which the Moslems were ejected by the Christians [q].

as likewise Aradus and Ancyra.

After Moâwiyah had reduced Cyprus, he sailed to Aradus, landed a body of troops in that island, and invested the city or fortress, erected upon it. This he afterwards besieged in form, and battered it so furiously with his military engines, that, had not the garrison made a very vigorous defence, it must have fallen into his hands; but finding, at last, that he could make no impression upon the town, all his efforts having been repelled by the besieged, he abandoned the island, and retreated to Damascus, where he put his troops into winter-quarters. However, he attacked Aradus a second time the following spring, with so formidable a power, that the imperial troops in garrison there were not able to make a stand against him; so that he drove the natives out of the island, demolished the fortifications, and set fire to the city. This is the account of the reduction of Aradus given by Theophanes and Cedrenus; but, according to Dionysius Telmarensis, that island was taken by the Arabs in the preceding year. About the same time that Moâwiyah settled the terms of their submission with the people of Cyprus, Ancyra likewise surrendered to the Arabs upon capitulation, as we learn from Abu'l-Faraj.

The Arabs conquer Khorasân.

In order to extend still farther the conquests of the Arabs, Othmân sent this year another body of troops, under the command of Abd'allah Ebn Amer and Said Ebn Al As, to seize some of those parts of Khorasân that had not yet submitted to the Moslems. That the khalif might excite a spirit of emulation in those generals, he declared his resolution to make that man the governor of Khorasân,

q Al Makin & Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra. Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. vol. i. p. 375, 376. Theophan. ubi supra, p. 285. Georg. Cedren. Historiar. Compend. p. 431. Dionys. Telmarens. apud Joseph. Simon. Asseman. ubi supra, p. 103. Eutych. Annal. tom. ii. p. 340, 341.

who

who first entered that country. Being arrived there, they immediately began the military operations, and, in the course of the year, reduced a great number of towns. Amongst the rest, Nisabûr or Naisabûr, the metropolis, Herâ or Herât, Bushank or Bushakh, Tûs or Tûsa, Abrim, Merû, Sirkhas, Sarkhas, or Saraksha, and many other places of consequence, surrendered to their arms. Nor did Abd'allah Ebn Amer, who seems to have penetrated farther than Said Ebn Al As, leave that region before, to use Al Makîn's expression, he had drank out of the river Balkh. By which expression, that historian gives us to understand, that the Arabs, at this juncture, penetrated to Balkh, and probably made themselves masters of that noble city, which was considered as the metropolis of Khorasân by Abulfeda; the river of Balkh, mentioned by Al Makîn, probably answering to the Dehâsh of Ebn Hawkel, which ran through the suburbs of Balkh.

The Arabs make an incursion into Isauria.

In the year after Moâwiyah had taken, or rather destroyed, the city of Aradus, another of the Arab commanders made an incursion into Isauria, where he committed dreadful depredations. He plundered several towns and villages in that province, put a great number of people to the sword, and carried off with him five thousand prisoners into the Moslem territories. Theophanes relates, that the emperor sent this year a minister to Moâwiyah, to assure him of his sincere desire to conclude a peace with the khalif; but the overtures he made on this occasion that author has not explained.

The death of Yazdejerd.

The 31st year of the Hejra, according to Al Makîn, was remarkable for the death of Yazdejerd. That unfortunate prince, who had for several years been in no condition to meet the Arabs in the field, prevailed upon Tarkân, the Turk, to assist him with a body of auxiliary troops. Soon after the junction of the Turkish and Persian forces, the former were dismissed, upon a frivolous pretext, by Yazdejerd; which dismission exasperated Tarkân to such a degree, that at the instigation of Mahwa, a person of rank, and one of the Persian monarch's subjects, he returned in a short time, at the head of a powerful army, to chastise Yazdejerd for the affront. A general action ensued between these two princes, wherein the latter was entirely defeated, and had the shattered remains of his army either cut to pieces by Mahwa, who had assembled a body of troops for that purpose, or totally dispersed[r].

[r] Al Makin, ubi supra. Lebtarikh, Mirkhond, Khondemir.

The Arabs penetrate into Nubia.

Soon after the extinction of the ancient line of the Persian kings, denominated the Saſſanian, who had been diſtinguiſhed by the ſurname of Khoſrû, the khalif ordered a body of his forces to advance towards the frontiers of Nubia, in order to penetrate into that remote kingdom, and annex it to his Egyptian dominions. Thoſe troops were commanded by Abd'allah Ebn Sa'îd, the Moſlem prefect of Egypt, who appears to have been fixed a ſecond time in that poſt by Othmân, if any credit be due in this point to Al Makîn. That general, therefore, in purſuance of the khalif's orders, aſſembled the Moſlem forces in the country of Thebais, or the Upper Egypt, called by the Arabs Al Saîd Meſr, and from thence made ſeveral ſucceſsful incurſions into Nubia, where he met with little oppoſition. In ſhort, Abd'allah Ebn Sa'îd, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a former African expedition, by his repeated ſucceſſes, ſo haraſſed the king of Nubia, who was a Chriſtian, that he intreated the Moſlem commander to grant him a peace almoſt upon any terms. In order, therefore, to obtain the peace he ſo earneſtly deſired, he was obliged by treaty to ſend the Arabs annually, as a tribute, a great number of Nubian, or Ethiopian, ſlaves into Egypt. Such a tribute at this time was more agreeable to the khalif than any other, as the Arabs then put a great value on thoſe ſlaves.

Notwithſtanding ſome ſeditious practices, the Arab arms are ſtill attended with ſucceſs.

In this very year, the 31ſt of the Hejra, nearly anſwering to the 651ſt of the Chriſtian æra, Abudar Al Acâdi, a diſcontented Arab, began firſt to cenſure the khalif, and to decry his adminiſtration. Of this abuſe Othmân at firſt took no farther notice than to forbid him his preſence; upon which he retired into Syria, where he continued his aſperſions with great rancour and virulence. Moâwiyah, then prefect of Syria, ſent the khalif advice of the ſeditious practices of that incendiary; who thereupon ordered him to return to Medina, and put him under arreſt. How he bore his confinement, for it ſeems Othmân had no inclination to releaſe him, we are not told by any Arab author; but from the ſenſe given to a paſſage of Al Makîn by Mr. Ockley, it muſt be allowed probable that he died in priſon either this or the following year. About the ſame time Habib, one of the Moſlem commanders, made an irruption into the imperial territories on the ſide of Meſopotamia; and, in conformity to the Arab cuſtom, committed dreadful ravages. Theophanes relates, that Habib made this incurſion into Armenia, and defeated a body of imperial troops that offered to oppoſe him; purſuing them as far as Mount Caucaſus, with great ſlaughter,

ter, and laying waste all the country through which he marched. Theophanes and Cedrenus also inform us, that Moâwiyah, just before this invasion, having seized the island of Rhodes, caused the famous colossus to be entirely destroyed, and sold the metal of which it consisted, one thousand three hundred and sixty, or one thousand three hundred and sixty-five years after the erection of this statue, to a Jew of Edessa, who loaded nine hundred camels with it. In the course of the year preceding the death of Othmân, Abu'l Abar, who had been constituted admiral of the Arab fleet by Moâwiyah, gave the emperor Constans a signal defeat by sea, on the coast of Lycia; and such a great number of Christians were killed in this naval engagement, that all the neighbouring sea was dyed with the blood of the slain. With which observation we shall conclude our account of the military operations of the Arabs during the khalifat of Othmân [s].

The Arabs assemble in a tumultuous manner, and threaten Othmân.

Neither the detention of Abudar Al Akâdi in prison, nor his death, had appeased the public discontents and commotions. Sedition was industriously propagated, after both those events had happened, through every province of the empire; and the minds of the people were so alienated from the khalif, in the 35th year of the Hejra, that every thing seemed tending to a revolt. Those who wished for a revolution, had taken care to inspire the public with abhorrence of most of the measures pursued by Othmân since his advancement to the khalifat, notwithstanding the success that had every-where attended his arms; and suggested to them the following articles of complaint. First, he recalled to Medina Hakem Ebn Al As, who had been banished by the prophet to Tâyef, and detained in a state of exile ever since. Secondly, he had removed from his prefecture Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs, an officer of distinguished bravery, and conferred his post upon Okba Ebn Abu Mogheid, one who drank wine, and was in other respects a person of very scandalous manners. Thirdly, he had squandered away vast sums of the public money amongst his favourites; bestowing no less than five hundred and four thousand dinârs upon Merwân Ebn Hakem Ebn Al As, four hundred thousand upon Abd'allah Ebn

[s] Al Makin, ubi supra, p. 32. Ockley, ubi supra, p. 379, 380. Dion. Telmarens. apud Joseph. Simon. Asseman. ubi sup. Theoph. Chron. p. 286, 287. Georg. Cedren. Historiar. Compend. p. 431, 432. Plin. lib. xxxiv. cap. 7. Scalig. Animadv. ad Euseb. p. 137. Amstelodami, 1658. Eutych. Patriarch. Alexand. Annal. tom. ii. p. 340, 341.

Khâld, a hundred thousand upon Hakem, and upon Sa'id Ebn Al As forty thousand dirhems. Fourthly, he had dismissed Amru Ebn Al As from the lieutenancy of Egypt, and substituted in his room Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id, his foster-brother, who had been proscribed by Mohammed. Fifthly, upon his elevation to the khalifat, he had presumed to place himself on the top of the pulpit, where the prophet himself used to sit; whereas Abu Becr always sat one step lower, and Omar two. These, and other grievances, extremely aggravated by the principal malecontents, so incensed the people, that some of them discovered an inclination to depose the khalif. However, Othmân behaved with great resolution at this critical juncture: he ascended the pulpit, and, in a speech from thence, told the assembly, that the money in the treasury was sacred, and appropriated to the service of Almighty God; that he, as the successor of his apostle, had a right to dispose of it as he thought proper; and if any person should presume to take offence at what he said, he begged that God would overthrow him. Which words were no sooner uttered, than Ammâr Ebn Yaser rose up, and declared, that his speech had given him just offence; upon which, some of the Banu Ommiyah, then present, beat him in so mercileſs a manner, that they left him for dead. As Ammâr had suffered much for the Mohammedan faith from the Koreish, in the infancy of Islamism, and had been one of the prophet's particular favourites, who is reported to have said of him, that he was full of faith from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, faith being mixed and incorporated with his very flesh and blood, this cruel treatment made an impression upon the minds of the people greatly to the disadvantage of the khalif. A considerable body, therefore, of the Arabs assembled in a tumultuous manner, and encamped within a parasang of Medina; from whence they sent an insolent message to Othmân, resembling that of the Janissaries on similar occasions to the Turkish emperors, demanding of him either to act justly, that is, to do what they would have him, or to abdicate the government. This demand so terrified the timid khalif, that he offered to make the largest concessions to his rebellious subjects, to keep them within the bounds of their duty. In order to pacify them, he again ascended the pulpit in the mosque at Medina, owned the faults of his administration, and said, he sincerely repented of his former conduct: he also promised to restore to the treasury the money given to his friends and relations, and

to

to do every thing in his power that ſhould be deemed neceſſary for the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquility.

But the malecontents, or rather rebels, grew more inſolent on theſe conceſſions. Such a ſpirit of diſcontent had diffuſed itſelf over the whole empire, that it ſeemed impoſſible, by any means that could be deviſed, to ſtem the torrent of ſedition. Many of the provinces had ſent a conſiderable number of men to Medina, to join in the common outcry againſt the khalif's adminiſtration, and even in any attempt that ſhould be made to depoſe him. Malec Ebn Al Hâreth arrived at the head of two hundred men from Cûfa; a hundred and fifty more, in ſupport of the rebellious Arabs, came from Baſra; and a body of ſix hundred, for the ſame purpoſe, from Egypt. The junction of theſe forces with the diſaffected Arabs ſtruck the khalif with ſuch terror, that for ſome time he was incapable of attending to the means of his own preſervation. At laſt, recovering in ſome degree from the panic into which he had been thrown, he ſent Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaba and Amru Ebn Al As to treat with the malecontents, and, if poſſible, to diſpoſe them to an accommodation. This expedient not ſucceeding, Ali, who had a conſiderable party amongſt the mutineers, drew up a paper, containing a promiſe to redreſs all the grievances of the Moſlems, which was ſigned both by himſelf and the khalif. After which, at the requeſt of the Egyptians, Abd'allah Ebn Sa'îd was removed from the government of Egypt, and Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr appointed to preſide over that province in his room. Theſe ſalutary ſteps produced the deſired effect; inſomuch that the body of malecontents, which before appeared ſo formidable, was immediately diſſolved, and all the individuals that compoſed it retired to their reſpective habitations. Nor could the public repoſe have failed of being ſettled upon a laſting foundation, had it not been privately diſturbed by Ayeſha, whoſe deſire to raiſe Telha to the dignity of khalif rendered her capable of meditating the deſtruction of Othmân by any means poſſible, as well as by Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr, the new prefect of Egypt, and Merwân Ebn Al Hakem, the khalif's ſecretary of ſtate, whoſe villainous project contributed more than all the other concurring cauſes of his maſter's ruin. Of which execrable ſcheme, formed by this traitor, for the aſſiſtance of thoſe who were endeavouring to accompliſh a revolution, we ſhall here inſert, from Al Makin, the following particular and authentic relation.

They are appeaſed by Ali,

Othmân sacrificed by Merwân, his secretary of state.

The Egyptians, on their return home, under the conduct of their new lieutenant, Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr, met at Ailah, a maritime city on the sea Al Kolzom, with a courier from the khalif; amongst whose dispatches, which they took care to examine, they found the following letter, drawn up by Merwân, the secretary of state, without his master's privity, to Abd'allah Ebn Sa'îd, the then governing prefect of Egypt. "Othmân to Abd'allah Ebn Sa'îd. As soon as Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr, and I. B. &c. shall arrive in Egypt, cut off their hands and feet, and impale them." This letter, having Othman's seal affixed to it, in order to effect the greater mischief, Merwân had contrived to get conveyed into the hands of the Egyptians, who were already but too much prejudiced against the khalif; and it produced the tragical effect the wicked writer of it had in view. For, Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr, and his friends, taking this to be a genuine order of the khalif, were incensed to the last degree against him; and published immediately over all the neighbouring territories the discovery they had made. Not content with this promulgation, they marched back to Medina, inspiring all the country through which they moved, with an abhorrence of the khalif, whom they represented as a most bloody and perfidious tyrant. Soon after their arrival at Medina, they were joined by the Basran and Cûfan troops, that returned as soon as they had received advice of what had happened, as well as the disaffected Arabs, who amounted to a very considerable number. With this force Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr, and the other rebel chiefs, besieged the innocent khalif in his palace; he in the mean time professing a sincere penitence for all the false steps he might have taken, and offering all the satisfaction it was in his power to make for his preceding errors: but all in vain. Nothing could inspire them with sentiments of moderation, nor introduce into their hearts the least degree of compassion. They loaded him with reproaches, and breathed nothing but vengeance and destruction. They gave him the most opprobrious language that could be uttered; and resolved to be revenged of him, with all the circumstances of cruelty they could invent, for an injury which in reality he never intended them.

And assassinated by his rebellious subjects.

Othmân finding himself in this deplorable situation, sent to Ali for assistance, at the same time asking him, whether he desired to see his cousin murdered, and his own kingdom rent in pieces? Ali answered, "By no means;"

means;" and immediately ordered his two sons, Hasan and Hosein, to defend the gates of the palace. For some time, they executed their orders with fidelity; not permitting the rebels to enter, nor offer any violence to the khalif: but at last finding him reduced to great distress for want of water, they abandoned their posts, and left him to the mercy of his enraged rebellious subjects. So that after all, though Ali did not directly join the khalif's enemies, yet he did not assist his relation and sovereign with that vigour and activity which might have been naturally expected of him. The rebels now perceiving all the avenues open, and the palace-wall unguarded, easily made themselves masters of the khalif's person. Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr, and two others, one of whom was Ammâr Ebn Yaser, entering his apartment, found him with a copy of the Koran in his bosom. Mohammed seized him immediately by the beard, than which a greater indignity could not have been offered him, and soon after thrust his sword into his breast. By this time, some others of the rebel commanders had entered the apartment; two of whom, Nabar Ebn Ayd and Sowdân Ebn Hamrân, likewise pierced him with their swords. Then Omar Ebn Hamak sat upon his breast, and gave him nine other wounds, in consequence of which he expired. Some authors say, this tragical event happened eighty days after the rebels had surrounded his palace; others say forty or fifty. Be that as it may, his body remained three days unburied, and was at last thrown into a hole made for it in the bloody cloaths he wore when he was assassinated, without even receiving the usual ablution, or the least funeral solemnity. The body was interred by night, in a place called Has Kowkab, or *the Garden of the Star*. Othmân was eighty-two years old at the time of his assassination, which happened on the 18th of Dhu'lhajja, and the 35th year of the Hejra. Thus fell Othman, after a reign of near twelve years; whose death was occasioned by the intrigues of Telha, Zobeir, Ayesha, and Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr, as well as the perfidy of Merwân Ebn Al Hakem, not to say the premeditated indolence and inactivity of Ali, who was influenced by a prospect of the supreme dignity, to which he had long aspired. The tragical exit of so great a conqueror, and the indignity with which his body was treated after his death, ought to be considered as a striking instance of the instability of human affairs, of the vanity of worldly grandeur, and of the slippery situation of those

who seem to have arrived even at the summit of temporary felicity [t].

A description of Othmân's person and character.

Othmân, as to his person, was very tall, of an agreeable countenance, and swarthy complexion. His beard was large, and tinged with al henna in the same manner as those of his predecessors. With regard to his disposition, he was constant and exact in the performance of religious duties. He fasted often, spent much time in reading the Koran, and meditated with the utmost attention upon what he read. His charity was very extensive, though he left immense riches behind him; five hundred millions dirhêms, and one hundred and fifty thousand dinârs, being found in the palace after his death, besides two hundred thousand dinârs alotted for charitable uses. The source of all his misfortunes was his propensity to favour his friends and relations; which weakness was so predominant, that he scarce ever paid any regard to merit. The consequence of which partiality, was, that few of those he advanced to the most eminent stations were qualified for the discharge of their duty; whence it came to pass, that numbers of errors were committed in the administration, which justly incurred the censure of the public, and occasioned many reflections, that ultimately terminated in the khalif's ruin.

A short detail of his conquests, and of the difference between him and Ali.

We have already given a full account of the conquests made by Othmân, and of the extensive territories he annexed to the Moslem empire; to which we shall now add, that, according to some of the oriental writers, his generals subdued all the western coast of Africa, from the city of Tripoli and its dependencies, to the streights of Sebtah; and if we believe Khondemir, the Persian historian, they also penetrated into Andalusia; but this will scarce be admitted by any of our more curious and intelligent readers. By the streights of Sebtah the eastern geographers understand that narrow sea between Gibraltar and Ceuta, called for the most part, by the European geographical writers, the Streights of Gibraltar; to which some of the Moslem authors extend the Arab dominions on that side in the khalifat of Othmân. We are also told by Eutychius, that in this khalifat the Arabs conquered the remaining part of Armenia, that had been left unsubdued in the time of Omar. However, this khalif was a man of great personal bravery, as

[t] Eutych. ubi sup. p. 340—343. Al Makin, & Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup.

well

well as generosity, liberality, and magnificence. He published a new and correct edition of the Koran, and was closely attached to all the exercises of religion. The Persian poet Rashîd, or Rashîdi, who pretended to deduce his origin from Othmân, has collected all the sayings or apophthegms of this khalif, and turned them into verse. The title he has prefixed to this work is the Harmonious Concert. The difference between Othmân and his successor Ali proved the source of infinite quarrels and disputes amongst the Moslems, which are far from being appeased at this very day. The latter could never forgive the elevation of the former to the khalifat; which dignity Ali apprehended to belong to him by right of succession, founding his pretensions upon proximity of blood; for he was the cousin-german of Mohammed, had married his eldest and best beloved daughter Fâtema, and was, in consequence of this marriage and affinity, the head of the house of Hâshem, which was dignified with the title of the family of the prophet: but notwithstanding this circumstance, which seemed to plead so strongly in his favour, finding the people so generally prejudiced in behalf of his competitor, he was obliged, with the rest, to acquiesce in the election of Othmân [u].

Some other particulars relating to him.

Authors are not perfectly agreed with regard to the length of this khalif's reign, though there seems to be no very considerable difference between them. Theophanes says he governed the Moslems, or discharged the duty of emir, ten years; whereas Al Makîn, Abu'l-Faraj, and Abu'l Walîd, assert him to have presided over the Arabs about twelve complete lunar years. The symbol, motto, or inscription on his seal was, I BELIEVE IN GOD, THE CREATOR AND ADMINISTRATOR. His principal judge was Caab Ebn Soweid, and his chamberlain Hamrân.

SECT. IV.

The Reign of Ali, the fourth Khalif.

Ali is unanimously elected khalif;

THE Arabs, as well as the foreigners at that time in the city of Medina, being informed of Othman's death, were divided in their sentiments about a successor.

[u] D'Herbel. ubi supra, p. 695. Eutych. Al. Makin. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. Khondemir, Rashidi, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 696. Al Jannab. p. 35. Ahmed Ebn Yusef, in Hist. Gen. sect. xl. Ludov. Marracc. in Prodr. part ii. p. 40.

Telha

Telha and Zobeir having assembled the Ansârs and Mohajerîn, declared for Ali, though in their hearts they detested him, as did also Ayesha, the youngest and best-beloved wife of Mohammed; but the Arabs being in general inclined to favour him, not only on account of the near relation he bore to the prophet, but likewise of the immediate alliance he had contracted with Mohammed's family, by marrying his daughter Fâtema, they thought proper to dissemble their aversion, and even the very day on which Othmân was murdered, to take the oath of allegiance to him. This, however, they resolved to break as soon as a proper opportunity should offer. The Basrans in the mean time shewed a disposition to favour Telha, though Zobeir had likewise a considerable party amongst them. The Cûfans and Egyptians had the highest regard for Ali as well as the Arabs; so that his interest was too powerful to admit of any competitor. However, Zobeir's friends declared themselves so warmly in his favour, or at least for any other person whose interest he should support, that they threatened him with death if he did not either take the government upon himself, or see it immediately conferred upon some other person. The troops likewise which had arrived from Mesopotamia, Persia, and the different parts of Arabia, as well as those from Basra and Egypt, in order to depose Othmân, resolved to cut off all the candidates for the khalifat, if one of them was not immediately advanced to that dignity. The eyes, therefore, of all were fixed upon Ali at this critical juncture; and the principal men pressed him with unusual vehemence to accept the honour designed him, he being the best qualified for it, both by his personal accomplishments and the affinity he bore to the prophet. To this step he discovered for some time an invincible reluctance, saying, he had much rather serve another in the capacity of wazir, or visir, than take upon himself the government. The troops being apprized of his reluctance, and finding that the family of Ommiyah had withdrawn themselves, assembled in a tumultuous manner, and insisted upon the inhabitants of Medina bringing the controversy to a decision; declaring, that they would allow them but one day to consider of it, and that, if in that time a khalif was not elected, they would put Telha, Zobeir, Ali, and several others to the sword. This declaration struck the citizens of Medina with such terror, that they again pressed Ali in the most suppliant manner to suffer himself to be inaugurated, and, upon his again declining the ceremony, they adjured him by God

God to consider the lamentable condition in which they were, the miserable state of their religion, and the distraction of the whole nation. Overcome at last with such pathetical exclamations, he answered, "If I should comply with your request, I will always act according to the best of my knowlege; and if you will excuse me, I shall ever be one of the most submissive and obedient of all the Moslems to whomsoever you shall be pleased to set over me." Then addressing himself to Telha and Zobeir, who intreated him in the most moving terms to accept of the khalifat, he said, "If you intend to recognize my authority as the successor of Mohammed, swear to be faithful to me, otherwise permit me to take the oath of allegiance to one of you." The latter of which proposals they refused, and consequently accepted of the former; upon which Ali was immediately proclaimed khalif. He was the son of Abu Tâleb, the son of Abd'almotalleb, the son of Hâshem; his mother, according to Al Makîn, being Fâtema, the daughter ofAsed, the son of Hâshem. He was elected, by the unanimous suffrages of the Moslems, emperor of the faithful the same day that Othmân was slain. Al Makîn seems to intimate, that Ali, immediately after his election, constituted Kais Ebn Sa'ìd governor or prefect of Egypt.

and inaugurated in the mosque at Medina.

Ali being thus advanced to the khalifat without opposition, though many were secretly disgusted at his election, resolved to be inaugurated publicly in the mosque at Medina, that all parties might have no just cause of complaint. This he judged a necessary precaution, as Ayesha, Telha, Zobeir, and the house of Ommiyah, of which Moâwiyah, the governing prefect of Syria, was chief, had conceived so strong a prejudice against him, which he was sensible would excite them to give him all the disturbance in their power. He, therefore, went to the mosque in a thin cotton gown, tied about him with a girdle, with a coarse turban upon his head, carrying his slippers in one hand, and in the other a bow, which he used as a walking-staff. Upon his arrival Telha and Zobeir were sent for, who instantly came, and gave him their hands, as a mark or token of their approbation of what had been done. They then, with great seeming alacrity, took the oath of allegiance to him; and many of the principal persons in Medina followed their example. When Telha offered Ali his hand, it was observed by Habib Ebn Dhowaib, that the fingers were contracted by a wound he had formerly received, which he considered as ominous, saying, "A lame hand seems to indicate

indicate that the business done by it will be performed in a lame manner; how proper, therefore, would it be to have it undone!" Which kind of prophecy was afterwards fulfilled, as in the sequel of the history of Ali will more fully appear. We must not forget to observe, that the house of Ommiyah, the traitor Merwân Ebn Al Hakem, Sa'îd Ebn Al As, and Walid Ebn Akba, refused to take the oath of fidelity to Ali. They, therefore, probably did not attend at his inauguration, which happened on Friday the 25th day of Dhu'lhajja, and the 35th year of the Hejra, nearly answering to the year of our Lord 655 [b].

Ali resolves to dismiss the governors of provinces appointed by Othmân.

After the recognition of his authority Ali resolved to dismiss all those governors of provinces who had been appointed by his predecessor Othmân; but Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaba endeavoured to divert him from this resolution, at least till he had more firmly established himself in the government. This advice not proving agreeable to Ali, Al Mogeirah visited him next day, and told him that he had altered his opinion, and found it highly expedient to execute the project he had formed. In the midst of this conference Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs, who was just returned from Mecca, came in; and having been informed of the subject they were discussing, told the khalif, that Al Mogheirah's first advice was good, but the last treachery: "for (said he) all Syria will immediately declare for Moâwiyah, upon the first intelligence of his dismission; and as no consequence can be reposed either in Telha or Zobeir, there is great reason to believe that, upon the eruption of a flame in Syria, they will both appear in arms against you. Wherefore (continued he), permit Moâwiyah to remain in the post he at present enjoys, till his submission; after which, I will undertake to pull him out of his house by the ears whenever you desire it." But Ali swore, that Moâwiyah's portion should be the sword. An expression which induced the other to tell him, that he was a man indeed of admirable courage, but not of equal conduct. After the conclusion of this conference Al Mogheirah retired to Mecca, and the khalif persisted in his former resolution. In conformity with Abd'allah's observation, relating to the courage of Ali, we are told by some of the eastern writers, that this khalif, for his unparalleled bravery, was surnamed by the Arabs, the Lion of God, always victorious [c].

[b] Al Makin, & Greg. Abu'l Faraj, ubi sup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. in Art. Ali, p. 89. [c] Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 9, 10, 11.

Though

Telha and Zobeir retire to Mecca.

Though Ayesha was at first very well pleased with the news of the murder of Othmân, to which she had greatly contributed, hoping that her favourite Telha would succeed him in the khalifat; yet being afterwards informed that Ali had been elected by the unanimous suffrages of the Moslems, she expressed deep concern for that tragical event. And she accused Ali, in order to render him odious to the house of Ommiyah, to which Othmân belonged, of the perpetration of that horrid fact, when there was in reality not the least ground or pretext for such an accusation. Some of the Moslems, therefore, who knew how active she had been in that bloody affair, reprehended her for endeavouring to throw the odium of so black a crime upon an innocent person, since she could not but be conscious of her own guilt, having been one of the first who suggested, and even strongly recommended the late khalif's assassination to his rebellious subjects. In answer to what was objected to her conduct on this occasion, she replied, that Othmân's infidelity obliged her at first to declare against him; but that, on his repentance and reconversion, she became reconciled, and would have saved him, had it been in her power. At the time of Ali's inauguration, as well as when the disaffected Arabs murdered Othmân, she resided at Mecca, and enjoyed a very considerable share of influence and authority. Not content with this, she endeavoured to animate all orders and degrees of men against the new khalif; and was continually employed in forming schemes to embarrass the administration. Nor did she want persons of distinction to forward and promote all her wicked machinations. In the beginning of the 36th year of the Hejra, Telha Ebn Obeid'allah and Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm, with others of their party, represented to Ali, that the assassins, who had embrued their hands in the blood of Othman, ought to be brought to condign punishment, offering him, at the same time, their assistance for that purpose. This advice they gave purely to sow amongst the people the seeds of sedition, and occasion disturbances that might finally weaken Ali's party, and terminate in his destruction. The khalif perceiving their intention, represented to them the impossibility of carrying their design at present into execution, on account of the civil dissensions which so distracted the Arab nation. Upon which they desisted from all farther solicitations on that head. However, as Ali found, by this effort of Telha and Zobeir, supported by Ayesha, to embroil his affairs, that he had very powerful enemies to contend with, he took

took all possible opportunities of caressing the Koreish, hoping by this expedient to conciliate the affections of that powerful tribe. Which step was, indeed, very prudent, as the departure of the Ommiyan family had irritated a considerable part of his subjects, and occasioned in some provinces of the empire great murmurings and commotions. In the mean time Tella and Zobeir, notwithstanding the repulse they had lately received, desired Ali to confer upon one of them the government of Cûfa, and upon the other that of Basra; pretending that they should, by virtue of these offices, be enabled to extinguish with the greater ease any rebellion that might happen in the neighbourhood of either of those cities: but the khalif, by this request, easily penetrated their designs, and excused himself from complying with their proposal, by telling them, that as his government was not yet sufficiently established, he should stand in need of persons of their great capacity, so much superior to that of any of his other ministers, to consult with on such emergencies as might happen in an unsettled state. This answer mortified them to a great degree; but they were obliged to appear satisfied with it. However, they resolved to attempt undermining that government they could not assail by open force; and therefore, knowing that Ayesha was gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca, they intreated leave of the khalif to go likewise on the same occasion thither. This pilgrimage they hoped would give them an opportunity of caballing with Ayesha, and of executing, in conjunction with her, the pernicious scheme they had formed. Ali was sufficiently aware of their scheme, though he permitted them to go to Mecca, for the reason they assigned. However, he was determined narrowly to watch all their proceedings in that place.

A strong party formed against Ali.

Things being in this situation, a civil war, or rather an open rebellion, seemed inevitable. Every step that was taken on both sides, that is, by the Motazalites, or Separatists, for so those who adhered to the house of Ommiyah were called, and the khalif, manifestly tended to a rupture. The Motazalites in a little time had two considerable armies on foot, ready to enter upon action; one under the command of Moâwiyah in Syria, and another headed by Ayesha, Telha, and Zobeir, at Mecca, that began to be in motion. The khalif contrary to the salutary advice given by Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs, resolved to remove all the governors of provinces who had their posts assigned them by Othmân, and to appoint others in their room, that he could entirely depend upon. In pursuance of which resolution,

resolution, he dispatched Sahel Ebn Hanîf, the Ansâr, to Syria; Kais Ebn Sa'îd to Egypt; Othmân Ebn Hanîf to Basra; Ammârah Ebn Sahal to Cûfa; and Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs to Yaman. Sahel being arrived at Tabûc, on the confines of Syria, met a party of horse that had been sent by Moâwiyah, whose commander obliged him to return home. A great number of the Egyptians refused to receive Kais, and to submit to Ali's government, till the murderers of Othmân should be brought to justice. Othmân Ebn Hanîf found the people divided at Basra; however, with some difficulty, he took possession of his post; but the Cûfans being determined not to acknowlege the new khalif, Ammarah was obliged to return to Ali, with the news of their resolution. Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs was received in Yaman; but, before his arrival, Yali, who had received his commission from Othmân, plundered the treasury, made the best of his way to Mecca, and deposited the money in the hands of Ayesha, Telha, and Zobeir. In the mean time, Ali made the necessary dispositions for his defence, and was joined by the Ansârs almost unanimously [d].

Moâwiyah declares against him.

Moâwiyah having driven Sahel Ebn Hanîf out of Syria, assembled a numerous army, to take vengeance of the murderers of Othmân. He did his utmost to inspire the people under his government with an abhorrence of Ali, whom he represented, on all occasions, as the principal person concerned in the assassination of his predecessor. He exposed on the pulpit the bloody shirt in which Othmân was murdered, and his wife's fingers that were cut off when that tragedy was acted. This spectacle so incensed the Syrian forces, that they vowed to revenge the violent death of Othmân; and were undoubtedly sincere in their resolution. Ayesha and her associates, were not at all displeased with the murder of Othmân, which in reality they had brought about; but only exclaimed against that barbarous action, in order to be furnished with a pretext to take up arms, and to be supported by the house of Ommiyah in their attempts against the present khalif. This particular was well known to Ali, though Moâwiyah seems to have been a stranger to it. Sahel arrived at Medina just before the departure of Telha and Zobeir for Mecca; and, by the intelligence he brought from Syria, they plainly perceived that a rupture with Moâwiyah was at hand. However, the khalif, probably with a view of concealing his true intentions, declared his resolution to make use of all possible

[d] Ism. Abulfed. ubi supra. Ebn Al Athir, D'Herbel. ubi supra.

expedients

expedients to prevent at least the speedy commencement of hostilities. He, therefore, dispatched an express to Moâwiyah in Syria, and another to Abu Mûsa at Cûfa, with a letter to each of those commanders, in order to dispose them to an accommodation. With regard to the latter, the overtures made him on this occasion were so advantageous, that he seems to have immediately closed with them: for, in answer to Ali's letter, he assured him, that all the Cûfans were entirely at his service; and besides sent him a list of those who came in first of their own accord, as well as those who afterwards followed their example. It can, therefore, scarce be doubted but Ali, at least, confirmed Abu Mûsa in his government of Cûfa, if he did not make some farther concessions to that general. Moâwiyah did not even vouchsafe the khalif an answer, till a considerable time after his letter came to hand. Then he sent one by a courier, dispatched for that purpose to Medina, sealed up, with the following direction: "From Moâwiyah to Ali." This the khalif opened, and found it to be a mere blank, not so much as a single word being visible in it. Turning then to Moâwiyah's courier, he asked him, what news were stirring in Syria? The messenger replied, "There are no less than sixty thousand men in arms under Othmân's shirt, which is erected as a standard upon the pulpit at Damascus." Ali then asked, whether they required the blood of Othmân at his hands? At the same time he called God to witness that he was innocent of it, and implored the divine assistance. As he could view Moâwiyah's pretended letter in no other light than that of a token of the utmost defiance and contempt, and the troops assembled under Othmân's shirt were destined to act against him, he told Ziyâd, who sat by him, that a war in Syria was inevitable; which declaration Ziyâd soon communicated to the people. The khalif then wrote circular letters to the different provinces of Arabia, ordering them to furnish him a proper number of recruits; and exhorted his subjects to distinguish themselves in the war they were going to enter upon against the disturbers of the public repose. We are told by Dionysius Telmarensis, as well as Theophanes, that, about this time, Moâwiyah was actually proclaimed khalif, and inaugurated, by the western provinces, or, in other words, the Syrian and Egyptian troops [e].

[e] Ebn Al Athir, in Hist. Univ. MSS. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 137. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 288. Dionys. Telmarens. ubi supra. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. in art. Ali.

Telha

Ayesha begins her march for Basra.

Telha and Zobeir having made their escape to Mecca, under pretence of performing the pilgrimage, gave a lamentable account of the murder of Othmân, aggravating extremely every circumstance of that barbarous action, to Ayesha, whose favour they thus conciliated. Not long after their arrival, Yali, Othmân's governor of Yaman, likewise arrived at Mecca, and delivered the public money he had brought with him into the hands of Ayesha, under whose auspices Telha and Zobeir were just beginning to act. This supply communicating life and activity to their councils, they soon assembled a body of troops, with which, in conjunction with the forces of the house of Ommiyah, they proposed to march against Ali, and his adherents. To this measure Ayesha, who put herself at the head of these troops, was excited by the account of the distracted situation of the khalif's affairs at Medina, which she had received from Telha and Zobeir. They were, however, at a loss for some time what place to choose for the scene of their military operations. Ayesha was for striking at the root, and marching directly to Medina, where Ali's affairs were so miserably embarrassed; others were of opinion, that it would be the most proper to join the Syrian army under the command of Moâwiyah; and, lastly, others thought that the good of the common cause required them to move as soon as possible to Basra, where Telha had considerable interest. After mature deliberation, the last expedient was preferred, as the most conducive to the attainment of the salutary end they had in view; and, therefore, public notice was given to the inhabitants of Mecca, that as the mother of the faithful, with Telha and Zobeir, was upon the point of departing for Basra, all who were desirous of supporting the true religion, and revenging the death of Othmân, might join the forces that attended her in this expedition. This intimation produced a very good effect; for, in a short time, the Meccans reinforced the troops she had already levied with a body of six hundred men, and at least an equal number of camels; so that, at her departure from Mecca, she found herself at the head of a thousand Arabs, all determined to fight to the last extremity for the faith, which they apprehended to be in danger by the advancement of Ali to the khalifat. The camel on which Ayesha rode, that had been presented to her by Menbah, was called Al Ascar, that is, *the Army*, and cost a hundred dinârs. Mounted on this camel in a litter, she led her forces out of Mecca; which, by the accession of several other parties of Arabs on their march, before her

arrival at Basra, formed a body of about three thousand men. The first place to which she advanced was Jowâb, an inconsiderable village, situated upon a rivulet of the same name.

and arrives there. Upon Ayesha's approach to Jewâb, all the dogs in the place met her in a body, and barked at her with great fury. As she chose to rest, or rather halt, she made use of this accident as a pretext to take up her lodging in that village. She declared, that the prophet himself had once intimated to his wives on a journey, in her hearing, that it was advisable to lodge within the barking of the dogs of Jowâb; and had even predicted the present uncommon event. After having recited a passage of the Koran, she struck her camel on the leg to make him kneel, in order to dismount; resolving to remain there at least the following night: but Telha and Zobeir knowing of what great importance a forced march would be at this critical juncture, when they apprehended that Ali would soon come up with them, prevailed upon fifty persons to swear, that this village went by another name; though even this expedient could not divert Ayesha from her former resolution. At last, by order of those commanders, one of the soldiers cried out, "Make haste, make haste, Ali appears behind us." Upon which exclamation they all resumed their march with the utmost celerity. This the Moslem writers own to have been a public lie, the first that was told between the commencement of Islamism and the present defection of Ayesha. Be that as it may, the troops under her command being terrified by this report, propagated without any manner of foundation, made the best of their way to Basra, where they arrived much sooner than was expected. In the mean time, Moâwiyah receiving advice of the vigorous resolution taken by Ayesha, and her march to Basra, was greatly animated, and sent her a considerable reinforcement, which joined the forces under her conduct before they reached Basra; by the accession of which, and other auxiliary troops, her army soon amounted to thirty thousand men.

She takes Basra. Othmân Ebn Hanif, governor of that place for Ali, having been informed of the enemy's approach, resolved to reconnoitre them with a party of the garrison; though he was sensible that the troops he commanded in the town would make but a very feeble resistance. He soon fell in with the vanguard of Ayesha's army, which he very vigorously attacked; but was defeated after a sharp skirmish, wherein he had forty men killed upon the spot, and was him-

himself taken prisoner. Ebn Al Athir relates, that Othmân having received two messengers from Ayesha, with repeated solicitations to join her, in order to revenge the tragical exit of Othmân Ebn Affân, dispatched a courier to the khalif, to know what part he was to act on this occasion; who replied, that as Ayesha, Telha, and Zobeir, had, by that expedition, declared war against the whole Arab nation, notwithstanding the oath of allegiance to him which the two latter had taken, his duty was to oppose them to the utmost of his power, if nothing less than the election of a new khalif could induce them to lay down their arms. After Othmân was taken, Ayesha's troops, without much difficulty, and with a very small effusion of blood, made themselves masters of Basra, and plundered Ali's treasury there. Othmân Ebn Hanîf was insulted, shaved, and dismissed, after a short confinement, and on his arrival afterwards at Ali's camp, he met with a gracious reception from the khalif, who assured him, that he could not fail of receiving an ample reward from God for what he had suffered on account of his fidelity to the emperor of the faithful [f].

Ali marches against her, and incamps at Arrabdah.

As soon as Ali was informed of the loss of Basra, he made a formal speech to the people, who had been assembled on this occasion, and desired their assistance: but, although he was extremely well beloved, was acknowleged by all to have been fairly elected, and was the best orator of the age, he could not, with all the eloquence he possessed, for some time, prevail upon them to give a decisive answer in his favour. Ziyâd Ebn Hantelah, perceiving their hesitation, stept towards Ali, and said, "Whoever retreats, we will advance." Upon which, two Ansârs, doctors of the law, stood up, and pronounced the following decision: "The imâm Othmân, master of the two testimonies, did not die by the master of the two testimonies;" that is, in other words, "Ali is not guilty of the death of Othmân." By the *two testimonies*, we are to understand the two articles of the Mohammedan faith, "There is but one God; Mohammed is the apostle of God." Which sentence, formally pronounced in favour of Ali, soon induced the Ansârs, and the body of the people, to espouse his quarrel. The first of the Ansârs, who exerted himself at this juncture, was Abu Kotâdah, and he was supported by Omm Salma, who obliged her cousin-german to attend

[f] Ism. Abulfed. Ebn Al Athir, Al Makin, & Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. in art. Ali.

the khalif, in the expedition he proposed to undertake for the recovery of Basra. Ali being resolved to bring the rebels back to a sense of their duty, left Medina at the head of nine hundred men, and advanced to Arrabdah, where he was joined by his son Hasan with another body of troops. Here that young prince took the liberty to censure his father's conduct, and told him, that the difficulties in which at present he found himself involved, were owing partly to his not abandoning Medina, when Othmân was besieged in his palace there; partly to his being inaugurated before he had been recognized by all the provinces; and partly to the design he had formed of reducing Ayesha, and her two associates, by force of arms, before he had tried what could be effected by pacific measures: against all which points of conduct, he said, he had before advised him; and added, that his refusing to comply with such salutary advice might prove of fatal consequence. To this remonstrance Ali replied, that, had he abandoned Medina, when his predecessor was surrounded by his rebellious subjects, he should, in all probability, have met with that prince's unhappy fate; that had he deferred his inauguration till the body of the Moslems had acknowleged him, he should have offered an injury to the Ansârs, in whom the right of electing a khalif was lodged; and that, lastly, had he sat still at home, and neglected the means of his own preservation, by refusing to make the necessary preparations for his defence, after the public declaration of Ayesha, Telha, and Zobeir, he should have encouraged them in their rebellion, and must necessarily have fallen a sacrifice to their ambition. He, therefore, enjoined his son silence, and ordered him to acquiesce in the measures that had been taken. In the mean time Ali's army was reinforced by various parties of Arabs, that were continually joining him in his camp [g].

Ali writes to the people of Cûfa and Medina.

Whilst the Arab forces under Ali lay encamped at Arrabdah, the khalif dispatched Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr and Mohammed Ebn Jaafar, with a letter to his friends at Cûfa. He did not press them in this letter to declare openly for him, but only to dispose the Motazalites to an accommodation. He extolled their fidelity, and assured them, that he reposed a greater confidence in them than in any of his other subjects. He likewise told them,

[g] Ebn Al Athir, ubi sup. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 89. Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 187.

that

that he hoped Providence, by means of their interposition, would heal the breaches that had been made amongst the Moslems, and restore peace and unanimity to their counsels. The khalif also sent to Medina for farther assistance, that he might be able to prosecute the war with vigour; and received, in a short time, from thence a very powerful supply of horses, arms, and other implements of war.

He is joined by a party of the tribe of Tay at Arrabdah.

Before the army decamped from Arrabdah, Ebn Refaa demanded of the khalif, what he would have, and whether he intended to conduct the Moslem troops, then ready to act under his command? To which interrogation he replied, "I would have rebels accept of peace; but if they refuse this, I would leave them to their own temerity and presumption." "What is to be the consequence of that?" said Ebn Refaa. "We will suffer them," answered Ali, "to persist in their wicked opposition, without hurting them, as long as they abstain from any acts of violence; but if they should attack us, we will defend ourselves." Upon which, one of the Ansârs then present told the khalif, that, though he liked his discourse, his conduct by no means pleased him; adding, with an oath, that, "as he had given their body the name of Ansârs, or *Helpers*, he would help God, by assisting him to the utmost of his power." Soon after, Ali was joined by a party of the tribe of Tay, whose leader, Said Ebn Obeid, addressed him in the following terms: "O emperor of the faithful! some men's hearts do not correspond with their tongues; but that is not the case with me. I have always had the greatest respect and veneration for thy person; and will not fail fighting thine enemies wheresoever I find them. I consider thee as a person endued with the most excellent qualifications of any in the present age." Upon this cordial declaration in his favour, Ali gave him his benediction, by saying, "God have mercy upon thee;" and assured him, that he was perfectly satisfied with the sincerity of his intentions. The tribe of Tay inhabited a mountainous district, whose capital was called Taima, between Al Thâlabiya and Al Hejr, at almost an equal distance from each of those places. There was a castle here in the days of Abulfeda, called Al Ablak; which name was given it by Al Shamûl Ebn Adhia, according to that celebrated writer. Not long after the arrival of Said Ebn Obeid at the Moslem camp, another body of Arabs, composed of the tribe ofAsed, and part of that of Tay, offered their service likewise

wise to the khalif; but he dismissed them in a courteous manner; telling them, that, besides the Ansârs, he had a sufficient number of the Mohâjerîn to attend him in the expedition.

Abu Mûsa refuses to join Ali.

It has been already observed, that Abu Mûsa, the governor of Cûfa, discovered an inclination to support Ali, if he did not actually declare for him, as Ebn Al Athir gives us reason to believe he did. But receiving advice, that Ayesha, Telha, and Zobeir, with the forces under their command, had reduced Basra, he began to waver in his fidelity to the khalif. When Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr and Mohammed Ebn Jaafar, therefore, with Ali's letter, arrived at Cûfa, and the people were assembled in the mosque, as usual on such occasions, to hear it read; after the contents had been communicated to them, not a single person offered to interpose in favour of the khalif. But at last, some of the hadjis, or pilgrims, coming in towards the evening, and asking the governor whether he intended to march with any troops to the assistance of Ali? Abu Mûsa explained himself on that head in the following terms: "My sentiments yesterday and to-day, in relation to Ali, are totally different. To remain at home in a pacific posture seems more agreeable to the counsels of heaven; but to enter into the war now commenced may perhaps appear more consistent with the dictates of worldly wisdom; therefore, act as you shall think proper." To this declaration none of the people answered a single word; but Ali's ambassadors bestowed on Abu Mûsa very reproachful language, for the manifest partiality he had discovered in favour of Ayesha. Notwithstanding their reproaches, he told them, that he would not engage in their master's quarrel, unless compelled to it by absolute necessity, before vengeance had been taken of the murderers of Othmân; and that they were at liberty to impart this resolution to him. This answer proved extremely agreeable to Ayesha and her associates, who still remained with their forces encamped near Basra. Here they proposed to wait for Ali, and made the proper dispositions for meeting him in the field.

The Cûfans at last send him a reinforcement.

After the departure of the army from Arrabdah, Ali advanced to Dhûlkhâr, where Othmân Ebn Hanîf, the late governor of Basr, waited upon him. Othmân told the khalif that he had sent him to Basra with a beard; but must receive him from thence without one. "Thy sufferings (said Ali), are meritorious. All the Moslems acquiesced in the election of the three preceding khalifs.

At

At last I was chosen, as a proper person to succeed Othmân; nor did either Telha or Zobeir refuse a recognition of my authority. However, they have since violated the engagements they entered into. But they shall know, that I am not less capable of doing myself justice than any of my predecessors." As soon as Ali had received Abu Mûsa's answer, which amounted to a clear and explicit denial of interesting himself in his favour, he sent Al Ashtar, a man of great resolution, and Ebn Abbâs, to Cûfa, with a full and unlimited power to act as they should think proper for the good of his service. But neither could they prevail upon Abu Mûsa to enter into a war against Ayesha. He advised the people over whom he presided not to entertain any thoughts of coming to a rupture with either of the contending parties; but only to receive the person injured, if it should be agreeable to him to accept of such an offer, into their houses, till the Moslems on both sides could be disposed to an accommodation. This conduct not a little chagrined the khalif. However, he came to a resolution to make another effort to procure the assistance of the Cûfans; and, for this purpose, dispatched his eldest son Hasan and Ammâr to their city, with instructions to make, on the part of the khalif, any concessions to Abu Mûsa that he could in reason desire. But this attempt likewise, with regard to the governor, proved ineffectual; he exerting himself to the utmost of his power to prevent the Cûfans from complying with the khalif's proposals. His endeavours were corroborated by Zeid Ebn Sawkhân, who read the two letters he had received from Ayesha; wherein she commanded him either to remain at home, or come with a body of troops to her assistance. However, at last Hasan, by a pathetic speech he made, wherein, with great art, he expatiated upon the perfidy and prevarication of Telha and Zobeir, and the unheard-of injury offered the khalif, prevailed upon the people to send a reinforcement to the Moslem army, commanded by Ali, then on its march to Basra [h].

Ali advances to Basra.

This reinforcement greatly animated the troops commanded by Ali; who, being apprized of his approach, began immediately to put themselves in motion. The khalif himself advanced at the head of them to meet the Cûfans; to whom, after he had joined them, he made a speech to

[h] Ebn Al Athir, ubi supra. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 90. Greg. Abu'l Faraj. ubi supra, p. 186, 187. Ism. Abulfed. Hist. Univ. vol. i. MSS. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 303.

the following effect: "You, Cûfans, have always distinguished yourselves by your bravery and conduct. You have dispersed the forces of the kings of Persia, and made yourselves masters of their dominions. You have not only secured yourselves from the insults of other powers, but likewise afforded assistance to your neighbours. I have desired your interposition, in order to procure a pacification between me and my brethren at Basra. I shall not fail persisting in my design to pursue gentle measures, till they proceed to hostilities against the troops under my command. On my part, nothing shall be omitted that may forward an accommodation, as I shall always prefer the sweets of peace to the miseries and desolations of war." After which declaration, having before decamped from Dulkhâr, he marched without opposition to Basra; where he found the Moslem army under Ayesha, Telha, and Zobeir, ready to receive him. The khalif had several conferences with the two latter in the sight of both armies, which now faced each other. In one of these Ali demanded of Zobeir, if he did not remember that Mohammed once asked him, whether he loved his dear son Ali? and that, upon his answering in the affirmative, the prophet told him, that, nevertheless, he should prove the source of a long series of calamities both to him and all the Moslems. Zobeir replied, that he remembered it perfectly well; and that, had he recollected it sooner, he would never have taken up arms against him. Some have affirmed that, after this conference, Zobeir discovered a great reluctance to come to an engagement with Ali; but was confirmed in his former resolution by Ayesha, who bore an implacable hatred to the khalif. Others have declared, that he was diverted from his intention of remaining neuter by his son, who asked him, whether he was afraid of Ali's colours? and, upon his answering in the negative, but asserting, that the oath he had taken would not permit him to act against that prince, he assured him, that he might free himself from the obligation he was under by the manumission of a slave. However this may be, such an expiation of an inconsiderate oath, which was very different from the oath taken by Zobeir, as that here mentioned, provided the slave be a Moslem, is allowed by the Korân [i].

[i] Ebn Al Athir, ubi supra. Al Kor. Moham. s. v. Vide etiam Ludovic. Marracc. Not. in Sur. Quint. Alcoran. & Sale's Transl. and Not. on the Kor. p. 94.

The

The two armies being drawn up in order of battle, faced each other for some time; the commanders on both sides pretending to be extremely averse to a general engagement: but an accident happened in the night before the Day of the Camel, that rendered this absolutely inevitable. There were some disorders committed in one of the armies, the authors of which could never be discovered; upon which, Telha and Zobeir were told by certain persons, who were desirous of leaving the dispute about the khalifat between Ali and Ayesha to the decision of the sword, that the Cûfans had fallen upon their forces in the night. "Ali (said they), will terminate this quarrel by a decisive action; and therefore he has suffered the Cufans to begin hostilities." The khalif considered these rumours as an artifice of his enemies, propagated with a design to force him to a battle; and, therefore, he declared Ayesha and her associates to be the aggressors, and consequently imputed to them the effusion of the Moslem blood that was to be spilt in this war. Before the propagation of these reports, which gave infinite disgust to both parties, Ayesha seemed greatly dismayed at the countenance of Ali's troops, and was inclined to settle with him the preliminaries of a future treaty; but after these recriminations became current, there was no room left for an accommodation. Ayesha was animated by despair, and the khalif incensed more than ever; though, in one of the former conferences, he had reproached Telha and Zobeir for their infidelity, and declared in the presence of the two armies, that the divine vengeance would most certainly overtake them. Ayesha, in order to infuse life and vigour into her troops, was mounted on her great camel, in a pavilion (or little tent, surrounded with curtains, wherein women were carried on camels in the East) resembling a sort of cage, and moved with great resolution from one part of her army to another in the heat of the action. Hence it came to pass, that the day on which the battle was fought was called the Day of the Camel by some of the Arab historians; though the engagement itself seems to have been denominated the battle of Khoraiba.

Both the khalif and Ayesha prepare for an engagement.

The army Ali brought into the field on this occasion, did not exceed twenty thousand men, according to Al Makîn; but it amounted to thirty thousand men, if we believe Ebn Al Athir. Ayesha's forces are said to have consisted of thirty thousand men by the former of those authors, and to have exceeded that number by the latter; so that it is agreed

The battle of Khoraiba.

agreed on all hands, that the army commanded by Ayesha was more numerous than that of the khalif: but, nevertheless, the real advantages were apparently on Ali's side. For Ayesha's troops were composed of raw and undisciplined men assembled in haste; whereas those of the khalif were the flower of the Moslem soldiery, consisting chiefly of the Ansârs and Mohâjerîn, as well as the Cûfan veterans, who had so eminently distinguished themselves in the conquest of Persia, and consequently might be entirely depended upon. Besides, Ali himself was infinitely superior, both in point of valour and capacity, to any of the enemy's generals. The dispute, therefore, was not of any long continuance; the enemy being quickly routed. Ebn Al Athir relates, that Merwân perceiving the victory to incline to Ali, in the heat of the action, exclaimed, "Telha lately imbrued his hands in the blood of Othmân, and now, infatuated by ambition, he pretends to revenge his death;" and immediately letting fly an arrow at him, wounded him in the leg. Upon which, his horse throwing him, he called for help; saying at the same time, "O God, take vengeance of me for the blood of Othmân, in the manner thou shalt think most proper." His servant then took him up behind him, and conveyed him to a house in Basra, where he in a very short time expired. But just before his death, he said to one of the khalif's men, "Give me your hand, that I may put mine into it, and by that action renew the oath of fidelity to Ali, which I have already taken. Of which circumstance, the khalif being informed, declared publicly, "that God would not call Telha to heaven, till he had atoned for the former violation of his oath by this last protestation of fidelity." Zobeir, having made his escape out of the battle, retired to a valley watered by a rivulet called Sabaa, on the road to Mecca; where he found Haraf Ebn Kais encamped with a body of troops, with which he intended to join the victor, after the end of the action. Soon after his arrival there, Amru Ebn Jarmûz, one of Hanaf's men, struck off his head whilst he was at prayers, performing the prostration, and carried it to Ali: but the khalif receiving it with indignation, and, at the sight of it, bidding him "Go carry the good news to Ebn Safia in hell," he could not forbear breaking out into the following exclamation: "You are the evil genius of the Moslems. If a person delivers you from any of your enemies, he is presently doomed to hell for such deliverance; and if he kills one

one of your men, you instantly pronounce him one of the devil's companions." Then, not being able to survive the indignity offered him, he drew his sword, and put a period to his days. With regard to Ayesha, the victory was by no means complete, till the khalif had obliged her to make her submission. As long as her camel stood upon his legs, her troops made a tolerable resistance; and Ali found it not so easy to disperse them. Al Tabari relates, that seventy men, of the Banu Daba, who held his bridle, had their hands cut off successively in the dispute; and that the pavilion in which she sat was stuck so full of javelins and arrows, that it resembled a porcupine. At last, the camel was hamstrung, and Ayesha forced to lie there till the conclusion of the engagement; when Ali treated her with great politeness, dismissed her in a courteous manner, and ordered his sons Hasan and Hosein to attend her, with a splendid equipage, a day's journey on her return home. However, he afterwards confined her to her house at Medina, and commanded her from henceforth never to concern herself with state-affairs; though he permitted her, in order to ingratiate himself the more with the Arabs, who still retained a secret regard and veneration for her, to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca. We are told by an Arab author of reputation, that, when her camel failed her, Ali sent Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr to see whether she was dead or alive; and that, upon his presenting himself before her pavilion, she gave him opprobrious language. Thus ended the battle of Khoraiba, or, as it is called by Eutychius, the battle of the camel; wherein both Telha and Zobeir, who violated the oath they had taken to Ali, lost their lives. The people of the camel, as Al Makîn calls Ayesha's troops, according to some of the Arab writers, had eight thousand, or, as others say, seventeen thousand men killed in the action; whereas the whole loss sustained by Ali did not exceed a thousand men. The spoil taken at this battle the khalif distributed amongst the heirs of his soldiers who fell in it, as a just reward for the bravery of their fathers and relations. He also constituted Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs governor of Basra; and reprehended, with some asperity, the people at that place, for their disaffection to him. From thence he repaired to Cûfa, which he made the seat of his government. Some of the Arab historians relate, that, on both sides, above thirty thousand men were killed in the battle of Khoraiba, which was fought on Thursday, the 10th of the Former Jomada, in

in the 36th year of the Hejra, nearly anſwering to the year of our Lord 656 [k].

Moâwiyah diſputes the khalifat with Ali.

After ſo complete a victory, Ali had no enemies to contend with either in Arabia, Irâk, Egypt, Perſia, or Khoraſân; ſo that it muſt have rendered him extremely formidable. However, there was ſtill a very powerful party formed againſt him in Syria; Moâwiyah perſiſting in his reſolution to diſpute the khalifat with him, and having all the Syrian troops at his devotion. Notwithſtanding ſome overtures that had been made to him by Ali for an accommodation, he refuſed to acknowlege him khalif; and even ſtill continued to animate the Syrians againſt him. Whilſt matters were in this ſituation, Amru Ebn Al As, who commanded in Paleſtine, arrived at Damaſcus, then the reſidence of Moâwiyah, and took the oath of allegiance to him. This ceremony was performed in the preſence of all the army, and had before been concerted between Amru and Moâwiyah; the latter having engaged to confer upon the former, in order to procure his aſſiſtance, the lieutenancy of Egypt, if he ſhould be advanced to the khalifat. In conſequence of this recognition of Moâwiyah's authority, Amru gave his new maſter the titles of Lawful Khalif and Prince of the Moſlems. The foregoing action was followed by the acclamations of the people, who likewiſe unanimouſly took the oath of fidelity to Moâwiyah, and inaugurated him by the title of Emir.

Ali marches to Siffein.

As ſoon as Ali received advice of theſe commotions, he endeavoured, firſt by gentle means, to bring the rebels of Syria back to a ſenſe of their duty: but finding afterwards, that the people of that large province had unanimouſly declared againſt him, he feared it would be in vain to ſet on foot any other negociation. As, therefore, he perceived it would be neceſſary to invade Syria, in order to reduce the rebels to obedience, he advanced to the frontiers at the head of an army of ſeventy thouſand men; but had ſcarce entered that country, when he was obliged to encamp upon a ſpot of ground, where he found himſelf greatly diſtreſſed for want of water. In theſe calamitous circumſtances, he met with a Chriſtian hermit, who told him, that there was a ſmall ciſtern in the neighbourhood; but

[k] Ebn Al Athir, ubi ſup. Abu Jaafar. Al Tabar. apud Al Makîn, ubi ſupra, ut & ipſe Al Makîn, ibid. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi ſupra, p. 187, 188. Mirkhond, D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. in Ali. Eutych. Patriarch. Alexandrin. Annal. p. 342, 343. Iſm. Abulfed. ubi ſup.

that

that this would ſcarce ſupply him with three hogſheads of water for his troops. However, upon Ali's ſaying, that the ancient prophets of the people of Iſrael formerly made their abode, and dug a pit, there, the hermit farther told him, that he had been informed by ſome old men, that there was really a pit, or well, ſhut up near the place where he had encamped, which, according to a tradition prevailing in the country, could only be diſcovered and opened by a prophet, or one ſent by him. Upon this intimation, Ali went in ſearch of it, ſoon found it, and removed a ſtone that covered it, of an immenſe ſize, with the greateſt facility; a circumſtance which ſo ſurpriſed the hermit, that he immediately embraced his knees, and would never after leave him. Some of the eaſtern writers add, that this hermit preſented the khalif with an old parchment manuſcript, ſaid to have been written by Simon Ebn Safa, or Simon Cephas, that is, Simon Peter, or St. Peter, ſurnamed Cephas, one of the apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt, which contained an account of the advent of Mohammed, of the arrival of his lawful ſucceſſor in thoſe parts, and of the miraculous diſcovery of this well. After Ali had returned God thanks for ſo ſignal a bleſſing, and furniſhed his troops with a ſufficient quantity of water, he continued his march to Seffein, a place between Syria and Irâk, where Moâwiyah had poſted himſelf with an army of eighty thouſand men. Before his arrival, Ali ſent a ſtrong detachment, under the command of Aſhtar Al Nakhai, to attack a body of troops poſted by Moâwiyah on that part of the road leading to the Euphrates, in order to render it impracticable, and impede the khalif's march. Aſhtar executed his orders with ſuch bravery, that he drove the enemy from their poſt, cut ſeveral of them in pieces, and opened a paſſage for the army to Seffein. According to Al Makîn, Ali's troops amounted to ninety thouſand men, and Moâwiyah's to a hundred and twenty thouſand; ſo that, if this author is to be credited, all the Moſlem forces on both ſides, aſſembled on this occaſion, conſiſted of two hundred and ten thouſand men.

The battle of Seffein.

Towards the cloſe of the 36th year of the Hejra, the two armies came in ſight of each other, and ſeemed to be ready to enter upon action. Some ſkirmiſhes happened between their advanced guards, wherein neither the khalif nor Moâwiyah ſuſtained any conſiderable loſs. The firſt month of the following year was ſpent in attempts to forward an accommodation, but without effect. The next month, being Safar, they began to ſkirmiſh in parties, without hazarding a general engagement. The continuance

tinuance of these encounters is variously related by the Arab historians. Some extend it to forty days, others to a hundred, and others to a hundred and ten. In that space, Ali lost five thousand, or, as others say, twenty-five thousand men, twenty-six of whom had been intimately acquainted with the prophet, attended him at the battle of Bedr, and were dignified with the title of the Companions. The most famous of these was Ammar Ebn Jassar, or rather Ammâr Ebn Yâser, Ali's general of horse, who was about ninety years of age, and had been in three several engagements with Mohammed himself. The Syrian forces suffered still more than those of the khalif, forty-five thousand of them having been killed upon the spot in these rencounters. Ali commanded his men never to begin the attack, never to kill any one that fled, never to take any plunder, and always to treat the women that should fall into their hands in a kind manner. He also, before the beginning of these rencounters, which Al Makîn, or rather Abu Jaafar, makes to amount in all to ninety, intreated Moâwiyah to take the oath of fidelity to him, and prevent the farther effusion of Moslem blood: but this proposal Moâwiyah constantly, till the death of Ammâr, rejected; declaring publicly, that he would not lay down his arms till he had taken vengeance of the murderers of Othmân, deposed Ali, and enabled the people to proceed to a new election: but that fatal event made a deep impression upon both Amru and Moâwiyah; the former declaring, that he would rather have died twenty years before, than have survived so worthy a person as Ammâr Ebn Yâser, who had deserved so well of all the Moslems. The loss of this general so exasperated Ali, that he charged the Syrians with a body of twelve thousand men, routed them, and challenged Moâwiyah to fight him in single combat. This challenge Amru would have persuaded Moâwiyah to accept; but he absolutely declined it, insisting that it was not a fair one, since Ali could not but be conscious of his superior strength; he having killed every person who had till that time entered the lists against him. Amru urged, that it would be dishonourable, and argue a want of courage to refuse so fair an offer. To which remark Moâwiyah made no other reply than this: "You aspire to the khalifat yourself, and desire to enjoy it after I am gone." The last action at Seffein continued all night, to the great disadvantage of the Syrians. Al Ashtar pushed them to their camp; and being vigorously supported by Ali, he was upon the point of making himself master of it.

it. Moâwiyah seeing things in such a desperate situation, resolved, in concert with Amru, to make use of an artifice, that might possibly induce the khalif's men to desert; since nothing at that perilous conjuncture could, as he apprehended, save both him and his troops, but such a desertion. He, therefore, instantly ordered some of his men to fix several copies of the Koran upon their lances points, and to carry them at the head of his troops; at the same time crying out, "This is the book that ought to decide all differences between us; this is the book of God between us and you, which absolutely prohibits the effusion of Moslem blood." Nor did this stratagem, ill-contrived as it was, fail of producing the desired effect: for the troops of Irâk, that were the flower of the khalif's forces, immediately threw down their arms; threatening to abandon him, and even to deliver him into the hands of his enemies, if he would not sound a retreat. This, therefore, he found himself obliged to perform; though he most bitterly exclaimed against their conduct in the strongest manner; assuring the mutineers, that Amru and Moâwiyah had not the least regard for the Koran; and that his view in the present war was only to force them to act contrary to the tenets and decisions of that book: but he found it impossible to stem the torrent that now threatened to overwhelm him, without an immediate compliance with what they required; especially as the Khârejites, an enthusiastic sect, openly declared that, unless he instantly ordered the troops under Al Ashtar to desist from the attack of the Syrian camp, they would serve him in the same manner they had done the son of Affân, meaning the last khalif Othmân, whom they had inhumanly murdered. Al Ashtar, therefore, by the khalif's command, was obliged, though with the greatest reluctance, to retire and suffer the victory, of which he thought himself so secure, by this stratagem to be wrested out of his hands. The night in which this battle was fought has been named by the Arab historians the Valiant Night; because, says Al Makîn, the Moslems behaved so valiantly in it, that they broke all their spears, and spent the remainder of it in a close engagement. About seventy thousand fell both sides, according to some of the Arab historians; twenty-five thousand on the khalif's, and forty-five thousand on that of the Syrians: but others, with a greater appearance of truth, as we apprehend, affirm, that Ali lost twenty-five thousand men, and Moâwiyah forty-

forty-five thousand, in all the actions that happened at Seffein [b].

The dispute between Ali and Moâwiyah referred to the arbitration of two persons.

Moâwiyah, after the action, desiring that the dispute betwixt him and Ali might be brought to a decision by two persons nominated by the parties concerned, according to the true and genuine sense of the Koran, Ashaath Ebn Kais, who was supposed to have been corrupted by Moâwiyah, asked Ali how he approved of that expedient. The khalif answered him coldly, "He that is not at liberty cannot give his advice. You are to conduct this affair as you shall think proper." This reply apparently glanced at the late perfidious conduct of the troops of Irâk, who considered Ashaath as their chief. Not content with offering so gross an affront as they had done to the khalif, they insisted upon nominating Abu Mûsa Al Ashari, a very weak man, and one who had formerly betrayed him; refusing to admit, as he desired, either Ebn Abbâs or Al Ashtar, or indeed any other person that they thought had the least regard for his person. Moâwiyah, on the other hand, was treated in quite a different manner: he was allowed to trust his interest with whom he pleased; and accordingly he nominated Amru Ebn Al As, one of the greatest men of the age, to assert his right to the khalifat, and explain the Koran in his favour. The two arbitrators, with whom the determination of this affair was intrusted, were enjoined to decide it the next Ramadân, agreeably to the tenor of the Koran, and the collection of the prophet's traditions. This point being determined, though by no means to the satisfaction of the khalif, Moâwiyah retired to Damascus, and Ali to Cûfa, in order to wait the event of that arbitration: but, before their departure, each of them left the command of his army to one of his generals; investing, in their absence, a particular imâm with a proper authority, that he might better be enabled to settle every thing relating to religion. We find it intimated by Abu Jaafar, that the Syrian and Irâkian troops chose the arbitrators; and consequently, that Ali and Moâwiyah had no hand in that election. The place appointed for the scene of this arduous transaction, upon which the fate of the Moslem empire, yet in its infancy, seemed to depend, was Dawmat Al Jandal, a town on the borders of Syria, about fifteen or sixteen days

[1] Al Makin & D'Herbel. ubi sup. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 188, 189. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. apud Al Makin, ubi supra. Ism. Abulfed. ubi supra.

journey

journey from Medina, and five from Damascus. The ancient inhabitants of this place, as well as those of Tabûc, were the Calbites, descended from Calb, and consequently a branch of the tribe of Hamyar.

Ali deposed by both the arbitrators.

About eight months after the battle of Seffein, Abu Mûsa and Amru Ebn Al As came to Dawmat Al Jandal, attended by several of the Companions, and escorted by a detachment of the Moslem forces. Ebn Abbâs, before the opening of the conferences, desired Abu Mûsa to remember this, whatever else he forgot, that Ali had no blemish to render him incapable of the government, nor Moâwiyah any virtue to qualify him for it; but, notwithstanding this salutary admonition, Amru, who was perfectly well acquainted with the genius of his colleague, by his artful address so far insinuated himself into his good graces, that he could bring him into any measures which he should think proper to suggest. He, therefore, easily persuaded Abu Mûsa, that, in order to re-establish peace amongst the Moslems, it would be absolutely necessary to depose both Ali and Moâwiyah, that a new khalif might be elected, who should be acceptable to all the people. This important article being settled, a tribunal was erected between the two armies, on which each of the arbitrators was to declare publicly his opinion. This Abu Mûsa, at Amru's request, mounted first, and, with a loud voice, pronounced the following words: "I depose from the khalifat both Ali and Moâwiyah, in the same manner that I now take this ring off my finger;" and having made this declaration, he immediately came down. Then Amru, in his turn, immediately ascended the tribunal, and said, "You have heard how Abu Mûsa has deposed Ali, whom I likewise depose, and confer the khalifat upon Moâwiyah. I therefore invest that prince with the supreme authority, in the same manner that I put this ring upon my finger. And this I am the more readily disposed to do, as having justice on my side; he having been declared by Othmân his successor, and being now the avenger of his blood, as well as the most worthy of all the Moslems to fill that sublime station to which I now advance him." This unexpected declaration greatly shocked all the partizans of Ali, who complained bitterly of Abu Mûsa; and he, on his part, in very severe terms, reflected on Amru's conduct, who had so shamefully violated the principal article stipulated in the late convention. In fine, Abu Mûsa, after having been so tricked by Amru, not thinking himself safe in Ali's camp, fled to Mecca for his farther security. Some of

of the Arab writers relate, that this Abu Mûsa had the most musical voice of any person of his time. According to Abu Jaafar, the two arbitrators did not only agree to depose both Ali and Moâwiyah, but likewise to promote to the khalifat Abd'allah, the son of Omar Ebn Al Khattâb[m].

Ali's interest begins to decline.

This determination, far from effecting a reconciliation between the contending parties, incensed their adherents to such a degree, that they cursed and excommunicated one another in a very dreadful manner. Nor did the houses of Ali and Ommiyah, to the last of which belonged both Othmân and Moâwiyah, for a long time lay aside that custom of reciprocal malediction. And it may be said still to subsist in that rivetted antipathy between the Turks and the Persians, which is visible at this very day. However Amru, after the public declaration he had made, returned to Damascus, with the Syrian troops he commanded, and complimented Moâwiyah upon his new election. On the other hand, Ali being determined to assert his right to the khalifat, and even in a short time to march against Moâwiyah, not less than sixty thousand of his subjects took a fresh oath of allegiance to him, and even obliged themselves to support him to the last drop of their blood. Notwithstanding this vigorous resolution taken in his favour, that khalif's interest, from the fatal period just mentioned, began greatly to decline.

Ali drops the title of khalif.

It may not be improper to remark, that before the articles of the treaty of peace, which followed the late suspension of arms between Ali and Moâwiyah, could be perfectly reduced to writing, both Amru and Moâwiyah insisted, that the title of emperor of the faithful, which Ali had assumed, and prefixed to a copy of those articles, should be entirely effaced. To this demand Ahnaf Ebn Kais would have persuaded the khalif never to give his consent; but Ali told him, that when he was secretary to his father-in-law Mohammed, Sohail Ebn Amru refused to treat with the prophet on the part of the people of Mecca, unless he would renounce the title of the apostle of God; which, for the sake of peace, he accordingly dropped without hesitation; "and ordered me (said Ali) to efface that title, after it had been inserted at the head of the instrument containing the articles of the treaty to be signed by both parties, and substitute in its room the following words, Mohammed the son of Abd'allah. At the same

[m] Abu'lfed. & Al Makin, ubi sup. Abu Jaafar Al Tabari, apud Al Makin, ubi sup. D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 91, 92. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. p. 189, 190.

time

time he addressed himself to me (continued the khalif) in the following remarkable terms: Remember, there will hereafter come a day when you shall find yourself in a similar case." Ali, therefore, agreed to the omission of that title, of which, by his own arbitrator, Abu Mûsa, he had been so solemnly deprived. All these transactions happened in the 37th year of the Hejra, or of Christ, 657, as did also the defection of the Khârejites, or *Rebels*, for that the word really signifies; of which, as it is a very curious article of the Arabic history, in the khalifat of Ali, we must beg leave to give our readers a distinct and particular relation [n].

The defection of the Khârejites.

After Ali had submitted the decision of his right to the khalifat to arbitration, he retired to Cûfa, as has been already observed; but he was no sooner arrived there, than twelve thousand Khârejites, that is, *Rebels* or *Revolters*, who had fought under him at the battle of Seffein, and forced him to take that ignominious step, pretending to be offended at this submission, revolted. These were called Mohakkemites, or *Judiciarians*; because the reason they gave for their revolt was, that Ali had referred a matter concerning the religion of God to the judgment of men; whereas the judgment in such case belonged to God alone. In consequence of this notion they urged, that instead of standing to the peace he had made, he ought to pursue his enemies, who were likewise the enemies of God, without mercy: but Ali answered, that, as he had given his word, he ought to keep it; and that in so doing, he should follow what the law of God prescribed. The Khârejites replied, that God was the only judge between him and Moâwiyah; and that consequently he had committed an enormous sin, of which he ought sincerely to repent. Ali, with some warmth, remonstrated to them, that if any sin had been committed on this occasion, the world would justly impute the guilt of it to them, who, contrary to their oath of allegiance, had abandoned him in the heat of the late action, and obliged him to pursue those measures which, at that time, as they pretended, gave them so much offence.

Their rebellion is extinguished by Ali.

The rebels, not at all satisfied with these reasons, chose for their general Abd'allah Ebn Waheb, who appointed Naharwan, a town situated between Wâset and Baghdâd,

[n] Ebn Al Athir, ubi sup. D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 92. Al Beidawi, Ism. Abulfed. de Vit. Mohammed. cap. 44. p. 87. Al Shahrestan. apud Pocockium, in Not. ad Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 269.

about four miles to the eaſt of the Tigris, for the place of their rendezvous. They had not been here long before they were joined by great numbers of Ali's diſaffected ſubjects from Cûfa, Baſra, and various parts of Arabia. The khalif at firſt took little notice of them, his thoughts being chiefly employed in reducing Moâwiyah, whom he conſidered as much the more formidable enemy; but being informed that they were increaſed to the number of twenty-five thouſand men, that they condemned as impious all who did not adopt their ſentiments, and that they had already put to death ſeveral Moſlems, for refuſing to comply with their iniquitous meaſures, he reſolved to exterminate a ſect which tended to the ſubverſion of the very foundations of Mohammediſm. However, he reſolved, before he proceeded to extremities, to try gentle methods; but theſe proving ineffectual, he aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops, at the head of which he preſented himſelf to their view. Nevertheleſs, before he attacked them, he had the precaution to plant a ſtandard without the camp, and to make proclamation by ſound of trumpet, that whoſoever would come under it ſhould have quarter, and whoſoever would retire to Cûfa ſhould find a ſanctuary there. This expedient produced the deſired effect, inſomuch that Abd'allah Ebn Waheb ſoon found his army reduced to four thouſand men. However, being animated by deſpair, he attacked the khalif's forces, notwithſtanding the inequality of his troops; but he received the juſt reward of his temerity and preſumption, being cut to pieces, with all his men, except nine, who eſcaped. Of theſe, as we are told by ſome hiſtorians, two fled into Omân, two into Kermân, two into Sijiſtân, two into Meſopotamia, and one into Tel Mawrûn in Yaman; in all which places they propagated their hereſy, where it remains to this day. Others maintain, though not with ſuch an appearance of truth in our opinion, that, of the four thouſand Khârejites, commanded by Abd'allah Ebn Waheb, not a man ſurvived the general deſtruction. Before the beginning of the action, Ali told ſome of his friends, that the rebels, who pretended to ſpend ſo much of their time in reading the Koran, without obſerving its precepts, would deſert their profeſſion at the approach of danger, with as great celerity as arrows fly from a bow, when they are diſcharged from it; a prediction which accordingly came to paſs. It will be proper to obſerve, that the hereſy of the Khârejites conſiſted chiefly in two things: 1. They affirmed that a man might be promoted to the dignity of imâm or *prince*, though

though he was not of the tribe of Koreish, nor even a free man, provided he was a just and pious person, and endued with the other requisite qualifications: they also held, that if the imâm turned aside from the truth, he might be put to death or deposed; and that there was no absolute necessity for any imâm at all in the world. 2. They charged Ali with sin, for having left an affair to the judgment of men which ought to be determined by God alone; and went so far as to declare him guilty of infidelity, and to curse him on that account. The principal sects or branches of Khârejites, besides the Mohakkemites here mentioned, are six; which, though they greatly differ amongst themselves in other matters, yet agree in these. They absolutely reject Othmân and Ali, preferring the doing of this to the greatest obedience, and allowing marriages to be contracted on no other terms. They account those who are guilty of grievous sins to be infidels; and hold it necessary to resist the imâm when he transgresses the law. The most celebrated of the Khârejites seem to be the Waïdians, so called from Al Waïd, which signifies the *threats denounced by God against the wicked.* These are the antagonists of the Morgians, and assert, that he who is guilty of an enormous sin ought to be declared an infidel or an apostate, and will be eternally punished in hell, though he were a true believer; which opinion occasioned the first rise of the Motazalites. Jaafar Ebn Mobashar, of the sect of the Nodhâmians, was yet more severe than the Waïdians, pronouncing him to be a reprobate and an apostate who steals but a grain of corn. The defeat, or rather the almost total extirpation of the Khârejites, who persisted in their rebellion, whose name also, according to Ebn Al Kossa, signified *tribute,* as they received tribute without the leave of the prince, and even in opposition to him, happened in the 38th year of the Hejra, the year following their revolt, at a place called Khorûzi, or Khorûzia, at a small distance from Naharwan. Their leader, Abd'allah Ebn Waheb, lost his life in the action; and the glorious victory gained on this occasion reunited under the government of Ali the whole body of the Moslems settled in Arabia [o].

[o] Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 39. Poc. in Not. ad Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 270. D'Herbel. ubi sup. Al Shahrestan. apud Pocockium, ubi sup. p. 256. Al Jannab. & Abulfed. ubi supra Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi sup. & p. 169. Ebn Al Kossa, apud Pocock. ubi sup. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 342, 343.

The khalif's camp at Cûfa abandoned by his troops.

The khalif having thus happily extinguished this rebellion, which struck at the very foundations of Islamism itself, as well as the supreme authority with which he was at first so legally invested by the unanimous suffrages of the Moslems, he made the necessary dispositions for marching immediately against Moâwiyah, in order to reduce him likewise to obedience; but he was diverted from this design by some persons about him, who probably were secret well-wishers to Moâwiyah, under pretence that he had not yet made sufficient preparations for so long a war as this was like to be, and that he ought to allow his troops some refreshment after the fatigues they had sustained. Ali, therefore, following their advice, formed a camp at Nakilah in the neighbourhood of Cûfa; and permitted his men to retire to Cûfa to follow their occupations there one day, and return to the posts assigned them the next, during the time of his encampment. The consequence of which was, that the camp was soon entirely deserted by the troops that formed it, and of course the khalif himself obliged to retire to Cûfa.

Egypt conquered by Amru Ebn Al As.

It has been already observed, that Ali, in the beginning of his khalifat, conferred the government of Egypt upon Kais Ebn Sa'îd, who acquitted himself of his charge with great prudence. Finding, on his arrival, that the partizans of Othmân, or rather Moâwiyah, formed a very considerable faction, he thought proper to accommodate himself to the times: a plan of conduct which he executed with so much address, that he kept every thing in good order; insomuch that the whole body of the people were very well pleased with his administration. This conduct of Kais furnished Moâwiyah with an occasion of publishing in every place, that the governor of Egypt was his friend, and acted in concert with him; a device which he practised in order to render him suspected to Ali, who yet had not a more faithful officer amongst his subjects. That he might the more effectually carry his point, Moâwiyah forged a letter in Kais's name, directed to himself; wherein it was insinuated, that the reason why he had not treated with more severity the adherents of the house of Ommiyah was, because he was himself entirely in their measures. Which artifice of Moâwiyah had the desired effect. For Ali conceiving a suspicion of Kais's fidelity, immediately recalled him, and appointed Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr governor of Egypt in his room; a change which occasioned great commotions in that province. For the new governor

no sooner entered upon his office than he began to drive out of that country all those who professed any regard for Othmân, or preserved any veneration for his memory. Upon which, such civil wars and dissensions ensued, that Ali was obliged to send for Mohammed home, and to dispatch Malec Shutur, sometimes called Ushtur Malec Ebn Hâreth Al Najai, into Egypt, to re-establish his authority in that country. Moâwiyah being apprized of this circumstance, prevailed upon a friend of his at Kolzom, a town upon the Red Sea, where Ushtur Malec was to lodge in his passage to Egypt, to take him off by poison; which was accordingly administered in honey at an entertainment. This event obliged Ali to continue Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr some time longer in the government of Egypt; from whence he immediately expelled all the Banu Hâreth, probably on account of the relation they bore to Ushtur Malec his successor, who were some of the blackest and most swarthy kind of Arabs; a step which proved the total ruin of Ali's interest in that region. For they instantly retired to Damascus, where they informed Moâwiyah of the treatment they had received from Mohammed; at the same time assuring him, that he might easily make himself master of Egypt. Upon receiving this intelligence, Moâwiyah sent Amru Ebn Al As, with a body of six thousand men, to take possession, in his name, of the government. Amru, in pursuance of his orders, marched with all possible expedition into Egypt, seized the capital city, and was soon joined by Ebn Sharig, who put himself at the head of Othmân's party, with a considerable force. After this junction, Amru attacked Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr, Ali's governor, entirely defeated him, and took him prisoner. Not satisfied with this success, he put him to death; and inclosing his body in that of an ass, burnt it to ashes. This barbarity gave great offence to his sister Ayesha, who uttered a curse upon Amru and Moâwiyah for it at the end of all her prayers, and took Mohammed's dependents and domestics under her protection. Ali also himself was greatly concerned at this tragical event, saying, "We shall account for him before God." Abu Jaafar relates, that Mohammed Ebn Abu Becr, after the defeat of his forces, escaped from the battle, and hid himself; but was discovered, and brought to Amru, by Moâwiyah Ebn Khodbaj, who treated him in the cruel manner above mentioned. He was cut off in the fortieth year of his age, after he had been five months only governor of Egypt. After his death, the post he filled was occupied by Amru Ebn Al

As; upon whom it was conferred by Moâwiyah, who then acted as khalif in Syria [p].

Moâwiyah's troops make incursions into Ali's territories.

Next year, being the 39th of the Hejra, Moâwiyah sent several detachments to make incursions into Ali's territories, where they committed dreadful depredations. The most considerable of these detachments, under the command of Dahak Ebn Kais, consisting of three thousand men, plundered several districts of Irâk, and then penetrated into Hejâz. But Dahak was met by a body of the khalif's troops, consisting of four thousand men, under the conduct of Hajar Ebn Adi, after he had retired out of that province, at Tadmor. Here Hajar attacked the enemy with such bravery, that he put them to flight, and recovered the booty they had acquired. This vigorous action was of considerable service to the khalif's subjects in those parts, who had been thrown into the utmost consternation. For the Syrians had not only pillaged the country through which they marched, but likewise put all the Arabs they could meet with to the sword; a barbarity which had struck the Moslems with such terror, that, for some time, none of them durst even perform the pilgrimage to Mecca [q].

Basra taken by Moâwiyah's troops, and retaken by those of Ali.

In the same year, Ali sent for his faithful friend, Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs, from Basra, of which place he was then governor, to Medina, that he might form such resolutions with him as were suitable to the present situation of his affairs. Moâwiyah receiving advice of this event, immediately ordered Abd'allah Al Hadrâmi to march to Basra with a body of two thousand horse, and possess himself of that city. These orders he easily executed, as Ziyâd, Ebn Abbâs's lieutenant, had not a sufficient number of troops to oppose him, and the city itself was not capable of making any defence. Ali being informed of this particular, sent a reinforcement to Ziyâd, who had abandoned Basra at Abd'allah's approach, under the command of Hâreth, who joined Ziyad at a small distance from Basra without any loss. After this junction, the combined forces attacked Abd'allah Al Hadrâmi near that city, defeated, and killed him upon the spot. Upon which Basra surrendered again to Ali; who immediately sent thither Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs, to resume his command.

But although several incursions were made, and some few expeditions of little consequence undertaken by the

p Al Makin, ubi supra, p. 36, 40 D'Herbel. ubi supra, p. 93. Ism Abulfed. MS. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi supra.
q Al Makin, ubi supra, p. 41. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 199. Abulfed. ubi supra.

troops

troops of Ali and Moâwiyah, no action of importance seems to have happened in the course of this year. The Syrians, having already sustained very considerable losses in this war, were not in a condition to make any great impression upon the Arabs; and the Arabs, on the other side, being still harassed by dissensions, with great difficulty maintained themselves in a state of independency. As the dispute betwixt Ali and Moâwiyah had disturbed the repose of Syria and Arabia, so the tranquility of Persia was likewise not a little affected by the present commotions. This circumstance induced Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs, Ali's lieutenant of Basra, to send Ziyâd, a person of great prudence and moderation, who had lately, in conjunction with Hâreth, defeated Abd'allah Al Hadrâmi, one of Moâwiyah's generals, into Persia, that he might take upon him the government of that country; in which post he behaved so well, that the Persians declared they had never been blessed with so happy an administration since the days of Anushirwân. After the late defeat, Dahak, who then lost a considerable number of men upon the spot, with great precipitation abandoned the district of Hems; and, by favour of the night, made his escape into the interior part of Syria [r].

Ziyâd governs Persia with great equity and prudence.

In the 40th year of the Hejra, or the year of our Lord 660, Moâwiyah Ebn Abu Sofiân sent Basher Ebn Artah, with a body of three thousand horse, to make an irruption into Hejâz, with orders to possess himself of Mecca and Medina, the inhabitants of which had kept a correspondence with him ever since the death of Othmân, and thus open himself a passage into Yaman. Abu Ayub, the Ansâr, and Fathâm Ebn Abbâs, who commanded in those places for Ali, abandoned them at Basher's approach; upon which, he obliged the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to Moâwiyah, and destroyed the walls of Medina. Abu Ayub, the commandant of that city, before Basher entered it, with a few attendants, made his escape to Cûfa.

Moâwiyah's troops make incursions into Ali's territories.

Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs, surnamed the Ansâr, Ali's lieutenant of Yaman, fearing a visit from Ebn Artah, and being in no condition to oppose him, upon the rumour of what had befallen Mecca and Medina, fled likewise to Cûfa. He attempted to carry off with him his two sons, who were boys; but they had the misfortune to fall into

Ebn Artah's cruelty in Arabia.

r Ism. Abulfed. ubi supra. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. p. 93. Al Makin, ubi supra, p. 41.

Ebn

Ebn Artah's hands upon the road, who caused them to be barbarously murdered. He also put to the sword a great number of Arabs in Yaman, and particularly at Sanaa, who had declared themselves adherents to Ali. Then he returned to Mecca, and afterwards cut off thirty thousand Arabs more at Al Tâyef, Yamâma, and Medina. Ali being apprized of what had happened, sent a detachment of four thousand horse, under the command of Jariyah, to pursue Ebn Artah; but he found it impossible to come up with him. We are told, that Ali was so extremely touched at hearing the news of the murder committed on the young sons of Abd'allah, that he cursed Ebn Artah, and begged of God to deprive him of his senses and understanding. Which petition, according to some of the eastern writers, was granted; that commander really becoming an ideot towards the close of his days, and dying in that miserable condition. Notwithstanding the war was carried on with such circumstances of cruelty on the part of Moâwiyah, that prince, at this juncture, prayed publicly for Ali, Hasan, and Hosein; as the khalif did for him, Amru, and Dahak. About this time, Ali's brother, Okail, joined Moâwiyah, who assigned him a large revenue for his defection. Okail alleged no other reason for this infamous conduct, than that his brother had not treated him with such marks of distinction as he thought he might justly have expected. We must not forget to inform our readers, that M. D'Herbelot is guilty of a most egregious blunder, when he confounds Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs, governor of Yaman, with Ali's lieutenant of Basra, who had the very same name; and that, in consequence of this mistake, he has committed several others in his History of Ali. The former Abd'allah seems to have been distinguished from the latter by the additional term, or cognomen, Al Ansari, the Ansâr; as may be inferred from at least one of the Oriental historians.

A Khârejite attempts to assassinate Moâwiyah;

After the battle of Naharwan, three of the Khârejites, who were extremely zealous for the advancement of their sect, happened to meet at Mecca; where they made frequent mention of those that were killed in that battle, magnified their own merit, and greatly lamented the loss of their companions. These three men, called Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem, Barak Ebn Abd'allah, and Amru Ebn Beer, said one to another, "If the three erroneous imâms, Ali, Moâwiyah, and Amru Ebn Al As, were dead, the affairs of the Moslems would soon be in a more flourishing condition; let us, therefore, without hesitation,

tion, dispatch them." This plan being immediately agreed upon, they pitched upon Friday, the day of the solemn assembly of the Moslems, the seventeenth of Ramadân, for the execution of their bloody design; and, having poisoned their swords, took their respective routes. Barak Ebn Abd'allah, one of the assassins, having arrived at Damascus, struck Moâwiyah in the reins; but the wound did not prove mortal. However, the surgeon told him, that it could not be cured, unless he would either submit to be cauterized, or to drink a potion that would render him incapable of generation. He chose the latter part of the alternative, and, in consequence of that choice, had no other children besides those that were born to him before he received his wound. The assassin was instantly seized, discovered the conspiracy he had entered into, and had his hands and feet cut off; but was suffered to live. However, afterwards marrying, it was thought unreasonable that he should enjoy those pleasures of which he had rendered the Syrian khalif incapable; therefore one of Moâwiyah's adherents deprived him of life.

as another does Amru Abn Al As.

Amru Ebn Becr, the second of the conspirators, went to Egypt, and appeared in the mosque, where Amru performed his devotions, on the seventeenth of the month of Ramadân; but fortunately for him, Amru being then troubled with a violent fit of the colic, did not officiate that day as imâm: but Kharijah, whom he appointed to perform the office for him, and who then actually supplied his place, being struck by the villian, who mistook him for Amru, fell down dead with the blow. As the assassin was led to execution, he said, without the least concern, "I designed Amru, but God designed another." Abulfeda relates, that, when he was brought before Amru, he asked who that person was? Upon which they told him Amru. "Whom then, (said he) have I killed?" They answered Kharijah. Then Amru himself exclaimed, according to this historian, "You meant Amru; but God meant Kharijah." This Kharijah, according to Al Makîn, was the captain of Amru's guards. The same writer seems likewise to intimate, that Barak Ebn Abd'allah, the first assassin, was cut to pieces immediately after he had attempted to murder Moâwiyah; notwithstanding what may have been advanced to the contrary by some other authors.

Ali assassinated.

The third of the conspirators, Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem, who undertook to assassinate Ali, met with more success, in the execution of his wicked design, than either of his profligate companions. Being arrived at Cûfa, he espoused

a woman

a woman, whose nearest relations had been killed at the battle of Naharwan, and who, for that reason, bore an implacable hatred to Ali. By giving her a dower, consisting of three thousand dirhems, a slave, and a maid-servant, he was enabled to perpetrate the horrid crime he had in view. She joined two associates with him, called Werdân and Shabib, who attended him into the mosque, where Ali officiated as imâm, the seventeenth of the month of Ramadân. Here, whilst these three villains pretended to quarrel amongst themselves, Werdân struck at the khalif with his sword, but missed him, and the blow fell upon the gate of the mosque. Then Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem gave him a blow on the head, just in the same place where he had received a wound before, at the battle of Ahzâb, or Asab, which was fought in Mohammed's time; and that stroke proved mortal. After which, the traitor fled, saying as he made off, "By the lord of the Caaba, I have killed him." Of the assassins Shabib only escaped the punishment due to so atrocious a crime. Werdân having been seen with a sword lifted up against Ali, was pursued home by a Moslem, who killed him upon the spot. Abd'alrahmân was seized, lurking in a corner, with his sword in his hand, and soon constrained, by a consciousness of his guilt, to own himself the murderer of Ali. The khalif ordered his son Hasan to put him under arrest, to supply him with necessaries of every kind, and, if he died, to execute him at one stroke only. Hasan, according to the authors followed by M. D'Herbelot, probably some of the Persian historians, punctually observed what had been enjoined him by his father. With these, however, the Arab authors by no means agree. Abu Jaafar Al Tabari, and Abulfeda relate this matter after a very different manner. According to them, the hands and feet of the assassin were cut off, his eyes extinguished with a red hot iron, his tongue cut out, and then he was reduced to ashes. Others say, that he was first beheaded, and his body afterwards burnt. Abu Jaafar writes, that Ali said to the people about him, "If I recover, spare Abd'alrahmân; but if I die, send him after me, that I may have an immediate opportunity of accusing him before the divine tribunal." With regard to the place of his interment, authors are not perfectly agreed. Some say he was buried opposite to the mosque in Cûfa; others, in the royal palace there; and others, that his son Hasan deposited his remains near those of his wife Fâtema at Medina: but, according to Ebn Al Athir and Abulfeda, he was buried in that place which

which is visited by the Moslems as his tomb at this day. The sepulchre of Ali was kept concealed during the reigns of the khalifs of the family of Ommiyah, and discovered whilst one of those of the house of Abbâs sat upon the Moslem throne. Adado'ddawla, the second prince or soltan, of the house of Bûiyah, who began to reign at Baghdâd, in the year of the Hejra 366, or of Christ 976, under the khalif Al Tay' Ebn Al Moty', erected a superb monument on the spot where Ali was interred, which is called by the Persians Konbud Faïd Al Anwâr, that is, *the Dome of the Distributer of Lights and Graces* [s].

The Christian writers say little of the khalifat of Ali.

It has been observed by some of the Moslem writers, that Ali, during the month in which he was killed, had several presages of his death; and that some words, when he was in private with his particular friends, escaped him to this effect. He was heard once to say, after he had suffered a great deal of inquietude, "Alas! my heart, there is need of patience, as no remedy can be found out against death." On Friday the seventeenth of Ramadân, early in the morning, when he set out for the mosque, it was remarked, that a large troop of domestic birds made an uncommon noise, as he passed through his yard; and that, when one of his slaves threw a stick at them, to make them silent, he said, "Let them alone; for their cries are only lamentations foreboding my death." He was assassinated by Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem Al Mazadi, in the month of Ramadân, in the 40th year of the Hejra; being then about sixty-three, or, according to some fifty-seven, or lastly, as others insist, fifty-eight years of age. The wound would not have been attended with any fatal consequences, had not the sword that gave it been poisoned; but the poison, soon diffusing itself over the whole mass of blood, rendered it mortal. He reigned about four years and nine or ten months.

Ali's person and character.

Ali had a very red face, large eyes, a prominent belly, a large beard, a hairy breast, a bald head, and a very swarthy complexion. He was rather under the middle-size; of a youthful, florid, and engaging countenance. Some, however, write, that he had hair on his head, which was not very grey, but formed into curls. With regard to his disposition, this khalif, if we credit the Moslem writers, had the fear of God constantly before his eyes, was extremely charitable, just, humble, and a strenuous de-

[s] Abu Jaafar Al Tabari, Al Makîn, Ism. Abulfed. & Ebn Al Athir, ubi sup. Eutych. D'Herbel. & Greg. Abu'l Faraj. ubi sup.

fender

fender of what they call the true religion. He was alſo very acute, learned, and extremely well verſed in all uſeful arts and ſciences. His courage never failed him; nor was he more eminent and conſpicuous for that than for his liberality and munificence, as well as that ſweetneſs of temper which ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed him on all occaſions.

His family. Ali had in all nine wives; the firſt of which was Fâtema, the daughter of Mohammed, during whoſe life he married no other woman. He had by her three ſons, Haſan, Hoſein, and Mohaſſan; the laſt of which died in his infancy. His ſecond wife was Omm Al Nebiyin, who bore him four children, Abd'allah, Abbâs, Othmân, and Jaafar, who were all killed at the battle of Kerbelah. Aſimah, his third wife, was the mother of Yahya and Aûn; as Omm Habiba, was of Omar. His ſixth wife, Khaulah, was the mother of Mohammed, ſurnamed Ebn Hanifiyah, of whom a farther account will be given hereafter. The names of the other three wives have not been preſerved by any of the Oriental hiſtorians; though three more of his ſons, Mohammed the ſecond, Mohammed the younger, and Amru, have been mentioned by ſome of them. Beſides which, there was another that has been paſſed over in ſilence by all the eaſtern writers: for, it clearly appears from ſome authentic writers, that he had fifteen ſons, five of whom only, Haſan, Hoſein, Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah, Abbâs, and Amru, left iſſue behind them. As for his daughters, who were no fewer than eighteen, we find no material particulars concerning them tranſmitted by Arab hiſtorians [t].

Some farther particulars concerning him and his family. A vaſt number of the Moſlems, and particularly all the Shiites, pretend, that Ali was the firſt who embraced their religion: and ſome of them go ſo far as to aſſert, that he made profeſſion of it in his mother's womb; and even hindered her, during her pregnancy, from proſtrating herſelf before an idol ſhe commonly worſhipped. They alſo ſay, that his mother was delivered of him in the very temple of Mecca itſelf: the name his mother gave him firſt was Kaid; but Mohammed changed it into Ali. The form of benediction added by the Moſlems, when they name him, is, "God glorify the face of him." Mohammed himſelf is reported to have ſaid of him, "Ali is for me, and I for him; he bears the ſame relation to me that

[t] Iſm. Abulf. Ebn Al Athir, Al Jannab. Al Kodai, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, &c. Vide etiam D'Herbel. ubi ſup. p. 94, 95.

Aaron

Aaron did to Moses; I am the city in which all knowlege is shut up, and he is the gate of it." Several of the eastern writers have been very prolix in their accounts of the excellence and prerogatives of the house of Ali.

An account of his partizans.

The Shiites are the opponents of the Khârejites, of whom we have already given our readers some account. Their name properly signifies *sectaries*, or *adherents*, in general; but is particularly used to denote those of Ali Ebn Abu Tâleb; who maintain him to be lawful khalif and imâm, and that the supreme authority, both in spirituals and temporals, of right belongs to his descendents. They also teach, that the office of imâm is not a common thing, depending on the will of the vulgar, but a fundamental article of religion, that could not have been left by the prophet to the fancy of the populace. Nay, some of them, thence called Imâmians, have not scrupled to assert, that religion consists solely in the knowlege of the true imâm. The principal sects, or branches, of the Shiites are five, which are subdivided into an almost infinite number; so that some understand Mohammed's prophecy of the seventy odd sects of the Shiites only: but Ali himself, according to Ebn Al Athir, was of a different opinion; since, a little before the Day of the Camel, he assured his subjects, that the worst of the seventy-three sects into which the Moslems were to be divided, would be that which denied him, and refused to follow his example. The Kassabians, one of the five primary sects of the Shiites, entertain very extravagant sentiments in several points. They believe that Ali was more than a man; and that this supreme pontiff and director of Islamism is still living; they also reckon the succession of the twelve imâms of the posterity of Ali in a manner peculiar to themselves, and different from the computation observed by every other sect. The general opinions of the Shiites are: 1. That the peculiar designation of the imâm, and the testimonies of the Koran and Mohammed concerning him, are necessary points. 2. That the imâms ought necessarily to keep themselves free from light sins, as well as those that are more grievous. 3. That every one ought publicly to declare who it is that he adheres to, and from whom he separates himself, by word, deed, and engagement; and that herein there should be not the least dissimulation. In this last point, however, the Zeidians, a sect of the Shiites, so named from Zeid, the great-grandson of Ali, dissented from all the rest of the Moslems, whose tenets we are here considering. The great schism between

between the Sonnites, or *Traditionists*, that is, those of the Moslems who acknowlege the authority of the Sonna, or collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of Mohammed, and the Shiites, or partizans of Ali, still subsists, and is maintained on both sides with implacable hatred and most furious zeal. This most remarkable difference at first arose upon a political occasion, which commenced in the khalifat of Ali, as sufficiently appears from the preceding history of that reign; and was afterwards so well improved by additional circumstances, and the spirit of contradiction, that at present both parties detest and anathematise one another as the most abominable of heretics, and even farther from the truth than either the Christians or the Jews. The chief points wherein they differ are, 1. The Shiites reject Abu Becr, Omar, and Othmân, the three first khalifs, as usurpers and intruders; whereas the Sonnites acknowlege and respect them as rightful imâms. 2. The Shiites prefer Ali to Mohammed, or at least esteem them both equal; but the Sonnites admit neither Ali, nor any of the prophets, to be equal to Mohammed. 3. The Sonnites charge the Shiites with corrupting the Koran, and neglecting its precepts; and the Shiites retort the same charge upon the Sonnites. 4. The Sonnites receive the Sonna, or book of traditions of their prophet, from whence they derive their name, as of canonical authority; whereas the Shiites reject it as apocryphal, and unworthy of credit: and to these disputes, and some others of less moment, is principally owing the antipathy which has so long subsisted between the Turks, who are Sonnites, and the Persians, who are of the sect of Ali. Some authors maintain, that these last are subdivided into no less than seventy different branches, or smaller sects; all of which hold a metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, and the al holûl, or descent of God upon his creatures, or the transmigration of the spirit of sanctity from one person to another. The khalifs of the house of Ommiyah likewise, and their successors, the Shiites, consider in the same light as they do the three first khalifs, Abu Becr, Omar, and Othmân. The Sonnites make use of the word Shiites, or Shii, and apply it to their adversaries, as a term of reproach, formed from *shiyah*, denoting properly *a scandalous reprobate sect*: for, a sect that follows approved opinions is called by the Arabs *Medheb*. The partizans of Ali, therefore, style themselves Adaliyah, which signifies the religion of those who follow justice and the right side; and stigmatize the Sonnites

Sonnites with the odious appellation of Shiites. At this day, the powerful kingdom of Persia, one half of the princes of the Uzbeks, whose dominions lie beyond the Jihûn, or the Amû, the Oxus of the ancients, and some Mohammedan kings of the Indies, are followers of Ali, and, amongst the other Mohammedans, pass under the aforesaid opprobrious denomination [u].

Ali's surnames.

We have already observed that Ali, on account of his superior bravery, was sometimes denominated by the Arabs the Victorious Lion of God: they frequently gave him the appellation likewise of Al Haidar, or Al Haidara, which also denotes *a lion* in the Arabic language. The former of which appellations, the Victorious Lion of God, or the Lion of God, was applied to persons remarkable for their valour by the Hebrews themselves, as may be gathered from Scripture. The Arabs have also conferred upon Ali the surnames, or honourable titles, of Wâsi, *legatee*, or *heir*, that is, *of Mohammed*, and Mortada, or Mortadi, which signifies *beloved by*, or *acceptable to God*. The Shii, who are his followers, or rather adorers, often denominate him Faïd Al Anwâr, *the Distributer of Lights and Graces*; and in Persian, Shâh Mordman, *the King of men*, and Shîr Khoda, *the Lion of God* [w].

Ali and his family cursed by the khalifs of the house of Ommiyah.

Notwithstanding these impious elogies bestowed on Ali and his family, they were cursed publicly, and excommunicated, in all the mosques of the empire, during the reigns of the khalifs of the house of Ommiyah, from the accession of Moâwiyah to the time of Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz, who suppressed that solemn malediction. Several khalifs likewise of the family of Abbâs expressed a great aversion both to him and his posterity; such were Al Mo'taded and Al Motawakkel, to whom he is reported to have appeared in their sleep, and threatened them with his indignation. On the contrary, the Fâtemite khalifs of Egypt ordered his name to be added to that of Mohammed in the publication of the times of prayer, which the

[u] Al Shahrestan. apud Pocockium. in Not. ad Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 261, 262, 263. ut & ipse Pocock. ibid. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, in Hist. Dynast. p. 169. Ebn Al Athir, ubi supra. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Schiah. Rycaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, b. ii. cap. 10, 12. Chard. Voy. de Perse, tom. ii. p. 160, 170, &c. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 181, 182. See also Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 30, 88. [w] Ism. Abulfed. ubi supra. D'Herbel. ubi supra, p. 94. Joan. Gagn. Not. ad Ism. Abulfed. de Vit. Mohamm. cap. xlv. p. 90. 2 Sam. xxiii. 20. Val. Schind. Lex. Pentaglot. p. 117. Hanoviæ, 1612.

muedhdhines, or criers, made from the minarets, or steeples, of their mosques. The Oriental writers mention several apparitions of Ali, after his death, and particularly those that happened in the days of the khalifs Al Mo'tasem, Al Mo'taded, Al Motawakkel, and Al Kader; in the last of which Ali seemed to be of an extraordinary stature, told Al Kader he should soon be advanced to the khalifat, and recommended to him the care of his posterity [x].

The pieces ascribed to Ali.

After what has been said, it cannot appear wonderful, that Ali's wisdom should be so celebrated amongst all the Mohammedans. There is extant of his a Centiloquium, or *a hundred sentences*, which have been translated into Turkish and Persian out of the Arabic; as likewise a collection of verses under the title of Anwâr Al Okail men asthâr wasil al resûl, which is to be met with in the French king's library. We have in the Bodleian library at Oxford a large book of his sentences, or maxims; an English translation of which has been annexed to his history of the Saracens by the learned by Mr. Ockley. But Ali's most celebrated piece, is intitled Jefr we Jame. It is written upon parchment in mysterious characters, intermixed with figures, wherein are couched all the grand events that are to happen from the beginning of Islamism to the end of the world. This parchment is deposited in the hands of those of his family, and even at this time nobody has decyphered it in any manner but Jaafar Sadek: for the entire explication of it, is reserved for the twelfth imâm, who is surnamed, by way of excellence Al Mohdi, or *the grand director* [y].

Some of his sentences and maxims.

Besides the books above mentioned, several sentences and apophthegms, under the name of Ali, occur in the Oriential writers. The author of Rabi Al Akyar quotes this, which is one of the most striking and instructive: "If a man would be rich without effects, powerful without subjects, and subject without a master; let him depart from sin and serve God, and he will find these three things." One of his captains having asked him, what was the reason that the reigns of Abu Becr and Omar, his predecessors, were so peaceable, and that of Othmân and his own so full of troubles? the khalif answered with great acuteness and sagacity, in the following terms: "The reason is plain. It is because

[x] Al Makin & Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. pass. [y] D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. in art. Ali, p. 95. Ockley's History of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 84—87.

Othmân

Othmân and I served Abu Becr and Omar, during their reigns, and Othmân and I found no body to serve us but you, and such as are like you."

There is in the book Rabi Al Akyar likewise another of Ali's maxims, extremely remarkable, and diametrically opposite to the conduct of those who so highly value themselves upon account of their being his followers: "Take care," said he, "never to separate yourselves from the society of the other Moslems: for, he that separates himself from them belongs to the devil, as the sheep that leave the flock appertain to the wolf. Give no quarter, therefore, to him who marches under the standard of schism, though he wears my turbant on his head; since he carries along with him the infallible mark of a man that walketh wrong." It has been remarked by M. de Herbelot, that the sectaries who entertain such elevated sentiments of Ali have not only a turbant of a particular form, but likewise twist their hair in a different manner from that of the rest of the Moslems. The family of Ali is divided into several branches; the principal of which is formed by the descendents of Hosein, the second son of that khalif; as this branch continues the lineal descent of the twelve imâms. Nevertheless, the family of Hasan, his eldest son, who succeeded his father in the khalifat, has produced several persons, who have made a considerable figure, and even occasioned insurrections in different provinces of the empire, under the government of the khalifs both of the house of Ommiyah and Al Abbâs [z].

[z] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. p. 95, & seq. Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 84, & seq. Al Makin. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. passim.

CHAP. III.

The History of the Arabs from the Accession of the Family of Ommiyah to the transferring the Khalifat to the Family of Abbâs.

SECT. I.

From the Death of Ali to the Resignation and Death of his Son Hasan.

He is succeeded by his son Hasan.

THE poison communicated by Abd'alrahmân Ebn Meljem Al Mazadi's sword having rendered the wound received by Ali from that assassin mortal, his friends desired him to nominate a successor before his death: but he told them, that with regard to this affair, he would follow the example of the apostle of God, who left the election to the people. However, his son Hasan, inheriting his father's piety, though not his courage, and being greatly esteemed on Ali's account, was advanced to the khalifat, without any debate. In the public harangue which he made to the people, immediately after his father was dead, he expressed his sense of the late khalif's assassination, as well as superior merit, in the following remarkable terms: "You have killed," said he, "a man on the same night in which the Koran came down from heaven, in which Isa ascended into heaven, and in which Joshua, the son of Nun, was slain. None of his predecessors excelled him, nor will any of his successors be ever equal to him." At his inauguration, Kais addressed him in this form: "Stretch out your hand, as a token that you will adhere to the book of God, as well as the collection of apostolic traditions, and make war against all their opposers." Hasan answered, "Very willingly, as the book of God, and the traditions of his apostle, will always stand their ground." The principal of his other subjects then approaching, he insisted upon their being obedient to him, at peace with his friends, and at war with his enemies. The last of which articles by no means pleased the troops of Irâk, who, being greatly harassed with the Syrian war, had flattered themselves with the hopes of enjoying the sweets of a durable peace,

peace, after the new khalif had mounted the Moslem throne [a].

But it was soon perceived, that, notwithstanding a sort of treaty had been precipitately struck up between Ali and Moâwiyah, just before the violent death of the former, such measures were pursued by the latter, as must in a short time infallibly disturb the public repose. That prince kept on foot a powerful army, with which he threatened to make an irruption into Irâk. He looked with an evil eye upon Hasan, both before and after his father's death; and even refused to recognize his authority after his accession. Nay, he insinuated, that Hasan had been an accomplice in the murder of Othmân; which was a plain indication of his hostile intentions, as a greater insult than that could not have been offered.

A rupture apprehended between Hasan and Moâwiyah.

In the mean time, Hasan was pressed to come to an open rupture with Moâwiyah. Being of a most pacific disposition, he considered the effusion of Moslem blood with the greatest horror, and consequently was by no means qualified for such an undertaking. However, he was at last prevailed upon to declare war against Moâwiyah, and even to begin his march for the invasion of that prince's territories. As Ali had left behind him a well-disciplined army of sixty thousand men, who had entered into an engagement to support him, and his pretensions, Hasan was persuaded to carry on the war with vigour, and to exert himself in the prosecution of it. Before the new khalif began his march, he detached Kais Ebn Saad towards the frontiers with a body of twelve thousand men; of which motion Moâwiyah receiving advice, he advanced to Masken, a place in the neighbourhood and district of Cûfa, where he took post with all his forces: but, before his arrival, he sent Basher or Bashar Ebn Artah with a strong detachment to reconnoitre the enemy, and give him intelligence of their motions. Bashar happening to meet with the troops commanded by Kais Ebn Saad, a vigorous dispute ensued; but which side had the advantage, we are not informed by any of the Arab historians. Soon after the action, Hasan, with the army he led against Moâwiyah, reached Al Madâyen; but had scarce entered that place, when a spirit of mutiny, excited by the sudden murder of one of his men, inflamed the troops, and had like to have proved fatal to him. He was not only, with-

Hasan offers to resign the khalifat to Moâwiyah;

[a] Ebn Al Athir, ubi sup. Eutych. ubi sup. Isin. Abulfed. in Hist. Univ. MS. Pocock. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

out any regard to his distinction, thrown from his seat, but likewise wounded by some of the soldiery. Nay, upon his retiring into the castle of Al Madâyen, in order to avoid a more tragical fate, the governor's nephew solicited his uncle to deliver him up into the hands of Moâwiyah. The governor rejected the proposal with indignation. However, Hasan, finding himself deserted by the troops of Irâk, perceiving the other part of the army wavering in their fidelity, and being intimidated by the disturbance that had lately happened, wrote a letter to Moâwiyah, offering, upon certain terms, to resign the khalifat.

and actually resigns it.

Before the letter was sent away, his brother Hosein did his utmost to divert him from the resolution he seemed too precipitately to have taken; representing, that nothing could be a more severe reflection upon his father's memory than such an unseasonable and ill-timed abdication: but Hasan being well acquainted with Moâwiyah's courage and activity on one side, and of the perfidious disposition of the forces drawn from Irâk on the other, was determined to persist in his former resolution. According to some authors, he had before rendered himself incapable of departing from it, by making a similar proposal to Moâwiyah before the last action between Bashar Ebn Artah and Kais Ebn Saad or Kais Ebn Said, and the disturbance that had happened at Al Madâyen. In answer to which, as we find intimated by the same authors, Moâwiyah had sent him a full and unlimited power to prescribe what terms he should think fit; assuring him of an absolute compliance with them. This paper, however, seems not to have reached Hasan till he had sent his second letter; which induced him to desire an interview with Moâwiyah; wherein he insisted upon more advantageous conditions than those he had formerly demanded: but with these Moâwiyah refused to comply; alleging, that it would be dishonourable in Hasan to deviate from his own terms. At last a treaty was signed by them both, which consisted of the following articles. First, Hasan shall receive all the money in the treasury at Cûfa. Secondly, Moâwiyah shall assign him the revenue arising from Daraljerd, a district of considerable extent in Persia. Thirdly, he shall never reflect upon the late khalif in the presence of Hasan. Fourthly, He shall grant a pardon and amnesty to all those who adhered to Ali. Fifthly, in consideration of these concessions, Hasan shall renounce all pretensions to the khalifat, and consequently henceforth recognize the authority of Moâwiyah, as supreme director of the Mossems,

and

and emperor of the faithful. The money found in the treasury at Cûfa amounted to five millions of dirhems; but this never came into Hasan's hands, as will hereafter more fully appear. Abu'l-Faraj relates, that the effusion of blood in the engagement between Bashar and Kais, which struck him with horror, first disposed Hasan to an accommodation. It has been observed by Al Makîn, that Hasan and Moâwiyah had an interview at Masken, in the 41st year of the Hejra, a little before the conclusion of the above treaty [b].

Hasan retires to Medina.

From Masken, which seems to have been the scene of the late negociation, Hasan and Moâwiyah, after they had settled the terms of the pacification, set out in company for Cûfa; into which they made their public entry together, in a very amicable manner. Upon their arrival, Moâwiyah ordered Hasan, by Amru Ebn Al As's advice, to notify to the people in a speech his abdication; which command he obeyed in such terms as seemed to presage a new revolution. Moâwiyah ordered Hasan instantly to sit down, and severely reprimanded Amru for the advice he had given him. Nay, some authors say, that he was never afterwards thoroughly reconciled to that general. Be that as it may, as such a public speech from Hasan was altogether superfluous, it seemed to indicate a great want of judgment and discretion in Moâwiyah to require it of him, especially as he might have been sensible that it would furnish an unhappy man with an opportunity of stigmatizing him who had been the source of all his misfortunes. Before his departure from Cûfa, Hasan publicly accused the people of Irâk of his father's murder, of several insults offered to his person, and of plundering him of his lawful effects. The last crime he laid to their charge, their conduct after the conclusion of the late treaty proved them to be guilty of; for though, by one of the articles of that treaty, the public money at Cûfa ought to have been deposited in his hands, Moâwiyah could not prevail upon the inhabitants of that city, the capital of the Arab Irâk, to put him in possession of it, by any argument whatsoever. But, in order to compensate the loss Hasan sustained on this occasion, Moâwiyah, whose ambition had been so fully gratified, assigned him an annual pension of a hundred and fifty thousand dinars, and made him several presents of very considerable value. Being thus reduced to the condition

[b] Abu Jaafar Al Tabari & Al Makîn, ubi sup. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 192. Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup.

of a private person, he and his brother Hosein retired to Medina, where he spent the remainder of his days. The greatest part of his vast revenue he disposed of in acts of charity; and was so little attached to the things of this world, that he twice stripped himself of all he had, and thrice divided half of his substance amongst the poor. Notwithstanding his abdication, the Persians affirm, that he was khalif and imâm to the day of his death. They also, as well as the other followers of Ali, maintain, that he and his two sons were the three first lawful imâms [c].

He reigns only about six months.

Al Makîn observes, that the first day of Hasan's khalifat was Monday, and the last Friday; as also that he reigned six months and five days; but, according to Abu'l-Faraj, he sat upon the throne five months only.

He declines the command of a body of troops.

Upon his arrival at Medina, some of his friends greatly censured his conduct; which nevertheless has always been urged by the Shiites as a demonstrative proof of the excellence of his disposition, and his tenderness for the people over whom, by their unanimous suffrages, he was appointed to preside. The reasons he himself assigned for his conduct on this occasion were, that he was tired of the world, and that the Cûfans were so faithless, perfidious, and mischievous a people, that he could not depend upon their attachment and assistance. Which character was extremely just, though afterwards they seemed to be touched with remorse for their traiterous behaviour to him. For, when he first entertained thoughts of a resignation, and told them, that he was their commander and chief, of their prophet's family, from which all pollution had been removed, and which God had purified, they all burst into tears, and wept aloud. They also shed tears at his final departure from Cûfa, after he had come to a fixed resolution to make Medina the place of his residence. Nor did that restless people fail giving some disturbance to his successor Moâwiyah; though we do not find, that this was attended with any fatal effects. For, the Khârejites, not long after Hasan's arrival at Medina, rebelled against Moâwiyah, who thereupon desired him to lead an army against them: but Hasan declined the command of the army offered him, telling the khalif, that, if he had possessed a military genius, he should have exercised it against him, and not have taken leave of public affairs. Moâwiyah probably offered him that command, with a view of

[c] Iidem ibid. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 119, 123. Khondemir. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. in art. Hassan. MSS. Huntingt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon.

shortening

shortening his days; since, it is certain, he conceived an aversion to him, on account of the foregoing speech, which, in all likelihood, was never afterwards thoroughly obliterated or effaced [d].

He is poisoned in the year of the Hejra 49.

Hasan enjoyed the sweets of a private life about eight years after his abdication, and died at Medina in the 49th year of the Hejra, coincident with the year of our Lord 669. He was poisoned by his wife Jaadah, who had been bribed by Moâwiyah with large presents to perpetrate that execrable crime. By an article of the foregoing treaty, Moâwiyah had engaged not to nominate a successor during the life of Hasan, but to leave him the power of chusing a certain number of persons, in whose hands the election of a new khalif was to be lodged; but Moâwiyah having afterwards an inclination to leave the khalifat to his son Yezid, and finding this design impracticable during the life of Hasan, in order to gratify his inclination, he prevailed upon Jaadah, by valuable presents, and promising her his son Yezid in marriage, to put a period to her husband's days. This task she performed by rubbing him with a poisoned linen cloth, which had been sent her by Moâwiyah for that purpose; and the khalif remitted her the sum of five hundred thousand dirhems as a reward for her treachery, but took care to keep his son Yezid far enough from her embraces. Hasan was born in the third year of the Hejra, and died when he was about forty-seven lunar years of age. When he was at the point of death, his physician told his brother Hosein, that his bowels were consumed with poison. This intimation greatly affected Hosein, who begged Hasan to impart to him the name of the murderer, which it seems he knew, that he might take vengeance of him for so barbarous an action; but this discovery Hasan refused to make, saying, "O brother! the life of this world is made up of nights that vanish away. Let him alone till he and I meet before the divine tribunal, where he will certainly have justice done him." Some authors relate, that Jaadah was clear of the horrid fact laid to her charge, and that certain of his servants, at the instigation of Moâwiyah, found means to dispatch him. Be that as it may, it is universally agreed, that Moâwiyah was the principal agent in this tragical affair, and had the chief hand in effecting his destruction. Hasan

[d] MSS. Huntingt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra. p. 193.

was

was of a very mild, humane, beneficent, and pious disposition, and deserved a much better fate.

Some remarkable particulars relating to him and his family.

He was extremely like his grandfather Mohammed, who, as soon as he was born, spat in his mouth, and named him Hasan. That pretended prophet frequently expressed his fondness for this favourite child in a very whimsical manner. When he was officiating in the mosque, little Hasan would sometimes clamber up to him, when, in order to please the boy, he would designedly prolong the prayers. And sometimes, in the midst of a discourse to the people, if he saw Hasan and Hosein approaching, he would come down, embrace them, and take them up with him into the pulpit; and, after making an apology for his conduct on that occasion, proceed in his harangue. This distinction greatly endeared Hasan to all the Arabs who had any real regard or veneration for the memory of Mohammed. Nor is it to be doubted but he would have firmly seated himself upon the Moslem throne, had he been a man versed in military affairs, since the Syrians only elected Moâwiyah because there was none to oppose him. We are told by an anonymous Arab writer, that, according to a tradition of Sefinah, the apostle's freedman, Mohammed said, "The khalifat shall continue after me thirty years, and then shall commence a kingdom." From whence he inferred, that as Mohammed's death preceded Hasan's abdication just thirty years, their apostle was a true prophet, and Hasan his rightful successor. Al Bokhâri also relates, that Mohammed one day looking earnestly on little Hasan, then with him in the pulpit, broke out into the following prophetic exclamation: "O people! by means of this son of mine, the Lord God shall unite two great contending powers of the Moslems." No wonder then that Hasan should still be esteemed, even by a vast number of Sonnites themselves, so illustrious an imâm. He had in all twenty children, fifteen of whom were sons, and five daughters. The Persians maintain, that the succession of imâms passed from Hasan to his younger brother Hosein [e].

Hasan's generosity to a female slave.

Ans Ebn Malec reports, that a woman having once made him a present of a bunch of fine herbs, he asked whether she was a free woman or a slave? she replied, a slave; but that nevertheless the herbs she had offered

[e] MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi sup. D'Herbel. ubi sup. p. 414, 415, 434. Khondemir, Al Makin, Greg. Abu'l Faraj, &c.

him

him were rare and curious. Upon which he gave her her liberty, and said to those about him, "We have been instructed by God himself to give to those that make us presents something more valuable than what they bring." This incident may be considered as an instance of that generous and munificent disposition for which he has been celebrated by some of the Arab historians [f].

His generosity to another slave.

It has also been related of this khalif, that a slave having once thrown upon him a dish of broth boiling hot, as he sat at table, and fearing his resentment, immediately fell on his knees, and repeated these words: "Paradise is for those who bridle their anger." Hasan answered, "I am not angry." The slave proceeded; "and for those who forgive men." "I forgive you," said Hasan. The slave, however, finished the verse; adding, "for God loveth the beneficent." "Since it is so (said Hasan), I give you your liberty, and four hundred pieces of silver." A noble instance of moderation and generosity [g]!

One of his sentences.

The followed sentence of Hasan has been quoted by some of the Moslems: "The tears which are let fall through devotion should not be wiped off, nor the water which remains upon the body after legal ablution; because this water makes the face of the faithful shine, when they present themselves before God." In fine, the beneficent actions and moral maxims of this pious imam are considered almost in the same light, by a great number of the Moslems, as even those of his father Ali and the prophet Mohammed himself [h].

He frequently divorced his wives.

Some of the Shiites, in opposition to the body of the Persian nation, deduce the line or descent of the imâms from Abd'allah, one of Hasan's sons, or rather from his son Yahya, and not from the descendents of Hosein. Though Hasan's wives were all extremely fond of him, yet he frequently divorced them and married others. As Hasan and Hosein were the sons of Fâtema, they were venerated as the children of Mohammed himself, who in all respects ever treated them as such [i].

Where buried.

Though Hasan, in his will, desired to be buried near his grandfather Mohammed, and left directions for that purpose; yet, as this desire was opposed by Said, the governor of Medina, Merwân Ebn Al Hakem, and all the grandees of the house of Ommiyah then in that place,

[f] Ans Ebn Malec, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. [g] Aut. Rabi Al Akyar, apud D'Herbel. ubi sup. ut & ipse D'Herbel. ibid. [h] D'Herbel. ubi supra, p. 435. [i] Khondemir.

Ayesha,

Ayesha, in whose house the body of the prophet lay interred, would not suffer his remains to be deposited there. This refusal gave great disgust to all the members of Ali's family; so that the animosities between them and the house of Ommiyah rose to a greater height than ever. According to some authors, therefore, he was inhumed in the common burying-place, called Al Baki, at Medina. Others say, his body was placed in his mother Fâtema's tomb; and lastly, others relate, that it was buried at Yanbo, a town on the sea Al Kolzom, at no very great distance from Medina, without preserving any account of the circumstances attending that event [k].

SECT. II.

From the Establishment of Moâwiyah I. in the Khalifat to the Death of Merwân I.

Moâwiyah becomes sole emperor of the Moslems.

BY Hasan's resignation of the khalifat, and the cession he made of the territories over which he presided, Moâwiyah became sole and supreme emperor of the Moslems. Hosein, the second son of Ali, possessed the hearts of the people; but Moâwiyah, who was a man of steady conduct and great abilities, had the army at his devotion. He was the son of Abu Sofiân, one of the principal persons of the tribe of Koreish, and commanded the forces of that tribe both at the battles of Bedr and Ohod; in the latter of which he was victorious over the Moslems. His courage, riches, and great capacity, rendered him the most conspicuous person of his tribe; so that Mohammed met with great opposition from him in the execution of his designs. After the action of Ohod, as one of the commentators on the Koran pretends, the Meccans were afflicted, at the prayer of the prophet, with so terrible a famine, that they were obliged to feed upon dogs, carrion, burnt bones, and a sort of miserable food made of blood and camel's hair, called ilhiz, which the Arabs never used to eat but in times of extreme scarcity. At this sorrowful juncture Abu Sofiân expostulated with Mohammed in the following terms: "Tell me, I adjure thee by God and the relation that is between us, dost thou think that thou art sent as a mercy unto all creatures, since thou hast slain the fathers with the sword, and the children with hunger."

k Ebn Al Athir, Abu Jaafar Al Tabar, & Al Makin, ubi supra. Abulfed. in Descript. Arab. p. 45. Oxon. 1712.

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This expostulation discovered a fixed and settled aversion at that time in this noble Arab to Mohammed and his followers; notwithstanding which, he found himself obliged to submit to that impostor, and embrace Islamism, in order to save himself and his family from immediate destruction, after the reduction of Mecca. Moâwiyah and his wife declared their assent to the two fundamental articles of the Moslem creed, the same day that their father Abu Sofiân made profession of the Mohammedan faith. Abu Sofiân, after his conversion, intreated three things of Mohammed; that he would appoint him commander in chief of all his forces that were to act against the infidels, that he would make his son Moâwiyah his secretary, and marry his second daughter Gazah. The two first of which petitions he readily granted, but refused to comply with the third. Our curious readers will not be displeased to find here the substance of the prophet's prayer mentioned above, which was conceived in the following terms: "O God, set thy foot strongly upon Modar (an ancestor of the Koreish), and give them years like the years of Joseph." Whereupon, as the commentator here referred to intimates, the aforesaid dreadful famine immediately ensued [l].

The Khârejites rebel.

Soon after Moâwiyah had assumed the government, the Khârejites took the field against him with a considerable army. The khalif first made application to Hasan, to march against them with a body of Arabs; but that prince refusing to undertake such an expedition, he sent the Syrian troops to reduce the rebels to his obedience. These soon brought the Khârejites to a general action; but they were defeated with considerable loss, and the rebels remained masters of the field of battle. The Cûfans, however, who were much better troops than the Syrians, being prevailed upon to take up arms, soon extinguished the rebellion, and settled Moâwiyah more firmly than ever upon the Moslem throne [m].

Moâwiyah secures Ziyâd in his interest.

But notwithstanding the success Moâwiyah had hitherto experienced, Ziyâd, his brother by the father's side, though a bastard, refused to recognize his authority. Ziyâd was made governor of Persia in the khalifat of Ali, as has been already observed; and discharged his duty in that post with great reputation to himself, and advantage to the

[l] MS. Hunt. ubi sup. Ism. Abulf. de Vit. Moham. cap. xxvii. p. 56—61. cap xxxi. p. 64—66. & cap. li. p. 102—108. Al Beidawi.
[m] Ebn Al Athir, Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra, p. 193. Abu Jaafar Al Tabari, apud Al Makin, ubi supra, p. 46. ut & ipse Al Makin, ibid.

people;

people: he was magnanimous and brave, and of an exceeding great capacity; though Abu Sofian durst not own him for fear of Omar: he was born in the first year of the Hejra, and, by his eloquence and great abilities, so distinguished himself, that at a meeting of the Companions in Omar's reign, Amru Ebn Al As publicly declared, that had he been of the tribe of Koreish, he would have driven all the Arabs before him with his walking-stick. In Omar's time he had been made a kâdi, or *judge*; and Al Mogheirah, for incontinency, had been brought before him; but either out of favour, or because the witnesses failed in point of proof, he dismissed the person accused, and ordered the witnesses to be scourged severely. This circumstance greatly endeared him to Al Mogheirah, who, from that moment, contracted a most intimate acquaintance and cordial friendship with him. When Hasan resigned the khalifat to Moâwiyah, Ziyâd was lieutenant of Persia, and resided in that quality at Istakhra, or Estakhr. Here he had erected a very strong citadel, for his farther security, which he made the place of his habitation. Moâwiyah, fearing lest he should join the house of Hâshem, and by that junction give him no small disturbance, owned him publicly for his brother; thinking this acknowlegement might be the means of bringing him over to his interest. In order to facilitate the execution of his scheme, he procured the assistance of Al Mogheirah Ebn Shaaba, his governor of Cûfa; who made so good a use of his friendship with Ziyâd, that at last he prevailed upon him to take the oath of allegiance to Moâwiyah. The khalif, in return, by the testimony of the Greek slave, still living, on whose wife Abu Sofiân, before the publication of the Koran, had begotten Ziyâd, proved his bastard-brother to be the real son of Abu Sofiân, and consequently a member of the tribe of Koreish. This was the first time that the Koran was openly violated in a judicial way of proceeding: for by that book the child belonged to the Greek, as its legal father, who had married its mother; since, according to this decision, which had been left by Mohammed as a direction in all such cases, the child was adjudged to the blankets, and the whore to the stone; that is, the child was to be brought up, and the whore to be stoned. This conduct, therefore, of the khalif gave great disgust to his family, as a bastard had been thereby introduced into it, and his father's memory severely reflected upon; but this disgrace gave no manner of uneasiness to Moâwiyah; as, by bringing his scheme to bear, he had secured entirely in his interest the greatest man of the age.

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Amru Ebn Al As and Abd'allah Ebn Salâm die.

The 43d year of the Hejra was remarkable for the death of the famous Amru Ebn Al As, of whom Mohammed is reported to have said, there is no truer a Moslem, nor any one more stedfast in the faith, than Amru. He was justly esteemed one of the greatest men amongst the Arabs of the age in which he lived; distinguished by his quick apprehension, his solid judgment, his undaunted courage, his singular resolution, as well as his most profound sagacity and penetration: he was always excellent in his advice, sure and fixed in his resolves, and speedy in their execution: he was made lieutenant of Egypt, which he conquered in the khalifat of Omar, and was continued by Othmân four years in that post. Being afterwards dismissed by the last khalif from that high office, he retired into Palestine, where he lived a private life. After Othmân's death, at Moâwiyah's invitation, he entered into his service, and was, indeed, his principal support: that khalif sent him once more into Egypt, in quality of lieutenant of that rich and fertile country; the whole revenue of which he allowed him, upon condition that he kept on foot a body of troops sufficient for its defence. The dying speech he made to his children is said to be manly and pathetic. This year likewise died Abd'allah Ebn Salâm, a Jew, very intimate with Mohammed, and an early convert to his religion. One of the Koreish lent him once one thousand two hundred ounces of gold, which he very punctually paid at the time appointed; and to this honest action a passage of the Koran is supposed to allude: he was believed by some to have assisted Mohammed in compiling his pretended revelations; which, if we admit, it is no wonder he should be so commended for his knowlege and faith in the Koran. After the death of Amru, Moâwiyah made his brother, Atha Ebn Abu Sofiân, governor of Egypt, who died the following year. Okba Ebn Amer succeeded him, and was removed from his post in the year of the Hejra 45. After him succeeded Moseilama Ebn Mokhalled of Medina, who exercised the function of lieutenant of Egypt till the death of Moâwiyah. Amru died on the festival of Al Fatar, and his son Abd'allah prayed over him at the place of his interment. About this time, Moâwiyah proscribed and exercised great cruelties upon the followers of Ali, as we learn from Abu'l-Faraj [n].

[n] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. et Al Makin, ubi sup p. 47. MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi sup. Joh. Andreas, de Confus. sectæ Mohametanæ, cap. 2. Prid. Life of Moham. p. 33, 34. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, ubi supra. Ockley, ubi sup. p. 110—112.

Moâwiyah

The Khalif makes Ziyâd governor of Basra, Cûfa, Sijistân, India, Bahrein, and Ammân.

Moâwiyah being informed, that the territory of Basra was infested with robbers to such a degree, that the people could not follow their lawful occupations; and that this nuisance was chiefly occasioned by Abd'allah's ill-judged lenity, who would bring none of them to condign punishment, he sent Al Hâreth to preside over the Basrans in Abd'allah's room, and commanded him positively to restrain those disorders: but this design Hâreth not being able to effect, Ziyâd was dispatched to Basra, to extirpate the gang of banditti that so harassed the inhabitants of that place and the neighbouring district. When Ziyâd first arrived, he found such violences, and even murders, committed in the night-time, that it was not safe to walk in the streets after sun-set. Having, therefore, convened the principal citizens, he expressed his abhorrence of those disorders that so disturbed the public repose in very severe terms; declaring, at the same time, his firm resolution to put an end to them. As he was the best orator of the age, except Ali, and the more he spoke the more he excelled, his speech made a deep impression upon the minds of all that heard it; and, to inforce what he advanced with greater spirit, he published an order, forbidding any person, of what quality soever to appear, in the streets, or in any public place, after the hour of evening-prayer, upon pain of death. To have this order punctually executed, he appointed parties of soldiers to patrol, and commanded them to put to the sword all they should find out of their houses after that hour. This regulation produced an exceeding good effect. For, though the first night two hundred persons were killed, the second night only five were slain, and the third none at all. In short, by the prudent, as well as vigorous measures taken on this occasion, the public tranquility was restored; a reformation which so pleased Moâwiyah, that he annexed the lieutenancy of Khorasân, Sijistân, India, Barein, and Ammân to Ziyâd's government. The very name of Ziyâd made all the villains within his jurisdiction tremble; though he was by no means of a cruel or barbarous disposition. However, as he governed with the strictest justice, and obliged all men to pay a proper regard to his authority, the profligate part of the khalif's subjects in those parts stood in great awe of him °.

° Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. in art. Ziyâd. Khondemir, MS. Hunt. ubi sup. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. et Al Makin, ubi sup. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 110, 111, et alib.

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In the 45th year of the Hejra, Ziyâd sent Hakem Ebn Amer with a body of troops to possess himself of a fortress situate on mount Ashal. Hakem executed his orders with such success, that he killed a great number of the enemy, seized the place, and brought off with him all the riches it contained. Ziyâd receiving advice of this transaction, dispatched a courier to demand the white and the yellow, that is, the silver and the gold, which had fallen into his hands, by virtue of a letter he had received from the khaliff; commanding him to send it, in order to be deposited in the treasury for public use: but Hakem refused to comply with his demand; intimating to Ziyâd, at the same time, that an injunction of the Koran, which had settled the distribution of the spoil in such a manner as rendered his compliance unlawful, was superior in point of authority to any of the khalif's letters. He, therefore, took out the fifth part of the spoil, declared by the Koran to belong to God, to the apostle, his kindred, the orphans, the poor, and the traveller, and divided the rest amongst the captors. After this distribution, as he expected to fall a sacrifice to the khalif's resentment, for adhering so closely to the text of the Koran, he said, "O God! if I be in thy favour, take me." Which request, says a Moslem writer, was granted, and he soon after died.

Hakem Ebn Amer and Zeid Ebn Thabet die.

In the following year, Moâwiyah bribed a Christian slave to poison Abd'alrahmân, the son of the famous Khâled Ebn Al Walîd, who was become extremely popular amongst the soldiers, both on his father's account and his own; for he was a person of distinguished merit, which not a little excited the jealousy of the khalif. Abd'alrahmân had just before made an incursion into the imperial territories, where, notwithstanding the Greek garrisons left to defend them, he committed dreadful depredations; desolating almost whole provinces, without opposition. The slave was prevailed upon to perpetrate this villainy, by a promise Moâwiyah made him, not only to remit his tribute, but likewise to confer on him the government of Hems. However, he did not long enjoy the fruits of his wickedness, having been soon cut off by Abd'alrahmân's son, Khâled; who was imprisoned by the khalif, but afterwards released on paying the money for expiation demanded in all such cases. This year was also remarkable for the execution of Hejer, a person of singular piety and austerity of life, but a great friend to Ali, and consequently an avowed enemy to the house of Ommiyah. He was not afraid several times to revile Ziyâd, nor even

The remarkable events that happened in the 46th year of the Hejra.

to curse him to his face; insults which induced that governor, who resided six months of the year at Cûfa, where Hejer had his habitation, and the other six at Basra, to press the khalif to put him to death, lest, during the time of his absence, he should raise commotions at Cûfa. Moâwiyah, therefore, sent an order for his excution; which was performed at Gadrah, or Gadarah, a village near Damascus, where Hejer behaved with surprising intrepidity and resolution: after his head was struck off, his body was washed, and buried in the chains that had been fastened upon it before his death, in pursuance of the directions he had given. Several of his accomplices also suffered with him. These executions greatly displeased Ayesha, who had interceded for Hejer and his companions in vain, and who did not fail to upbraid Moâwiyah with the cruelty he discovered on this occasion, the next time she saw him at Medina. In the mean time, according to Abu'l-Faraj, Sapor, who had seized Armenia, sent an ambassador to Moâwiyah, named Serji, or Sergius, to desire his assistance against the Greeks. Another envoy likewise came at the same time from the Greek emperor, called Andrew, who was an eunuch, and one of that prince's particular favourites, in order to dissuade Moâwiyah from sending any succours to the rebel Sapor. Moâwiyah did not seem strongly disposed to listen to either of them; but only in general told them, that, as both their masters were enemies to him, he would grant his protection to that prince who would purchase it at the highest price. Andrew retired, and had the next day another audience of the khalif, whom he found in conference with Sergius, his antagonist. As the latter did not rise from his seat, when Andrew made his appearance, the Greek ambassador took great offence at his conduct, and gave him some very opprobrious language, which the other returned, by reproaching him with the loss of his virility. This affront so incensed Andrew, that he threatened him with the infliction of a certain punishment that should occasion a similiar defect in him. When he intreated the khalif again not to assist Sapor, that prince answered him in the following terms: "Give us the whole revenue of your dominions, and we will permit you to be called the lords of them; which if you refuse, we will drive you out of them." "Then," replied Andrew, "you look upon the Arabs as the substance, and the Greeks as the shadow only; we must, therefore, implore the assistance of the Lord of heaven and earth."

Having

Having obtained an audience of leave, he returned home, by the way of Malatia, the Melitene of Ptolemy, which some place in Cappadocia, and others in Armenia; acquainting the imperial governors, or prefects, posted on the frontiers, with the affront he had received from Sergius, whom he begged them to intercept in his passage through the emperor's territories. He was arrested accordingly, carried to Malatia, castrated, and then dismissed with his testicles hung about his neck. Moâwiyah Ebn Amer and Bashar Ebn Artah greatly extended the Moslem conquests in Africa this year, penetrating to the heart of Africa Propria, or the territory of Carthage, and the spot on which the city of Kairwân stood. The forces commanded by those generals in this expedition, consisting of about ten thousand men, reduced Karan, or Karana, Cafsa, and several other towns. We are told by a very learned author, that the city of Kairwân was either built, repaired, or enlarged, by Okba Ebn Nafe', who formed a settlement upon this spot immediately after Amru Ebn Al As had conquered Barka. The khalif Moâwiyah ordered a proper garrison to be left at Kairwân, which stood about thirty-three parasangs from Carthage, and twelve from the sea, in order to secure the country from the insults of the Roman and Sicilian fleets, to keep the perfidious Africans in awe, and to have a place of safety in which he might depositc the prodigious treasures he had amassed.

Nothing very remarkable happens in the year of the Hejra 47.

Next year, being the 47th of the Hejra, we meet with scarce any thing remarkable performed by the khalif Moâwiyah; except that he first harangued the people this year from the pulpit, in a sitting posture, to which he was obliged by the prominence of his belly; and that he began to preach before he said prayers, fearing that the people would otherwise retire out of the mosque before he had delivered all that he had to say. As the introduction of these two customs may be considered as a variation from the practice of all his predecessors, it has been recorded as a remarkable event, and seems to have been placed in the 47th year of the Hejra by Abu'l-Faraj. About this time also Bashar, one of Moâwiyah's commanders, as we learn from Theophanes, made several dreadful incursions into the Christian territories, plundering and ravaging the country through which he marched.

The Arabs besiege Constantinople in vain.

Towards the latter end of the following year, Moâwiyah sent his son Yezid with a powerful army to besiege Constantinople. The Arab authors have transmitted no account of the particulars

particulars of that siege; but only mention three or four of the most eminent of the Companions, whose zeal, notwithstanding their great age, prompted them to attend the army on this occasion, and to sustain incredible fatigues. The Moslem forces suffered extremely in their march; but they were animated to surmount all difficulties, by a famous tradition; according to which, the prophet, in his life-time declared, that the sins of the first army which should take the city of Cæsar were forgiven. According to Theophanes, this army, when on its march, was joined by a body of Arab troops, under the command of Fadal, or Fadl, an Arab general, sent by Moâwiyah to the assistance of Sapor, who came to an untimely death. After which event, Fadl had been reduced to great distress, out of which he was happily delivered by the forces under the conduct of Yezid. After this junction, Yezid marched to Chalcedon, where for some time he remained, and consequently kept Constantinople in a manner blocked up; though it does not appear from Theophanes, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary by the Moslem historians, that he ever formed the siege of that city. After a short stay in the neighbourhood of Chalcedon, the Moslem army decamped, and took its route through Phrygia, on its return home, with a considerable number of prisoners. In their passage, the Arabs possessed themselves of Amorium, a city of Phrygia, in which they left a garrison of five thousand men. In this expedition, the famous Abu Ayub, who had accompanied Mohammed at the battles of Bedr and Ohod, lost his life. His tomb is held in such veneration amongst the Moslems, that the soltans of the Othmân family gird their swords on at it, upon their accession to the throne. A detachment of the imperial forces retook Amorium the following winter, when all the neighbouring tract was covered with snow, by surprize, and put the Arab garrison to the sword [p].

The death of Hasan.

The 49th year of the Hejra produced no remarkable event, which has been handed down to us by the Moslem historians, except the death of Hasan, the last khalif, who was poisoned in the manner already related. Moâwiyah is said to have insulted his ashes in an indecent manner [q].

Next year Al Mogheirah died of the plague at Cûfa. He was the governor of that city at the time of his death,

[p] Ebn Al Athir, MS. Hunt. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. in art. Moaviah, p. 587. Theophan. ubi supra, p. 291, 292. Georg. Cedren. Historiar. Compend. p. 436. [q] Abu Jaafar. Al Tabar. apud Al Makîn, ubi supra, p 47, 48. ut & ipse Al Makîn, ibid.

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a very active man, of quick parts, and had lost one of his eyes at the battle of Yermouk; though some pretend, that this loss was occasioned by viewing an eclipse. According to Abulfeda, the new city of Kairwân, was nearly finished this year, though the last hand was not put to it till the 55th year of the Hejra. Some authors affirm, that the Arabs considered it as the capital of Africa Propria, or the territory of Carthage; and that it stood upon the spot which had been formerly occupied by the ancient Cyrene. Kairwân afterwards became very eminent, not only for its stately buildings and immense wealth, but likewise for the study of the sciences and polite literature. This year also Moâwiyah prevailed upon many of the Moslems to take the oath of allegiance to his son Yezid, as his partner or colleague, in the khalifat; but neither Abd'alrahmân Ebn Abu Becr, Hosein Ebn Ali, Abd'allah Ebn Omar Ebn Al Khattâb, nor Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir Ebn Al Awâm, would concur with the other principal Arabs in this particular.

Yezid declared Moâwiyah's successor.

In the following year, being the 51st year of the Hejra Saad Ebn Zend, the last of those who had a positive promise of paradise from Mohammed, departed this life. About the same time, Moâwiyah, who then resided at Damascus, not thinking it proper, that the pulpit and walking-stick of the prophet should remain in the hands of the murderers of Othmân, gave orders to remove them from Medina: but the moment some of the Arabs, in obedience to the khalif's commands, were upon the point of removing them, to their great astonishment and surprize, there happened such an eclipse of the sun, that the stars appeared. This phænomenon threw them into the utmost consternation, as it seemed a manifest indication of the divine displeasure, for their presuming to seize the apostle's pulpit, in order to remove it from the place where he himself had ordered it to be fixed. Being, therefore, extremely frightened at so unusual, and, as they apprehended, so supernatural an event, they immediately desisted from carrying the khalif's design into execution. It even made so deep an impression upon their minds, that it was not forgotten some years afterwards, when the khalif Abd'almalec had the same design in view.

Moâwiyah dares not remove Mohammed's pulpit.

In the 53d year of the Hejra, the famous Ziyâd died, who makes so considerable a figure in the Arab history; being at his decease about fifty-three years of age. He died of the plague on the third day of the month of Ramadân. A little before he was seized by the fatal distemper that put a period to his days, he informed the khalif,

Ziyâd dies.

that he had entirely reduced Irâk to a ſtate of ſubjection, and begged that he might have the lieutenancy of Arabia Petræa conferred upon him; a requeſt which was immediately granted. The Arabs of that country, being apprized of this particular, were ſtruck with great terror and conſternation, as knowing with what rigour and ſeverity he had governed the people of Irâk. Upon the firſt intelligence of it, Ebn Amer, attended by a vaſt number of the people, went to the temple of Mecca, and, with great fervency and devotion, intreated, that God would never permit him to come amongſt them. In the mean time, Ziyâd being ſeized with the plague, felt ſuch an intolerable pain in one of his hands, that he conſulted a kâdi, as a ſpiritual director, whether he might not cut it off, without being guilty of any crime; but was informed, that ſuch an action was abſolutely unlawful. Notwithſtanding this deciſion, the pain increaſing to ſuch a degree as rendered it inſupportable, he came to a reſolution to ſubmit to amputation; though his heart failed him at the ſight of the fire and the cauterizing irons, that were to be made uſe of in the operation. We are told by a Moſlem writer of authority, that at this time, Ziyâd had a hundred and fifty phyſicians about him; three of whom had formerly belonged to Khoſrû, the ſon of Hormuz, king of Perſia; but as the time of his death was approaching, or, to make uſe of our author's words, "the decree was ſealed, and the thing determined," they found it impoſſible to ſave him. He was buried near Cûfa, by which place he paſſed in his journey to Arabia, whither he was going, in order to take poſſeſſion of his new government. When Abd'allah Ebn Amer heard of his death, he is reported to have ſaid, "Go thy way, thou ſon of Somyah; this world did not ſtay with thee, neither haſt thou attained to the other." In order to underſtand which ſentence more perfectly, it will be proper to obſerve, that Somyah was the name of the Greek ſlave's wife, on whoſe body Abu Sofiân was ſuppoſed to have begotten Ziyâd; and that Abd'allah Ebn Amer was the perſon Ziyâd ſucceeded in the government of Baſra [r].

Some account of him.

Upon Ziyâd's firſt arrival at Cûfa, the lieutenancy of which place was annexed in his favour to that of Baſra, he told the Cûfans, that at firſt he propoſed to bring with him a body of two thouſand men, as his guards; but that afterwards conſidering they were honeſt men, he had taken

r MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495. Ebn Al Athir. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. & Al Makin, ubi ſupra, p 46.

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care only to be attended by his own family. This declaration did not hinder them from throwing dust, or rather gravel, at him. Upon which, he ordered his domestics to secure the doors of the mosque where the people of the city were assembled, and commanded every man to seize his neighbour. The persons thus seized were brought before him, and as many of them as would purge themselves by oath of the late insult that had been offered him, he immediately dismissed; but ordered the hands of all the others, who amounted to about eighty, to be cut off upon the spot. He afterwards issued an order, enjoining all the citizens of Cûfa to leave their doors open all night; engaging himself to indemnify every particular person for any loss he should sustain by complying with this injunction. No theft, or robbery, was committed after the introduction of this custom; but some cattle one night finding their way into a shop, did considerable damage. Of which circumstance when Ziyâd was informed, he permitted every one of the inhabitants to fix a hurdle at his door; which practice prevailed ever after at Basra, and many other towns of Irâk. As no one durst appear out of his house after the hour of evening-prayer, it is no wonder the Cûfans should have been so secure in the possession of their properties and effects; nor can it be any matter of surprize, that the order should have been so punctually observed, when it is known, that the least contravention of it was punished with immediate death. Of this severity the following instance may serve as an evident proof: a shepherd coming one night through the town with his flock, was seized by one of Ziyâd's patroles, and instantly brought before him. The poor man, in defence of himself, when he was accused of having contemned the governor's late edict, said, that he was entirely ignorant of it. Ziyâd replied, "I am willing to believe, that what thou tellest me is true; but as the safety of all the Cûfans depends upon thy death, it is necessary that thou shouldst die." This sentence was no sooner pronounced than his head was struck off, to the inexpressible terror of all those who were present at the execution. But though Ziyâd's wholsome severities fell heavy upon certain individuals, and in some other countries might seem to have favoured of cruelty, yet they kept the inhabitants of Irâk, a very faithless and treacherous people, in awe; insomuch that, according to Abu Jaafar Al Tabari, the citizens of Basra, as well as those of Cûfa, never feared any one more than Ziyâd,

though they enjoyed an uninterrupted repose under his just and impartial administration [s].

The following remarkable story proves, that he had something cruel and savage in his disposition. Abu'l Mogheirah having been once brought before him, by his command, as the most religious man in Cûfa, he offered to give him as much money as he should desire, if he would confine himself to his apartment, and not go to the mosque to perform his devotions. Abu'l Mogheirah replied, that he would not omit saying his prayers publicly on the congregation-day, or Friday, for the empire of the world. "Then, (said Ziyâd,) go to the congregation, but do not talk in the mosque when you are there." "I must, (answered the other,) encourage that which is good, and reprove that which is bad." For which answer, though it be a precept often mentioned in the Koran, Ziyâd commanded him to be immediately beheaded. He assembled the people a little before his death, in order to extort from them a sort of abjuration, or renunciation by oath of every kind of connexion with the friends of the house of Hâshem, threatening with death all who would not submit to such a renunciation: but at the appointed time, when this affair should have been brought to a conclusion, the people, being assembled for that purpose, he was seized with the plague, and never afterwards made his appearance. To what has been said of this famous Moslem, we may add, from Khondemir, the Persian historian, that the last letter he wrote to Moâwiyah was couched in the following terms: "My left-hand is here employed in governing the people of Irâk; but my right-hand is idle; put Arabia into it, to be governed, and it will give you a good account of it." Which request being granted, the inhabitants of Medina were greatly alarmed, and Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir, one of them, in his public prayers offered up to God this petition: "O God! satisfy this right-hand, which is idle and superfluous to Ziyâd." Which words contain a very beautiful allusion to the name of Ziyâd; signifying, in Arabic, *abundant*, or *superfluous*; and are perfectly consonant to the spirit and genius of that expressive and harmonious language. Soon after this prayer, according to an Arab author, a pestilential ulcer seized one of the fingers of his right-hand, of which he lay ill a few days, and then ex-

[s] Idem ibid. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. in art. Ziad, p. 933. Khondemir, &c.

pired

pired in exquisite torture. Some of his descendents formed a dynasty in Yaman, where they reigned under the name of the Banu Ziyâd. The Khârejites, as well as the partizans of Ali, made some attempts to disturb his administration; but, by his severe and rigorous conduct, he proved superior to them, and in a short time extinguished all their commotions. Indeed, by the sword which he drew, to make use of Abu Jaafar's expression, he smoothed the khalif's government in Irâk, and so effectually silenced all murmurings and complaints there, that not one of the Irâkians durst open his mouth against him [t].

Samrah's cruelty.

But Ziyâd's administration, rigorous and severe as it was, must have been deemed gentle and mild in respect of that of Samrah, his lieutenant at Basra, who was detested for his cruelty. During Ziyâd's six months absence from Basra, he residing one half of the year at Cûfa, Samrah had put to death no less than eight thousand persons; an execution which greatly shocked Ziyâd; who asked him, whether he was not afraid, lest, in such a number, he might have murdered one innocent Moslem? Samrah replied, that, if he had destroyed double that number of Basrans, it would not have given him the least uneasiness or concern. According to Abu Sawâr, he killed forty-seven Moslems one morning; every one of which had got the Koran by heart. A party of his horse marching out of the city on a certain occasion, and meeting a peasant at a little distance from it, one of them struck him through with his lance. Samrah, soon after coming up, found the poor wretch wallowing in his own blood; and, upon inquiry, was told, that one of his men had accidentally killed him. He made no other reply than, "When you hear we are mounted, beware of our lances."

The Arabs make an incursion into Bukharia.

In the 54th year of the Hejra, Moâwiyah dismissed Saad from the government of Medina, and restored Merwân Ebn Al Hakem to that honourable post. He afterwards dispatched an order to Merwân, to demolish Saad's house, and seize all his effects in Hejaz. Upon Merwan's appearance at Medina, with a mule to carry off every thing valuable that belonged to Saad, the latter was extremely surprised, and begged Merwân not to strip him in so unmerciful a manner: but the new governor told him, that the khalif must be obeyed; and that if he had received an order, during his government, to have pulled down his

[t] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. & Al Makîn, ubi supra, p. 47. Ebn. Al Athir, MS. Hunt. num. 495. D'Herbel. ubi supra. Khondemir. Ockley, ubi supra, p. 139, 140.

house,

house, he would not have failed putting it in execution. Upon this declaration, Saad produced a letter, formerly sent him by Moâwiyah, commanding him to demolish Merwân's house; which, out of friendship, he had ventured to disobey, and thereby incurred the khalif's displeasure. This generous action of Saad so struck Merwân, that he never ceased interceding with Moâwiyah for his friend, till he had prevailed upon him to revoke the late unjust command. Both the governors now clearly perceived, that the khalif's view in issuing the foregoing orders, was to set them at variance; but the discovery of this wicked design served only the more effectually to strengthen the ties of friendship between them. About the same time, Moâwiyah deposed Samrah, Ziyâd's deputy at Basra, whose enormous cruelty had rendered him justly odious to all the inhabitants of that city. As soon as Samrah heard this command, he is reported to have said, "God curse Moâwiyah. If I had served God so well as I have served him, he would not have damned me to all eternity." Within the course of this year, the khalif likewise appointed Obeid'allah, the son of Ziyâd, lieutenant of Khorasân. Soon after he had taken possession of his new government, Obeid'allah, though not then above twenty-five years of age, advanced at the head of a body of troops as far as the mountains of Bukhâria, and defeated a Turkish army that pretended to oppose him. The Turks lost a very considerable number of men in the action, and the queen, who commanded them, with great difficulty made her escape. She had only time to put on one of her buskins; so that she was obliged to leave the other behind her. This, therefore, fell into the hands of the Arabs, who valued it at two thousand dinars [u].

The khalif sends new governors to Basra and Khorasân.

Abd'allah, the son of Amru, having commanded a Moslem's hand to be cut off, for throwing dust, or gravel, at him whilst he was preaching to the people of Basra, of which place he then was governor, some of the principal men of the city complained of his conduct to Moâwiyah, who removed him from his post, and substituted Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd in his room. The lieutenancy, therefore, of Khorasân becoming vacant by this removal, the khalif conferred it upon Aslam, who had not the least merit to recommend him to his master's favour; so that nothing worthy the attention of an historian happened in that province during the short term he presided over the people.

[u] Ebn Al Athir, MS. Hunt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495.

Nor

Nor did the present year, the 55th of the Hejra, produce any other remarkable occurrences, at least such as have been recorded by the Moslem historians.

Several remarkable occurrences about this time.

Notwithstanding the taciturnity of the Moslems, the Christian writers have mentioned several remarkable events, which happened about the present time, that are not to be passed over in silence. Bashar, or as he is called by Theophanes, Busur, continued his incursions into the Christian territories, which he ravaged without opposition, and conducted from thence a great number of captives into the khalif's dominions. Mohammed Ebn Abd'allah and Kais, two Moslem commanders, appeared at the head of a considerable squadron of ships on the coast of Cilicia, with a body of land-forces on board; the first of whom took up his winter-quarters at Smyrna, and the other in Lycia and Cilicia. The khalif also fitted out another fleet, the command of which he gave to Khâled, called by Theophanes Chale, with orders to sustain that sent to cruise on the coast of Cilicia, in case of need. In the spring, the combined Moslem fleet presented itself to the view of the Christians on the coast of Thrace, stretching along from the western promontory, known by the name of Magnaura, to the eastern, called Cyclobium. Frequent conflicts happened between it and that of the Christians; the particulars of which have not been handed down to us. However, it seems as if the Arabs were superior in those engagements; since we have been told by some writers, that they besieged Constantinople the whole summer and spring for several years after the 53d year of the Hejra, or of Christ 672; but were received with such vigour and resolution by the emperor, that they thought proper to retire always in the month of September to Cyzicus. In this long siege, or rather repeated sieges, the Arabs lost incredible numbers of men, and many ships were consumed by sea-fire, as it was called, because it burnt under water; being the invention of Callinicus, a native of Heliopolis in Egypt. The Arabs at length, despairing of success, abandoned the enterprize; but as they were returning home, their fleet was shipwrecked off the Scyllæan promontory. About the same time, three of the emperor's lieutenants, Florus, Petronius, and Cyprianus, gained a signal victory in Syria over Sofiân Ebn Awf, who commanded a numerous body of Arabs; but lost in the engagement thirty thousand of his men. These misfortunes encouraged the Mardaites, or Maronites, to seize on mount Libanus,

Libanus, where they fortified themselves. Being joined by multitudes of Christian captives, slaves, and others flocking to them from all parts, they reduced the whole country between mount Taurus and Jerusalem, made frequent incursions into Syria, and so harassed and terrified the Arabs, who thought that God himself at this juncture interposed in favour of the Christians, that Moâwiyah not imagining himself able to contend with them and the Romans at the same time, sent ambassadors to treat of peace with Constantine, who met with a gracious reception at the imperial court The emperor, in order to facilitate an accommodation, which Moâwiyah seemed so ardently to desire, sent with the Arab ambassadors John Pitzigaudes, a person of great age and experience, to Syria; where, after several conferences, a peace was concluded on the following terms: 1. That it should be inviolably observed by both nations for the space of thirty years. 2. That the Arabs should retain the provinces they had seized. 3. That they should pay yearly, by way of tribute, to the emperor and his successors three thousand pounds weight of gold, fifty slaves, and as many choice horses. It may not be improper to observe here, that, according to the Christian historians referred to, in the 53d year of the Hejra, there was a dreadful mortality in Egypt; in the 54th, Sofiân Ebn Awf was defeated by Florus, Petronius, and Cyprianus in Syria; in the 55th, the year we are now upon, Abd'allah Ebn Kais and Fadl, two Arab generals, made a descent on Crete, with a body of Moslem troops, where they passed the ensuing winter; and, in the 58th, a treaty was signed between Constantine and Moâwiyah. The articles of the treaty here mentioned not having been extremely honourable to the Arabs, it is not so much to be wondered at, that both they, and the military operations that preceded them, should have been denied a place in the writings of the Moslem historians [w].

Saad takes Samarkand, and defeats the Uzbeks.

Next year, Moâwiyah conferred upon Saad, Othmân's grandson, the government of Khorasân; having removed his predecessor, Aslam, as a person utterly unqualified for that post. Saad, soon after his promotion to that dignity, passed the Jihûn, or Amu, the Oxus of the ancients, with a body of the Moslem forces, and advanced to Samarkand, which opened its gates at his approach. Having soon after defeated an army of the idolatrous Uzbeks, he marched

[w] Theophan. Chronograph. p. 293—295. Georg. Cedren. Historiar. Compend. p. 437.

directly

directly to Tarmud, or Tirmid, which immediately surrendered [x].

As Yezid was now destined to be his father's successor, the old khaliff grew extremely fond of him; imagining him to have something grand and majestic in his deportment, and that he was every way qualified to sit at the helm of a powerful empire. And Moâwiyah, though in other respects a person of great discernment and penetration, could not forbear frequently expressing in conversation, the high opinion he entertained of his son's superior abilities. It is said, that in one of his harangues to the people, he offered up to God the following remarkable prayer: "O God! if thou knowest that I have settled the government upon Yezid, because, according to the best of my judgment, I think him qualified for it, confirm it to him; but if I have done it out of affection alone, confirm it not."

Moâwiyah extremely fond of his son.

The 57th year of the Hejra scarce produced a single event that has merited the attention of any historian. Theophanes only observes, that prodigious swarms of locusts appeared in Syria and Mesopotamia, and consequently did incredible damage.

In the following year Ayesha, the daughter of Abu Becr, and Mohammed's best-beloved wife, departed this life at Medina. Her father derived from her his name of Abu Becr, or the *Father of the Girl*, she being very young when the prophet married her. She was ever treated by all the khalifs with the utmost respect, except when she exposed herself in the expedition undertaken against Ali. The Moslems sometimes called her the prophetess; and when they addressed themselves to her, generally gave her the title of the Mother of the Faithful. She made her exit on the seventh day of the month Ramadân. Her brother, Abd'alrahmân Ebn Abu Becr, of whom we have spoken above, died a little before her. Soon after the conclusion of the late treaty of peace between the Christians and the Arabs, the ratifications were exchanged, and John Pitzigaudes, the imperial minister, who had been amply rewarded by Moâwiyah for the part he acted in that important affair, returned to Constantinople.

Ayesha and Abd'alrahmân Ebn Abu Becr die;

Next year, being the 59th of the Hejra, died Abu Horeira, or the *Father of the Cat*, so called by Mohammed, because of his fondness for a cat, which he always carried

as also Abu Horeira.

x Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 181, 182, & alib.

about

about with him. He so constantly went by this appellation, that neither his true name, nor his pedigree, is certainly known. He was one of the prophet's intimate companions, and had so many traditions fathered upon him, that the very number renders them suspected by some people; though others receive them all as of undoubted authority, without the least hesitation. He is esteemed by many of the Moslems as one of the six authors of the authentic traditions. His true name, according to the common opinion, was Abd'alrahmân Ebn Sakhar, and his conversion to Islamism is said to have been effected in the seventh year of the Hejra. This year there was a great earthquake in Mesopotamia, which did considerable damage to the church of the Christians at Edessa; but it has not been observed either by the Christian or Moslem historians, that the edifices in other parts of that country suffered in the least by any of its concussions [y].

Moâwiyah dies.

The 60th year of the Hejra was rendered remarkable by the death of Moâwiyah Ebn Abu Sofiân, who died at Damascus about the beginning, or, as others maintain, the middle of the month Rajeb. His last public speech, which he made when he found himself in a declining condition, was to the following effect. "I am like corn that is to be reaped, and have governed you till we are weary of one another. I am superior to all my successors, as my predecessors were superior to me. God desires to approach all who are desirous of approaching him. O God! I love to meet thee, do thou love to meet me!" When he perceived himself at the point of death, he ordered a captain of the guards, and another faithful servant, to impart from him the following advice to Yezid: "Consider the Arabs as the root and foundation of your empire; and, therefore, always treat their ambassadors with kindness and respect. The Syrians are your natural friends, and will defend you from the insults of your enemies; and, therefore, shew yourself a father to them; but never keep them long out of their own country, for they degenerate abroad. Oblige the people of Irâk to the utmost of your power, even though they should demand of you a new deputy every day: you had better abandon the dearest friend you have in the world, than have a hundred thousand swords drawn upon you. There are only three of the Koreish that will attempt to disturb your government; Hosein, Ebn Amer, and Abd'-

y Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. & de Vita Moham. p. 158. Gagn. la Vie de Mahom. tom. ii. p. 45. Theophan. ubi sup.

allah

allah Ebn Zobeir. If the last of these appears in arms against you, oppose him; if he offers you peace, accept of it; and spare the blood of your people as much as possible." In his khalifat Moslemah Ebn Mokhalled Al Ansâri added a new tower to the temple or mosque erected by Amru Ebn Al As at Al Fostât, which afterwards went by his name.

How long he reigned, and how old he was at his death.

Moâwiyah reigned, if we compute from Hasan's resignation, nineteen years, three months, and five days, according to Abu Jaafar Al Tabari. He presided over Syria, either as governor or khalif, about forty years, four as lieutenant in the khalifat of Omar, twelve in that of Othmân, who continued him in his former post through the whole course of his reign, five in the khalifat of Ali, during which term he supported himself by force, and nineteen after Hasan's renunciation, when he governed the Moslem empire without a competitor. With regard to his age authors are not perfectly agreed; some making him seventy, others seventy-three, others seventy-five, others seventy-eight, others eighty, and, lastly, others eighty-five years old, at the time of his death. Be that as it may, as soon as he was dead, Dehâk Ebn Kais went into the mosque, and ascended the pulpit with Moâwiyah's winding-sheet in his hand; where, having made an encomium on the deceased, and satisfied the people of his death, he said the funeral service, or the prayers usual on such occasions. Yezid was then at a town called Hawarin, in the territory of Hems, and did not arrive at Damascus till after his father had been interred; but upon his arrival, he went and prayed at his tomb [z].

Description of his person and character.

With regard to his person, Moâwiyah was tall, according to Al Tabari, extremely fat, and of a fair complexion. His eyes projected out of his head; he had a loud voice, a large breast, and a long beard, which he tinged with al henna and al catam, after the example of his predecessors. His disposition was merciful, of an exceeding quick apprehension, courageous, and thoroughly versed in all the arts of government. His good-nature got the ascendant over his resentment, and the sweetness exceeded the ferocity of his temper. He was affable, easy of access, and of a winning behaviour; though, by his disputing the khalifat with Ali and Hasan, he had justly incurred the displeasure of the house of Hâshem. Hasan of Basra, a

[z] Ism. Abulfed. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj, Eutych. & Theophan. ubi supra.

man

man of great authority with the Sonnites, objected four things to his conduct; every one of which, he said, merited destruction: 1. He took upon himself the khalifat by force, without either consulting the people, the persons of distinction, or the surviving Companions. 2. He rendered the khalifat hereditary in his family, and appointed Yezid his successor, though he was a person of a very bad character, a drunkard, a lover of music, and one that wore silk. 3. He owned Ziyâd for his brother, though in opposition to one of the express decisions of Mohammed and the Koran. 4. He treated with the utmost cruelty Hejer, a man of uncommon piety, and his companion. According to Al Shâfeï, he put Abu Rebiyah in chains, because he objected to the testimony of the four Companions, namely Moâwiyah, Amru, Al Mogheirah, and Ziyâd. It has been remarked by Al Tabari, that when he laughed, his upper lip was inverted, and that Saturday was the first, and Friday the last day of his reign [a].

Some farther account of him.

As the Arabs in general at this time were much delighted with poetical performances, a young man once repeated to Moâwiyah a copy of verses, wherein he gave a full and explicit account of his present miserable situation. He had, it seems, married a fair Arabian girl purely for love; and, out of mere fondness, had spent all his substance upon her. The governor of Cûfa casting his eyes upon her, and perceiving her to be a charming creature, had torne her from her husband's bosom. The poor man, to whom the loss of his substance was nothing in respect to that of his wife, being pierced to the very heart, and ready to die with sorrow for this misfortune, addressed the khalif in verse in these calamitous circumstances. Moâwiyah being extremely pleased with the verses, resolved to do him justice, and therefore sent a messenger to the governor, with orders instantly to resign the woman. He answered, that if the khalif would permit him to enjoy her one year, he would be contented to have his head struck off at the end of it; but the khalif having absolutely insisted upon her dismission, she was brought before him. He was extremely surprised at her beauty, but much more at the politeness and elegancy of her expression. Though he had received many embassies, and frequently conversed with the greatest men of his country, he had never before heard such a torrent of eloquence as that which flowed from the mouth of this charming Arabian. The khalif

[a] Al Shafei, &c.

asked

asked her jocosely, whether she would chuse him, the governor, or her husband, for a constant companion? She, with a modesty peculiar to her sex, answered in verse, that though a person in his exalted station could do infinitely more for her than either she expected or deserved, yet that this would by no means be a balance against eternal damnation: she begged, therefore, if he intended her any favour, to restore her to her dear husband. A request which he not only granted, but presented her likewise with a splendid equipage, as well as plenty of gold, in order to restore the shattered circumstances of her fortune. This story perfectly agrees with what we find related of this khalif by other authors, and with the character given of him even by Khondemir the Persian historian. An Arab robber having been condemned to have one of his hands cut off, in conformity to what is enjoined by the Koran in cases of this nature, the criminal immediately composed and repeated four elegant and ingenious Arab verses upon the spot; which so melted the khalif, that he instantly pardoned him. However, it has been remarked, that this was the first sentence pronounced against the Moslems that was not put in execution; none of his predecessors having taken the liberty of shewing favour to those whom the ordinary judges had condemned. Moâwiyah used to say, "The Hâshemites are famous for their valour, and the descendents of Zobeir for their generosity; but I only desire to pass amongst the Moslems for a prince of clemency and humanity [b]."

His munificence.

His munificence was equal to his clemency, if we believe the Moslem authors. He made a present to Ayesha of a bracelet worth one hundred thousand dinârs. He presented Hasan at one time with three hundred thousand dinârs, and Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir with one hundred thousand. He frequently desired those who came to pay their duty to him, to take away any thing in his palace that pleased them. He gave one thousand dinârs at once to Hosein, one thousand to Abd'allah Ebn Jaafar, one thousand to Merwân Ebn Al Hakem, and four millions at another time to Hasan. However, on the other hand, it must be allowed, that ambition, and an insatiable thirst after empire, almost wholly employed his mind; as very

[b] MS. Hunt. in. Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495. Aut. Rabi Al Akyar, apud D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. in Art. Moaviah, p. 587. ut et ipse D'Herbel. ibid. Al Kor. Moham. s. v. Sale's Prelim. Disc. p. 140. Ockley, ubi supra, p. 85, 86.

clearly appeared from the tenor of his conduct, during the khalifat both of Ali and Hasan, and even his own.

His patience and clemency.

The following remarkable instance of his patience and clemency has been transmitted to us by Abulfeda. Arwah, the daughter of Hâreth, the son of Abd'almotalleb, the son of Hâshém, a very old woman, and his aunt, of Ali's branch of the family, made him once a visit. As soon as Moâwiyah had saluted her, she began to reproach him in the following terms: "Nephew (said she), you have been very injurious and ungrateful to your cousin, who was one of the Companions. You also called yourself by a name that was none of your own; and took possession of what you had no right to. Our family exceeded all men in sufferings for this religion, till God thought proper to take his prophet, in order to reward his labours, and advance him to a more exalted station. Then you insulted us, and we were amongst you like the children of Israel in the family of Pharaoh; though Ali bore the same relation to the prophet that Aaron did to Moses." Amru being then present, said, "Hold your tongue, old woman, and do not talk as if you were mad." "What (replied she), do you prate, you son of a whore! your mother was known to be the cheapest and most notorious strumpet in all Mecca; who, when she was examined about her commerce with five of the Koreish, confessed that she had lain with them all, and declared, that he must be deemed your father whom you resembled most. As, therefore, you were most like old Al As, he was obliged to acknowlege himself your father." This scurrility, however, did not ruffle or discompose Moâwiyah, who only said to her, "God forgive what is past; what would you have?" She answered, "Two thousand dinârs, to purchase an estate for the poor of our family; two thousand more, to marry our poor relations; and two thousand more for myself, to support me in time of extremity." All which sums, by the khalif's command, were paid down to her immediately.

Some customs that he introduced.

This khalif was the first who introduced the mekfowrah into the mosque. The mekfowrah was a sort of elevated place, separated from all the rest, where the khalif, who was the supreme pontiff in religious as well as the sovereign in civil affairs, read, or chaunted, the prayers that form the liturgy or public office of the Moslems. From the same place he also made the cotbah, which is a sort of homily or predication, to the people. This, before his time, followed the prayers; but he began with it, for the reason already assigned. He also introduced the practice of having

having post-horses upon the roads, and was the first of the khalifs who spoke to the people in a sitting posture.

Where buried.

Moâwiyah was interred at Damascus, which he made the residence of the khalifs; and this prerogative that city enjoyed, as long as his descendents, or the khalifs of the house of Ommiyah, kept possession of the Moslem throne. But those of the family of Abbâs transferred the imperial seat to Anbâr, Hashemiyah, and Baghdâd, as will be seen in the sequel of this history. The inscription upon Moâwiyah's seal was, "Every work hath its reward;" or, as others say, "There is no strength but in God."

Yezid proclaimed khalif.

Yezid, according to Abu Jaafar, was proclaimed khalif the same day his father died. His inauguration was performed on the new moon of the month of Rajeb, in the 60th year of the Hejra, coincident with the seventh day of April, in the year of our Lord 680. He was born in the 26th year of the former æra, and consequently thirty-four lunar years old, when he ascended the Moslem throne. Immediately after his inauguration, he wrote to Al Walîd Ebn Otba Ebn Abu Sofiân, his governor of Medina, to seize Hosein Ebn Ali and Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir, if they refused to acknowlege his right to the khalifat. The letter was conceived in the following terms: "In the name of the most merciful God. From Yezid, emperor of the faithful, to Al Walid Ebn Otba. Moâwiyah was one of the servants of God, who honoured him, made him khalif, extended his dominions, and established him. He lived his appointed time, and God took him to his mercy. He lived beloved, and died pure and innocent. Farewell. Take care not to suffer Hosein, Abd'allah Ebn Amer, and Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir, to deviate in the least from the inauguration." Al Walîd consulted Merwân Ebn Al Hakem about the contents of this letter. Merwân advised him to tender to the persons therein mentioned the oath of fidelity to Yezid, before they were apprized of the khalif's death; and, upon their refusal, to order their heads to be cut off. Al Walîd, therefore, sent for Hosein to his house, informed him of Moâwiyah's death, and invited him to recognize the authority of the new khalif. Hosein answered, that men of his distinction did not usually do things of that nature in private; that he did not expect to have such a thing proposed to him; and that he thought such a declaration as was required of him ought to be made in the most public manner. Merwân, who was present, plainly saw that the answer was evasive, and therefore gave it as his opinion, that Al Walîd ought either to oblige

Hosein to be explicit on this occasion, or to strike his head off upon the spot. Hosein, after he had reproached Merwân for his advice, by the assistance of some friends and domestics he had posted at the governor's door, escaped to his own house. Merwân then censuring Al Walîd for permitting Hosein to retire, the governor told him, that he was very easy in his present situation, and that he thought it would be a very criminal action to spill the blood of Hosein. Al Walîd afterwards sent for Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir, in order to make the same proposal to him which he had before made to Hosein; but Abd'allah deferred, under various pretences, waiting upon him for the space of twenty-four hours; at the end of which, with his family, and his brother Jaafar, he escaped to Mecca. Al Walîd sent a party of horse in pursuit of him, but without effect. In the mean time, Hosein, by the advice of his brother Mohammed Hanifiyah, made secret preparations to follow him, with his family; a scheme which he at last found means to execute. However, Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and all the Moslem dominions, except the city of Mecca and Medina, and part of Irâk, declared in favour of Yezid. Nevertheless, the people of Cûfa, receiving advice of Hosein and Abd'allah's escape to Mecca, invited the former to Cûfa, and promised to support him in any war he should undertake against Yezid. He, therefore, dispatched to them his cousin Moslem Ebn Okail, to whom, as Hosein's representative, they took the oath of allegiance [c].

The people of Cûfa declare for Hosein.

The new khalif being informed by Merwân of Al Walîd's indolent, not to say treacherous conduct, dismissed him from the government of Medina, and substituted Amru Ebn Saad, then commandant of Mecca, in his room. Amru, who was a very haughty man, soon after he had taken possession of his post, detached Amer Ebn Zobeir with a body of troops against his brother Abd'allah, whom he mortally hated. Abd'allah engaged Amer in the field, routed him, and put him in prison, where he kept him confined till his death. This victory procured Abd'allah great respect from the people of Medina, who seemed now greatly prejudiced in his favour. However, Hosein's superior interest amongst them rendered him incapable of aspiring, by their assistance, to the khalifat himself. Be-

[c] Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. et Al Makin, ubi supra, p. 50. MS. Hunt. num. 495. Ism. Abulf. ubi sup. Eutych. ubi sup. p. 360, 363. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. in Hist. Dynast. p. 195.

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sides, Hosein was supported by the forces of Irâk, who still retained a profound veneration for the memory of his father Ali, and considered the government of Moâwiyah as downright usurpation. The citizens of Cûfa had actually declared for him, as has been already observed; and were at this very juncture pressing him to honour them with his presence. Moslem had, with great difficulty, traversed part of the deserts of Irâk, in order to come at them; but upon his arrival at their city, the reception they gave him made him ample amends for the hardships he had sustained. They not only came to a resolution to spend all their blood and treasure in support of Hosein's just pretensions, but determined likewise to enter immediately upon action with an army of eighteen thousand men. The affairs concerted between them and Moslem were carried on with so much secrecy, that even Al Nooman, Yezid's lieutenant, was a stranger to their deliberations. In the mean time, Hosein receiving advice of the prosperous situation of his affairs at Cûfa, made the necessary dispositions for his departure from Mecca, in order to set out upon his journey for the former city.

Yezid removes Al Nooman from his government of Cûfa.

Al Nooman being informed at last of the steps that had been taken in favour of Hosein, and roused from his lethargy, made a speech to the people; wherein he exhorted them to avoid all occasion of strife and contention: he told them, that he would take up no man upon suspicion, however strong circumstances might appear against him, nor be the aggressor in any degree, unless he should be forced to act contrary to his inclination by some gross insult offered to his person: but he swore by that God besides whom there is no other, that if they revolted from their imâm, he would fight as long as he could hold his sword in his hand. Upon which declaration, one of the bye-standers told him, that the present conjuncture did not so much require words as actions; and that he talked like one of the simple ones: he replied, that he would rather be one of the weak, in obedience to God, than one of the strong in rebelling against him. This inactive conduct not pleasing Yezid, he removed Al Nooman from his post, and annexed the government of Cûfa to that of Basra, in favour of Obeid'allah, the son of Ziyâd, to whom Yezid had been reconciled by the interposition of Sarkhun Ebn Moâwiyah; he having before conceived a dislike to him, on account of his father Ziyâd, who had refused to concur with those who had nominated him to the succession in his father's life-time. Al Nooman, or Al

Noaman, as he is called by Abu Jaafar, was the son of Bashar, a citizen of Medina, and a man of too indolent a temper to sustain the weighty office of commandant of Cûfa at this juncture, when most of the citizens in reality were disaffected to Yezid; and therefore this was a sufficient reason for removing him from that post: but as he belonged to a city that bore an implacable hatred to the house of Ommiyah, it is not improbable that the khalif might have had some cause to suspect his integrity. However, the khalif, upon his first accession to the throne, kept all his father's officers and lieutenants in the places that had been assigned them; and had nothing more at heart than to gain over, by gentle means, those who had always opposed his interest. In consequence of which disposition, he resolved, if the conduct of the house of Hâshem did not oblige him to deviate from the plan he had laid down, to have recourse only to methods of lenity and persuasion, for reuniting the divided members of the Arab nation [d].

Moslem and Hani executed.

Obeid'allah was received by the people of Cûfa with all possible demonstrations of joy; which were owing to a black turbant he had upon his head, resembling that which Hosein usually wore: as he, therefore, entered the town in the evening, they mistook him for Hosein, of whose arrival they were in hourly expectation: but they were extremely mortified, when they discovered this stranger to be the emir Obeid'allah; who went immediately to the apartments fitted up for him in the castle, attended only by an escort of seventeen horse. The first object of his deliberations was the extinction of the present sedition, which had been excited in the city by Moslem: for this purpose he commanded a trusty servant to disguise himself, and to personate a stranger come out of Syria to see the inauguration of Hosein; that he might gain admission into Moslem's house, by his address insinuate himself into that officer's confidence, and penetrate all his counsels: he performed his part with great dexterity, and made a faithful report of what he had learned to his master. In the mean time, Moslem lodged at one Sharik's house, to which he had removed from Hani's, where he had taken up his quarters at his first coming to town. Obeid'allah having discovered all the secrets of the adverse party by his servant, sent a messenger to Sharik, who was one of the grand Omeras, to inform him, that he intended him a visit on

[d] MS. Hunt. et Abulfed. ubi supra. Abu Jaafar Al Taar. et Al Makin. ubi supra, p. 50, 51.

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a certain day, which he named. Sharik, though he was then sick, immediately came to a resolution to receive him, and to place Moslem in a corner of the room, that he might destroy him, upon a signal given. The visit was accordingly made, and Moslem had a proper place assigned him for this purpose; but his heart failing him, Obeid'allah escaped, and Sharik died three days after. Hani, in whose house Moslem at first lodged, and who attended the new governor in the aforesaid visit, upon searching the registers, was found to be an old offender, and one that had before opposed Obeid'allah; wherefore he was conducted by some of the Omeras, at the governor's command, to the castle. Upon his arrival, Obeid'allah asked him where Moslem was, and how he came formerly to admit him into his house? Hani, after he had in vain endeavoured to deny the fact laid to his charge, answered, that Moslem forced himself into his house, and did not come thither by his invitation. Obeid'allah then commanded this prevaricator to produce him; who instantly replied, that if he was under his feet, he would not take them off from him. This answer so exasperated Obeid'allah, that he gave him a blow on the face with his mace, which broke his nose; upon which, Hani attempted to snatch a sword from one of the guards, but was prevented, and the governor ordered him to be closely confined in a room of the castle that had been prepared for his reception. The news of this event soon reached the ears of Moslem, who thereupon mounted his horse, assembled a body of four thousand men, and immediately invested the castle. This attempt at first surprised Obeid'allah, though he soon recovered himself, and made a speech to the people; wherein he used a great variety of arguments to dissuade them from withdrawing their allegiance from the khalif. His harangue produced the desired effect; insomuch that all Moslem's followers, except about thirty, gradually deserted him. He, therefore, found himself obliged to leave the city; and, by the favour of the night, he made his escape to a cottage, belonging to an old woman, in a field at a little distance from Cûfa. However, her son, in hopes of meeting with the reward promised by the governor to the person who should give any intelligence of him, discovered to Obeid'allah the place of his retreat; who thereupon sent a detachment of eighty horse to seize him. Moslem for some time made a gallant defence, and thrice cleared the house of them; but being at last overpowered by numbers, and grievously wounded in several

places, he was seized, disarmed, and carried bound upon his own mule to Cufa. One of the governor's men perceiving him shed tears, told him, that it did not become a man embarked in so great an undertaking to weep. Moslem replied, that he wept not for himself, but for Hosein and his family, who were then, as he apprehended, on the road to Cûfa. Then turning to Mohammed Ebn Al Ashat, he desired him to acquaint Hosein with his ill success, and intreat him, if upon his journey, to return to Mecca. Mohammed actually sent an express to Hosein, to hinder him from advancing to Cûfa; though the person employed on this occasion never found him. When Moslem arrived at the castle, he asked for a draught of water; but one of the men there told him, he should have nothing to quench his thirst, till he drank the hamîm, or boiling liquor that the Mohammedans pretend the damned shall drink in hell. When Obeid'allah appeared, Moslem refused to salute him; saying, he should serve Yezid himself in the same manner, if he were present, unless he would promise him a pardon. The governor then upbraided him with coming to Cûfa, in order to sow the seeds of dissension amongst a people who were perfectly well satisfied with the present administration. Moslem resolutely answered, "That is absolutely false. The people of this province know very well, that your father Ziyâd inhumanly butchered their principal men, and exercised a tyranny over them more intolerable than that of the worst of the Khosrûs, or the Cæsars: whereas our intention is to govern them with justice and moderation, and appeal to the determination of the book." Obeid'allah then called him rogue, and reproached him with drinking of wine at Medina; which he denied in the strongest terms. Perceiving that he was to fall a sacrifice to the governor's resentment, he left one of his friends seven hundred dinârs, to take care of his body, and to hinder Hosein from approaching Cûfa. He was afterwards beheaded on the top of the castle, as Hani was in the street. Both of their heads were sent for a present to Yezid, together with a letter containing an account of their crime, and the circumstances attending their execution; which happened on the eighth day of the month of Dhu'lhajja, in the 60th of the Hejra [e].

[e] MS. Hunt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Ezr. vi. 1 Esth. vi. 1. x. 2. Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 85. Thucyd. lib. i. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi. cap. 6. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. p. 195.

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Hosein sets out for Cûfa.

The favourable advices he had received from Moslem, together with the earnest and repeated solicitations of the Cûfans, who had sent him a list of a hundred and forty thousand men that were ready to obey his orders, induced Hosein to think of setting out directly for Cûfa. The wisest of his friends, however, considered this as a desperate enterprize, and therefore endeavoured to dissuade him from it. Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs, in particular, told him, that as the emir Obeid'allah's forces had the proper posts assigned them for the defence of the country, and as the Cûfans had invited him to a war in which they would probably desert him, he ought by no means to embark in so perilous an undertaking. Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir also endeavoured to prevail upon him to lay aside his design, though in a more faint and languid manner, he being in reality rather desirous of precipitating him into dangers than of delivering him from them; since, in case of Hosein's death, he thought he might, with the greater ease, aspire to the khalifat; but Hosein still persisting in his former resolution, Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs, who had a most sincere and cordial respect for him, represented, that if he was fixed in his intention of engaging in a war against Yezid, he ought to stay till his friends at Cûfa had dispatched the new governor imposed upon them by the pretended khalif, and then either join them, or retire to some place of strength in Hejâz; that in the mean time he should write circular letters to his friends, desiring them to assemble their forces with all possible expedition, and not suffer any part of the scheme he had formed to transpire; and that at least, if nothing could divert him from appearing immediately at the head of the Cûfans, he ought not to entertain any thoughts of taking his wives and children along with him, lest he should meet with the fate of Othmân, who was murdered in sight of his family. "Besides, added he, your departure from Mecca at this juncture will give infinite pleasure to Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir, who wishes for your death, in order to dispute the khalifat with Yezid:" but Hosein proving inflexible, Abd'allah Ebn Abbâs left him, and told Ebn Zobeir, whom he met soon after, that he had no reason to be sad, since Hosein, hurried by his destiny, was obstinately bent upon his own destruction. And, though Ebn Abbâs sat up with him afterwards a whole night, in order to prevail upon him to remain at Mecca some time longer, at least till his troops were ready to enter upon action, he could make no impression upon him. Hosein, therefore, with his family, and

and some other attendants, departed from Mecca either on the eighth of Dhu'lhajja, the very day on which Moslem and Hani were executed at Cûfa, or the day before.

Obeid'allah sends a body of troops against him.

The emir Obeid'allah, being apprised of Hosein's approach, detached Harro Ebn Yezid, of the tribe of Temimah, with a thousand horse, to meet him on the road, and conduct him, with all the people attending him, to Cûfa. Harro, who was far from being an enemy to Hosein, advanced at the head of his troops to Asheraf, and when Hosein came up, imparted to him the orders he had received. Hosein at first attempted to engage Harro directly in his interest; but finding this scheme impracticable, he said, he would rather die than suffer those orders to be put in execution; and commanded his men instantly to continue their march. Harro opposing his progress, Hosein cursed him in the following terms, frequently used amongst the Arabs, "May your mother be childless of you!" Harro replied, "If any other person had treated me as you have done, I should not have failed recriminating; but there is no room to speak of your mother without the highest respect." Then ordering his men to retreat, he told Hosein, that he was not commanded to fight him, but only to conduct him to Cûfa; adding, that if he thought fit either to go to Medina, or take any other road that did not lead directly to Cûfa, he should meet with no opposition from him. And he ventured farther to assure him, that if he could assemble a body of troops sufficient to enable him to fall upon Obeid'allah's forces, and not suffer himself to be atacked first by that commander, he would, in his opinion, be in a fair way of carrying his point. After which conference Hosein moved towards Kadesia, famous for the bloody battle fought there between the Arabs and the Persians, and was joined at Adid by a small party of four horse, whose guide Thirmah informed him, that the principal citizens of Cûfa were resolved to oppose him; and that though the rest of the Cûfans were his friends, to-morrow their swords would all be drawn against him. He also assured him, that his messenger Kais, who had been sent before to dispose the Cûfans to give him a good reception, had been thrown down headlong from the top of the castle, for cursing Obeid'allah and his father Ziyâd, when he was commanded by the former to curse Ali and Hosein. This intelligence greatly affected Hosein; upon which Thirmah offered to conduct him to Mount Aja, a place impregnable by its situation, in the province of Nâjd, and even

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to attempt assembling a body of ten thousand men of the tribe of Tay to support him; but Hosein still persisting in his resolution of advancing towards Kadesia and Nineveh, Thirmah took his leave of him, and, with the four horse he was conducting, continued his route. Next day Hosein, with Harro, who still attended him, arrived at Nineveh, a town distant from the ancient city going under the same name, which stood on the eastern bank of the Tigris. Here Harro met with an express, who brought him an order from Obeid'allah to prevent Hosein from possessing himself of any fortified town, or place of strength, before the arrival of his forces. This order came to hand on Friday the second day of the month Al Moharram, in the 61st year of the Hejra. Next day Amer Ebn Saad, having received advice of Hosein's approach, appeared with a body of four thousand men, who had for some time pitched their tents without the walls of Cûfa. Those troops were upon the point of marching to Deylam; but as the partizans of the house of Hâshem began now to be in motion, Obeid'allah commanded Amer to lead them against Hosein. This service, for some time, at the instigation of his nephew and others, Amer refused to perform; but at last, being intimidated by Obeid'allah's menaces, he marched with all his forces to Kerbela, where Hosein was at that time posted. Here he was joined by Harro with a thousand horse, so that, after this junction, the Moslem troops destined to act against Hosein amounted to five thousand men. Before the commencement of hostilities several messages passed between Amer and Hosein; when the latter finding his affairs in a desperate situation, and that the Cûfans had deserted him, offered to return home if Obeid'allah would permit him. Amer wrote to the governor, and acquainted him with the overture made by Hosein; but was told, that no proposal from him would be listened to till he had acknowleged Yezid to be the true and lawful emperor of the faithful. At the same time Obeid'allah commanded Amer Ebn Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs to cut off all communication between Hosein's camp and the Euphrates, or rather those branches of it called by Abu'l-Faraj the rivers of Kerbela, that by this expedient he might oblige him to surrender to the khalif's forces without any effusion of Moslem blood. In these calamitous circumstances Hosein and Amer held a conference between the two armies; each of them attended by an escorte of twenty horse. In this conference Hosein desired to be permitted either to accommodate matters in person with Yezid,

Yezid, or to return into Arabia, or, lastly, to command some remote garrison in Khorasân, where he might distinguish himself against the Turks; but Obeid'allah was dissuaded from accepting of any of these conditions by Shamer Ebn Dhu'ljeyowsh, who scrupled not to accuse Amer of carrying on a clandestine negociation with Hosein, though the governor at first discovered no repugnancy to an accommodation. Obeid'allah would grant neither Hosein, nor the people attending him, any terms; offering them only this alternative, either to submit to the khalif, or leave the point in dispute to the decision of the sword.

The battle of Kerbela. Obeid'allah being at this time sufficiently apprised of the seditious disposition of the Cûfans, was resolved to bring matters to an explanation, before Hosein advanced nearer to the gates of their city. He, therefore, sent Shamer, upon whom he could entirely depend, with a body of five thousand men, to reinforce the troops under Amer; whom he ordered once more to assure Hosein, that if he and his men would submit to Yezid, no violence should be offered them; but that if they refused such submission, they should all be put to the sword. He likewise ordered Shamer to strike off Amer's head, if he discovered any reluctance to an engagement with Hosein, and to take upon himself the command of all the forces. At the same time, the governor offered his protection to Abbâs, Abd'allah, Jaafar, and Othmân, four of Ali's sons; which they refused to accept; saying, that the security of God was better than that of the son of Somyah. By which appellation, they intended to stigmatize Obeid'allah; intimating, that he was the son of one of Somyah's bastards, his father Ziyâd having been the fruit of an illicit commerce between that strumpet and Abu Sofiân. Amer having received Obeid'allah's orders by Shamer, together with a letter severely reprimanding him for not attacking Hosein sooner, drew up his army in order of battle, and advanced towards the enemy. Hosein, who with his brother Abbâs, was then in his tent, begged a truce till the following day; which was easily granted by Amer. In the mean time, Hosein's sister viewed with the utmost horror and consternation her brother's approaching fate. She was quite disconsolate, fainted away, and discovered all the symptoms of grief and despair; though Hosein did every thing in his power to comfort her. He endeavoured also to calm the minds of his men, who seemed then to be under the most dreadful apprehensions, by advising them to retire to their respective habitations. This step, however, they could by

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no means be induced to take, most of them being determined not to survive him. Notwithstanding the confusion they were in, he did not omit making the proper dispositions for his defence. He ordered all the tents, of which his camp was composed, to be fastened to one another with ropes and cords, and to be fortified at one end with a trench; so that the whole, which was finished in the night, formed a sort of barricade. Into the trench he caused a large quantity of wood to be thrown, and other combustible materials, which his men set on fire, to prevent their being surrounded; so that they could be attacked only in front. They spent the night in prayers and supplications, whilst the horse of the enemy's guard were perpetually moving round them. Next morning, the troops on both sides prepared for an engagement. Hosein drew up his small army, which, according to an Arab writer of authority, consisted only of thirty-two horse and forty foot (though Abu Jaafar makes the whole number to have amounted to fifty horse and a hundred foot) in order of battle, and made as good a disposition of this inconsiderable force, as the nature of the ground on which he encamped, and the short space of time allowed him, would permit. Amer, as soon as the day appeared, having ranged his troops in order of battle, approached the barricade, in order to begin the attack; and found Hosein, who had before washed and perfumed himself, according to the Arab custom, prepared to receive him in a proper manner. Upon this motion of Amer, Hosein instantly mounted his horse, as did his son Ali, laid the Koran before him, and earnestly exhorted the soldiers that attended him to a performance of their duty. This spectacle drew a fresh flood of tears from his sisters and daughters, who rent the air with their lamentations; upon which, he sent his son Ali, and his brother Abbâs, to pacify and appease them, declaring, that he would die in the field of battle rather than renounce his right in a servile manner, to any tyrant whatsoever. Which moving scene so affected Harro, that he expressed great sorrow for having intercepted Hosein, immediately joined him with thirty horse, and came to a determination to die with him. He also made a final effort to appease Amer, but without effect; that general alleging, that the express orders he had received from Obeid'allah would not permit him to follow pacific measures. Harro upbraided him, as well as the Cûfans in general, with having imposed upon Hosein, and with having deprived him and his men of the water of the Euphrates, of which Jews, Christians,

tians, and Sabians, were permitted to drink, and in which even hogs and dogs were suffered to enjoy themselves. An accommodation, therefore, being impracticable, Shamer Ebn Dhu'ljeyowsh began the attack, and showers of arrows were on both sides discharged: but before the action became general, Abd'allah Ebn Amer killed Yafer and Salem, two of Amer's officers, in single combat; and another of the enemy attempting to engage Hosein, his horse threw him, dragged him with his left foot in the stirrup, his right leg having been cut off by one of Hosein's men, and at last destroyed him, by dashing his head against some stones. Several other combats were fought, wherein Hosein's men, being animated by despair, were superior to their antagonists; a superiority which induced Amer to order his soldiers to desist from that kind of engagement. At length Amru Ebn Hejâj, who commanded the right-wing, charged Hosein's troops with great fury, crying out aloud to the Cûfans, "Behave with bravery against those who separate from the religion, from the congregation, and from the imâm." To whom Hosein, with great coolness replied, "You are the separatists; when your souls have taken their flight from your bodies, you will know which of us deserve hell-fire most." In this attack, Moslem Ebn Aufâjah, the first that fell on Hosein's side, was killed, after he had behaved with unparalleled bravery. Several other Arab officers likewise at this time lost their lives; though the Cûfans, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, were not able to make themselves masters of the person of Hosein. The little body of cavalry that surrounded him sustained the shock with incredible firmness and intrepidity, and at last forced the enemy to retire with considerable loss.

Hosein defeated and killed.

The right wing thus failing in its attempt upon Hosein, Shamer, who commanded the left, attacked the Arab cavalry with such fury, that he had almost broke them, and even penetrated to Hosein. However, he was at last repulsed, and obliged to send to Amer for a reinforcement of five hundred archers. Upon the arrival of these succours, the Cûfans under Shamer renewed the assault upon Hosein's camp, and so galled his cavalry with their arrows, that the men were obliged to dismount, and fight on foot. Amongst the rest, Harro being forced to abandon his horse, on account of a wound he had received, defended himself with his sword a considerable time. Shamer, finding his efforts hitherto ineffectual, resolved to destroy the barricade; and therefore commanded his men to advance, and

and overthrow the tents that formed it: but they met with such a warm reception from the troops which defended them, that, after a vigorous action, they were again repulsed, left several of their men dead upon the spot, and were obliged to betake themselves to a precipitate flight. The battle now grew hot in all parts; nevertheless, Hosein performed his devotions with great fervency, saying the noon-prayers amongst the poor remains of his shattered troops, to which he added that of fear, which is never used but in cases of the last extremity. The fight having already proved almost fatal to Hosein, notwithstanding the incredible valour of the Arabs, most of his men having been killed, and amongst the rest Habib, an officer of great merit and distinction, Shamer charged the small phalanx that supported him with such fury, that he broke it, put to the sword several of the soldiers that formed it, particularly one that had killed no less than ten of his men, as also Ali, the son of Hosein, who was first wounded with a lance, and afterwards cut to pieces with unrelenting barbarity. Most of the rest were shot by the Irâkian archers, so that Hosein, his little son Abd'allah, and a nephew of his, that was likewise a child, were almost the only persons who survived the common destruction. The last of these had his hand cut off, and was killed, when he was upon the point of embracing his uncle Hosein; and Abd'allah was struck dead with an arrow whilst he was in his father's lap. Hosein himself first received a wound in the head, which filled his helmet with blood, and was afterwards shot in the mouth with an arrow, whilst he was quenching his thirst. However, he continued still to defend himself like a man animated by despair; insomuch that none of the Irâkians durst, for a considerable time, attempt to give him the fatal stroke. His sister Zeinab, the daughter of Fâtema, turning to Amer, asked him whether he could have the heart to see Hosein slain? Upon which the tears run down his beard, and he turned his face away from her: but Shamer, who was of a more fierce and brutal disposition, cursed and upbraided his men for not approaching Hosein, whereupon one of them wounded him in the hand, another in the neck, and a third thrust him through with his spear. In short, he received thirty-four contusions, and thirty-three wounds. After his death his head was cut off, and the Irâkians rode over his dead body so often, that they trod it into the ground. Shamer, not satisfied with his blood, intended to have butchered likewise his youngest son Ali, afterwards

called

called Zein Alabedin, or Zein Alab'addin, i. e. *the Ornament of the Religious*, who was then very sick and an infant; but was diverted by one of his officers from putting in execution so cruel a design. The night after the battle Hawla carried Hosein's head to his own house; a circumstance which so disgusted his wife, that she abandoned his bed, and could never afterwards be persuaded to cohabit with him. Indeed the woman that he took to supply her place that night, was terrified, as we are told by an Arab writer, by a supernatural light ascending from the spot on which Hosein's head was deposited towards heaven, and certain white birds that continually hovered over it. Next morning, Hawla carried the head to Obeid'allah, who struck it over the mouth with his stick, and treated it with great contempt. This insult so offended Zeid Ebn Arkom, that he gave the governor opprobrious language for discovering so savage a disposition, which had like to have cost him his head. Thus ended the battle of Kerbela, fought on the tenth day of the month Al Moharram, in the 61st year of the Hejra, which proved so fatal to the house of Hâshem, and so firmly established Yezid upon the Moslem throne. The Arabs, according to an eastern author, had seventy-two men killed in the action, seventeen of whom were descended from Fâtema; and the troops of Irâk lost eighty-eight, besides a considerable number of wounded; though, if we believe Abu Jaafar Al Tabari, not above thirty-eight of the khalif's men fell on the field of battle. According to the same historian, Obeid'allah ordered the head of Hosein to be carried through the city, exposed to public view, then to be fixed for some time upon one of the gates of Cûfa, and afterwards, with the women, and his son Ali, to be sent to Yezid at Damascus. Zeinab, Hosein's daughter, went after the battle to the citadel, where Obeid'allah had a conference with her, in which he reflected, with great warmth and asperity of expression, upon the family of Hosein, an insult which provoked Zeinab to reproach him for his cruelty in such severe terms, that he was near issuing an order for her execution. After examination, finding that Hosein's youngest son Ali was arrived at puberty, he also threatened to execute him before her face; but, being moved by her tears, he was at last prevailed upon to spare both of them, notwithstanding the provocation he had received. Kerbela, or Kerbala, was the name of a district, or territory, in Babylonian or Chaldæan Irâk, famous for the death and sepulchre of Hosein. It lies a little to the west of the city called Kasr Ebn Hobeïrah, and at a small

small distance from Cûfa. The Persians still retain the name of Kerbala in their songs and elegies, made to commemorate the fatal death of Hosein; from whom the bulk of those sectaries derive the descent, or succession, of their imâms [f].

Yezid's behaviour to the family of Hosein.

The first time Obeid'allah went to the great mosque in Cûfa, after the defeat of Hosein, he made a speech to the people, which contained several expressions injurious to the memory of Ali, and highly reflecting upon his family. He praised God for discovering the truth, and those who were in possession of it; as also for assisting Yezid, and the emperor of the faithful, and his party; and, lastly, for destroying the liar Hosein, the son of the liar Ali, and his adherents. This abuse so incensed the friends of the house of Hâshem, many of whom were then present, who rose up from their seats with great indignation, that they could scarce forbear shewing their resentment in the most public and violent manner. One of them in particular, who in two battles had lost his eyes, and continued for the most part in the mosque from morning till evening, performing his devotions, cried out, whilst the governor was in the midst of his harangue, "O son of Merjânah! the liar and the son of the liar, you, your father, and those from whom you derive your commission, kill the sons of the prophets, and yet pretend to speak the words of honest men." Obeid'allah ordered him to be instantly seized; but he was soon rescued by his own party, about seven hundred of whom were at that time in town. However, he was executed not long after, and hung upon a gibbet, erected for that purpose, at a small distance from Cûfa; which barbarity rendered Obeid'allah extremely odious to the inhabitants of that place. Nor was his bloody treatment of Hosein at all pleasing to the khalif; who upon the arrival of an express dispatched from Cûfa, with advice of what had happened, is reported to have shed tears, and said, "God curse the son of Somyah," meaning Obeid'allah; "I should have been well pleased without the death of Hosein. Had he been with me, I should have pardoned him. God loved Hosein, but did not suffer him to arrive at the dignity to which he aspired." Before young Ali, and the

[f] MS. Laud. numb. 161. Ism. Abulfed. ubi sup. MS. Hunt. num. 495. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. et Al Makin, ubi sup. p. 51, 52. Greg. Abu'l Faraj, ubi sup. p. 196, 197. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. ubi sup. et in art. Kerbela. Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 105, 211, &c.

women of Hosein's family entered Damascus, Yezid consulted his courtiers about the disposal of them. One of these told the khalif, that nothing could more firmly support his interest than the extinction of the line of Hosein; to whom Yezid, not approving of his proposal, made no manner of reply. Another, of a milder disposition, delivered his sentiments in the following terms: "O emperor of the faithful, treat them as would the apostle of God himself, were he to see them in this disconsolate condition." This advice moved his compassion; which was farther excited when he saw the head of Hosein; insomuch that he could not forbear breaking out into this pathetic exclamation: "O Hosein, had it been in my power to have saved thee, thy life should not have been taken away!" When Hosein's wives and children were brought before him, and he saw the women appear in such mean and sordid attire, he cursed Obeid'allah again, calling him by way of contempt the son of Somyah, for suffering his troops to strip them of their most valuable effects in so shameful a manner. He afterwards entered into discourse with Ali, the son of Hosein, and his sisters, Fâtema and Zenab, wherein some warmth and asperity of expression were used on both sides; though, when the conversation was over, the khalif ordered them to be conducted to the hot bath, and sent them cloaths suitable to their quality, as well as all sorts of refreshments, to comfort them after the fatigues they had sustained. He also treated the women with the utmost respect; Moâwiyah's widows keeping them company for the space of three days, at his command, and mourning with them for Hosein. He once asked Amru, Hosein's son, a child, whom he took with him, as well as his brother Ali, whenever he walked abroad, whether he would fight his son Khâled? Amru answered, "Give me one knife, and him another." Which expression, an enemy of the house of Hâshem taking advantage of, said to Yezid, in order to incense him against the child, "One serpent naturally begets another:" but this insinuation produced no alteration in the khalif's conduct. He continued to treat with lenity, and even tenderness, the distressed family of Hosein; and dismissed them with great politeness, after they had sufficiently refreshed themselves, and were ready to set out for Medina, the place of their destination. He ordered his wives and children to take leave of them in a friendly manner; and commanded Nooman Ebn Bashar to furnish them with a proper escorte, as well as a quantity

a quantity of provisions sufficient to enable them to perform the journey they were to undertake. The commander of the escorte that attended them so gained the hearts of Fâtema and Zeinab, by his tenderness and indulgence, that they offered him all the jewels the plunderers had left them; which he modestly declined accepting, declaring, that, had he been influenced by any worldly considerations, a less reward would have been sufficient; but that the kindness they had met with from him was shewn them for God's sake, and on account of their relation to the prophet. Upon their arrival at Medina, they were visited immediately by the whole family of Hâshem, who came to condole with them for the loss of their father, and their unhappy fate. We must not forget to inform our readers, that, according to Khondemir, Ali, surnamed Zein Alabedin, or Zein Alab'addin, i. e. *the Ornament of the Religious*, as has been already observed, at this time conducted with the rest of the family to Medina, has all along been considered by the Persians as the fourth lawful imâm [g].

With regard to the body of Hosein, it was interred in the plain of Kerbela, where he was slain; and Adado'ddawla, surnamed also Abu Shaja', the second soltân of the dynasty of the Buiyans, or Deylamites, raised a sumptuous monument upon the spot where it was inhumed, which is to this day visited with great devotion by the Persians. This soltân called his superb edifice Kunbud Faïz, which, in the Persian language, signifies *the magnificent Dome*; but at this time it goes amongst the Arabs under the denomination of Mashhad Hosein, *the Sepulchre of Hosein the Martyr*.

Hosein's death afterwards revenged.

The death of Hosein did not remain long unrevenged; several persons appearing in this and the following reigns, who demanded the blood of Hosein; that is, in the language of the Moslems, insisted upon vengeance being taken of the murderers of that imâm. Al Mokhtâr, one of the chiefs of that faction, in particular, boasted that he had destroyed near fifty thousand of the enemies of the house of Ali, without reckoning those who were slain in the battles which he fought. The two titles generally given by the Persians to Hosein are Shahîd *the Martyr*, and Seid, *the Lord*. By the words Al Seidân, *the two lords*,

g MS. Laud. num. 161. et MS. Hunt. num. 495. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Khondemir, D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. in art. Ali Ben Hussain, p. 96, 97. Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. 197.

without any addition, they always understand the two eldest sons of Ali, Hasan and Hosein. According to Ebn Shohnah, the latter of those imâms made before God every twenty-four hours a thousand adorations, or prostrations; and, at the age of fifty-five years, had performed twenty-five pilgrimages to Mecca on foot; whereas one of them would have been sufficient to procure salvation for a pious Moslem. We are told by Abu'l-Faraj, that there fell no less than three of his own sons, and seven of those of Ali, with Hosein, when he was killed in the battle fought on the plain of Kerbela.

A remarkable saying of Hosein.

Yezdi, in a treatise concerning divine love, relates, that Hosein having one day asked his father Ali if he loved him, and received in reply, that he loved him tenderly; he then demanded of his father if he loved God? to which he also answered in the affirmative. Upon which, Hosein said to him, "Two loves can never meet in the same heart." At these words, Ali was so moved, that he could not forbear shedding tears; when Hosein, touched with the impression his words had made, in order to comfort his father, again asked him, whether he should consider the sin of infidelity, or his death, as the greater evil? Ali replied, "I would rather deliver you up to death than abandon my faith." "By this mark then (said Hosein), it is apparent that the love you have for me is only a natural tenderness; and that you bear towards God a true love." Many other sayings, attributed to Hosein, have been preserved by the Persians, who hold his memory in the highest veneration, and consider him as the great progenitor of their imâms. Hence the day of his death, the tenth of the month Al Moharram, in the year of the Hejra 61, is so celebrated amongst them, that they have, from that very year to this day, called it Yaum Hosein, Rûz Hosein, *the Day of Hosein.* Nor can it be doubted, but the anniversary weeping and extravagant lamentation on this day, still practised by the Persians, principally contribute to the subsistence of the aversion borne by that nation to the other Moslems, who entertain different sentiments of this great imâm [h].

The Moslems make themselves masters of the kingdom of Khowarazm.

In the same year, Yezid appointed Salem Ebn Ziyâd to preside over Sejistân and Khorasân. Salem was then but twenty-four years of age, though in all respects qualified for the honourable post assigned him. Soon after he had entered upon his government, he assembled a body of

[h] Yesidi, in Resalat fi Biyâni'l Mehabbat. D'Herbel. ubi supra. MS. Huntingt. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. num. 495. ubi supra. Ockley, ubi supra, p. 226—231.

troops,

troops, in order to make an irruption into the Turkish territories. He took his wife along with him in this expedition, who was delivered of a son in the sogd of Samarkand, or the circumjacent villages and plains in the neighbourhood of that city. This child, from the place of his nativity, was surnamed Al Sogdi, or the Sogdian. Salem's wife, at this juncture, borrowed some jewels of the prince of Sogd's lady, which she carried off with her, upon the return of the Arabs into their own dominions. In the mean time Salem sent a strong detachment, under the command of Mohalleb, to Khowarazm, the principal city of the Turks, or Tartars, in those parts, which exacted an immense sum of the inhabitants, amounting to fifty millions of pieces of money; part of which he reserved for his own use, and sent the rest to Yezid. Then he advanced to Samarkand, forced the citizens to pay him likewise a great sum, and afterwards retired with little loss into the provinces he governed. The city of Khowarazm, in the time of the khalif Yezid, was the capital of the kingdom of the same name, the Chorasmia of Ptolemy and Herodotus, and the same with that afterwards called Kharizme, Korkang, Orkang, and at present Urgens. It was situated in a western direction from the Jihûn, the Oxus of the ancients; or, as the situation of Urgens has been more accurately determined by the modern geographers, in a great plain to the north of the river Amû, in latitude 39° 50′, twenty-five German leagues from the eastern shores of the Caspian sea. The Moslems, under the conduct of Mohalleb, not only acquired an immense quantity of plunder in this expedition, but likewise subdued the kingdom of Khowarazm [i].

Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir proclaimed khalif at Medina.

Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir, after the death of Hosein, finding himself at the head of the partizans of the house of Hâshem, who were greatly oppressed by Yezid, began to entertain thoughts in earnest of aspiring to the khalifat. As he had never recognized Yezid's authority, he now declared publicly against him, and deposed him in a formal manner at Medina; being supported by the inhabitants of that city, as well as those of Mecca; who, soon after the arrival of Hosein's family at Medina, proclaimed him kha-

[i] MS. Laud. num. 161. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. ubi supra. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 120, 121, et alib. Christoph. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. lib. iii. cap. 21. p. 832—835. Lipsiæ, 1706. An Account of the present State of the Northern Asia, par. i. chap. 2 p. 420, 438, 440. Lond. 1729. Vide etiam Ism. Abulfed. in Tab. Ulugh Beigh, in Tab. &c.

lif. After his inauguration, in order to render himself more popular amongst them, he aggravated all the circumstances of Hosein's death to the last degree, and represented the Cûfans, who had first invited Hosein to their city, and afterwards deserted him, as the most faithless and perfidious villains upon earth, in his speeches to the people; which produced the desired effect. The citizens, who had always been well-affected to Hosein, heard these discourses with avidity; especially as Abd'allah took care to give the highest character of that imâm; to expatiate upon his heroical conduct, in preferring to an ignominious life an honourable death; to magnify his merits, and remind them of his supereminent sanctity; and, in fine, to exhibit to their view every thing that might excite in them a desire of revenging his death, and inspire them with an abhorrence of that government which had been the cause of it. They, therefore, flocked to him in such numbers, that he soon found himself at the head of a very considerable force. Yezid, being informed of his progress, swore he would have him in chains, and accordingly sent a silver collar for him to Merwân, then governor of Medina, with orders to fasten it about his neck, and send him to Damascus, if he did not immediately desist from his attempt. But Abd'allah, having secured the affections of the people, ridiculed both the khalif and his deputy, as well as the collar that had been prepared for him. As Yezid was a man of a very dissolute life, spending his time wholly in drinking wine, and with his dogs, and had not the least regard for religion, he was abhorred by the Arabs; and consequently the menaces he uttered against Abd'allah did not in the least tend to the diminution of his authority. Besides, it was very well known in Arabia, that when his father Moâwiyah had reprimanded him for his abandoned course of life, and advised him to conform his actions more to the precepts of the Koran, he had slighted his wholsome reproofs, and treated with contempt his salutary admonitions; so that the Arabs considered him as a wretch altogether incorrigible. About this time, Amru Ebn Sa'id, governor of Mecca, having been assured by Abd'allah Ebn Amru in Egypt, a person who had studied the prophet Daniel, and was celebrated amongst all the Moslems for his wisdom and knowlege of future events, that, in his opinion, Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir would live and die a king; this prediction prejudiced still farther in his favour the bulk of the Arab nation. And Amru Ebn Sa'id himself, though he secretly hated him, thought it policy,

as

as affairs then ſtood, to keep up a good underſtanding with him. This induced ſome of Yezid's courtiers, who probably before were no friends to Amru, to ſuggeſt to the khalif, that, had the commandant of Mecca been hearty in his maſter's intereſt, he might have ſeized Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir, and ſent him to Damaſcus. Upon which ſuggeſtion, Yezid diſmiſſed Amru from his poſt, and ſubſtituted Walîd Ebn Otbah in his room. Theſe commotions happened in the 61ſt year of the Hejra, about the time that Salem Ebn Ziyâd was employed in the expedition to Samarkand, or at leaſt a little before the commencement of that expedition. Salem firſt advanced to Niſabor, or Naiſabour, the capital of Khoraſân, which he reduced; and from thence penetrated to Khowarazm, which likewiſe ſurrendered to his arms. He detached Mohalleb Ebn Abu Safra with a body of troops againſt Khatûn, queen of Bukhâra, or Bokhâra, who had been joined by the king of Sa'îd with an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand men. Mohalleb, notwithſtanding the prodigious inequality of numbers, defeated Khatûn, and the king of Sa'îd, and diſperſed their numerous forces. The king of Sa'îd, on whom Khatûn had promiſed to beſtow herſelf in marriage, was killed in the action; after which, Bukhâra, or Bokhâra, a very famous and ancient city of Mawara'lnahr, Tranſoxiâna, or, as it is now called Great Bokhâria, ſubmitted to the victors, and was, with the territory belonging to it, annexed to the Moſlem empire. The city of Bukhâra, the capital of Great Bukhâria, or rather of the province of Bukhâria, properly ſo called, and ſituated in latitude 39° 30′, is at preſent the reſidence of the khân of Great Bukhâria, of a great extent, and fortified with a ſtrong rampart fenced with earth. It ſtands about ſeven days journey to the ſouth of Samarkand, upon a little river, that is ſaid to fall into the Jihun, the Amu, or the Oxus, about the 92° of longitude. This river is called by the Arabs Sogd, or Al Soghd, and, as ſome writers aſſert, has its ſource in the cold and mountainous part of Fargana. The ſituation of this place is very convenient for trade, eſpecially that between Grand Tartary, Perſia, and the Indies; and the inhabitants actually ſupply the dominions of the Great Mogul, and part of Perſia, with all ſorts of dried fruits, of a moſt exquiſite flavour. It has produced a very conſiderable number of learned men, and ſome of the brighteſt geniuſes of the Eaſt; amongſt whom we may reckon the famous Ebn Sina, or Avicenna, ſo well known by his writings even in our part of the world.

Some authors place it above a day's journey from the Oxus. It was surrounded with delicious gardens, stately towers, magnificent palaces, or rather splendid country-seats, pleasant villages, and fine verdant fields; all which were environed by a wall of twelve parasangs in extent, in the days of Abulfeda. We are told by Yâkut, that the Arabs passed the Jihun, the Amu, or the Oxus, overthrew the Bukhârian forces assembled by Khatûn, and possessed themselves of Bukhâra, in the khalifat of Moâwiyah, about the 55th year of the Hejra. But the best and most ancient Arab historians fix this expedition, as has been already observed, with greater accuracy and precision, in the 61st year of that æra [k].

Great commotions at Medina.

Walîd Ebn Otbah had no sooner entered upon the government of Mecca than he began to exert his authority, by imprisoning three hundred of his predecessor Amru's dependents. However, Amru found means soon to release them; then he undertook a journey to Damascus, was introduced to the khalif, and met with a gracious reception: but notwithstanding this, Yezid rebuked him for being remiss in the execution of his commands, and for not being active enough in extinguishing the rebellion of Abd'allah and his adherents. Amru, being a man of great address and penetration, easily justified his conduct so much to the khalif's satisfaction, that he told him he was an honester man than those who had taken such pains to misrepresent him; and that he should, for the future, repose an entire confidence in him. About this time, Najdah, a powerful Arab of Yamâma, appeared at the head of a body of troops he had assembled against Yezid, and discovered a strong disposition to take the oath of allegiance to Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir. In the mean time, the new governor Walîd employed all his skill to circumvent Abd'allah; but without effect, that general being always upon his guard. This conduct, however, giving great disgust, as well as terrible apprehensions, to Abd'allah, he sent a letter to Yezid, informing him, that Walîd was totally unfit for the post he had honoured him with; and that if he would send to Medina a person of a more tractable disposition, all differences between them might easily be composed. Yezid, desirous of peace upon any terms, indiscreetly dismissed Wa-

[k] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi sup. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. & Al Makîn, ubi sup. p. 52, 53. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 177, 178, 179, 188, 189. Said Ebn Ali Al Jurjiani, in sua Climat. Descript. Ism. Abulfed. in Geograph. Yakut. See an Account of the Present State of the Northern Asia, par. i. chap. iii. p. 465, 466.

lîd, a man of an unshaken fidelity, at the instigation of his mortal enemy, and sent Othmân Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abu Sofiân, a man altogether unqualified for so important a trust, to take upon him the government of Medina in his room. Soon after this event, some ambassadors, or rather deputies, were sent from that city to Damascus, where they waited upon Yezid, who received them kindly, and made them considerable presents; but his conversation gave them such offence, that, upon their return to Medina, they inflamed the inhabitants greatly against him. They represented him as a man wholly addicted to wine, singing girls, and dogs, and void of all religion; for which reason they publicly renounced their allegiance to him, and were joined by many of their fellow-citizens, who came to a resolution to depose him in a formal manner. Al Mondar, one of the ambassadors, instead of returning home, went to Basra, where he was courteously entertained by Obeid'allah, who had formerly been acquainted with him. Yezid being apprized of this visit, and of the seditious proceedings of the ambassadors at Medina, wrote to Obeid'allah to put him under arrest till farther orders: but Obeid'allah, considering a compliance with the khalif's commands in this point as a violation of the laws of hospitality, enabled Al Mondar to make his escape; who, upon his arrival at Medina, confirmed what the other deputies had related of Yezid; to which he likewise added, that his almost total neglect of prayers had rendered him infamous in the sight of all who had any regard for the Moslem faith; and that he would not be bribed by the hundred dinârs given him by the khalif for that purpose to conceal the truth. These intrigues coming to Yezid's ears, he threatened Al Mondar with his resentment, and dispatched All Nooman Ebn Bashîr to Medina, to bring the people back to a sense of their duty by pointing out the dreadful effusion of Moslem blood, that must be the natural consequence of their persisting in such a rebellion; but his remonstrances had no effect. Moseilama Ebn Mokhalled, the governor of Egypt, dying at this juncture, was succeeded in that post by Sa'îd Ebn Yezid Al Azdi, who continued in it till the death of Yezid.

The inhabitants of Medina depose Yezid.

The people of Medina having renounced their allegiance to Yezid, appointed Abd'allah Ebn Motî to preside over the Koreish, and Abd'allah Ebn Hantelah over the Ansârs. The latter of these was a person of great distinction, adorned with many excellent endowments. He was one of the ambassadors sent lately to Damascus, and

and took his eight ſons along with him. Yezid having been apprized, that he was very religious and devout, and for that reaſon extremely popular amongſt his fellow-citizens, took care to careſs him more than any of the other deputies that attended him. He made him a preſent of a hundred thouſand dinârs, and gave to every one of his ſons ten thouſand, beſides a proper number of veſts ſuitable to the quality of the perſons for whom they were deſigned. In the beginning of the 63d year of the Hejra, the Arabs of Medina put their menaces againſt Yezid in execution. After they had aſſembled about the pulpit in the moſque, one of them ſaid, "I lay aſide Yezid as I do this turbant;" and then threw his turbant upon the ground. Another ſaid, "I put away Yezid as I do this ſhoe;" caſting away the ſhoe at the ſame time from him. Theſe examples being followed by others, there was a large heap of ſhoes and turbants almoſt inſtantly formed upon the ſpot. Then they diſmiſſed Othmân, Yezid's lieutenant, and baniſhed from Medina the houſe of Ommiyah, together with all their friends and dependents. Theſe, to the number of about a thouſand, took refuge in Merwân Ebn Al Hakem's houſe, where they were ſo cloſely beſieged by the Hâſhemite faction, that they found themſelves obliged to ſend to Yezid for immediate aſſiſtance; intimating that, unleſs they received ſpeedy relief, they muſt all inevitably periſh. Yezid wondered that ſo conſiderable a number of men ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be confined, without making the leaſt reſiſtance; and aſked Amru Ebn Sa'id, the former governor of Mecca, whom he had lately recalled from thence, whether he would march with a body of troops to Medina, in order to chaſtize the rebels? But Amru declining the command of the forces, the khalif put Meſlem Ebn Okba, though very ancient and infirm, at the head of the troops that were to undertake the intended expedition. However, the conduct of the friends of the houſe of Ommiyah, who had ſuffered themſelves to be cooped up in ſo ignominious a manner, irritated Meſlem to ſuch a degree, that he pronounced them both cowards and traitors to their prince, and declared that they ought not to be delivered before they had at leaſt made one effort to extricate themſelves out of the difficulties in which their puſillanimity had chiefly contributed to involve them: but Yezid's command being peremptory, he was obliged to ſubmit. The khalif ordered him to ſpare Ali, the ſon of Hoſein, and his family, as they were not concerned in the preſent commotions.

tions. He also ordered him to summon the city of Medina, upon his arrival before it, three days successively; and if, after such summons, the citizens refused to surrender the town, to take it by storm, and give it up to the soldiers to be plundered for three whole days. The inhabitants of Medina, being apprized of the impending storm, permitted all the members of the house of Ommiyah, together with their friends and adherents, to retire peaceably out of the city; though, before their departure, they extorted from them a promise never to appear in arms, or commit any hostilities, against the prevailing faction[1].

Meslem takes Medina by storm, and plunders it.

Meslem Ebn Okba Al Marsi, having received his instructions from the khalif, began his march for Medina with five thousand foot and twelve thousand horse; and, upon his arrival before the town, the citizens having refused to surrender, made the necessary preparations for a general assault. He proposed to attack the place on the east side, that the troops which defended it, might have the sun in their faces; and this precaution proved of signal service to him. However, the garrison, for a considerable time, made a vigorous defence; insomuch that Meslem advanced very slowly in the siege: but at last most of the Ansârs and the principal officers being killed, the Arabs within the town offered to capitulate. Meslem refused to grant them any terms, and insisted upon their surrendering at discretion: but this last summons not being complied with, the Moslem general, after a faint opposition, entered the place; sent Ali, whom he treated with great respect, in pursuance of the orders he had received, home upon his own camel; put all the men he met with to the sword; and, though the prophet was buried there, permitted the Syrian forces to ravish a thousand women, and to pillage the city for three days together, without intermission. Those that escaped the sword, he obliged to own themselves slaves and vassals to Yezid; for which extreme severity the Arabs surnamed him Al Musrif, i. e. *Exorbitant*; because his orders did not extend to authorize the enormities he had committed. Medina was taken in the night, towards the close of the month Dhu'lhajja, in the year of the Hejra 63, or of our Lord 682. The Moslems considered Ebn Okba ever after as an impious person, for his barbarity to the citizens of Medina, especially as the

[1] MS. Laud. num. 161. & MS. Huntingt. num. 495. ubi supra. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. & Al Makîn. ubi supra, p. 53, 54. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. in art. Jezid, p. 486.

prophet

prophet himself had denounced a curse, which was couched in the following terms: "If any man shall hereafter sack or plunder my city, the wrath of God shall most certainly remain upon him[m]."

Yezid dies. After the reduction of Medina, Meslem marched with his army towards Mecca, in order to chastize the insolence of Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir, who then resided in that place; but he died on his march, in the month of Al Moharram, the following year. Upon his death, Hosein Ebn Thamir Al Selwi assumed the command of the army, and advanced to Mecca, which he besieged for the space of forty days; during which, he battered the town, by the assistance of his military engines, with so much fury, that he beat down a great part of the famous temple, and burnt the rest. Nor would the city itself have escaped the same fate, had not the news of Yezid's death recalled Hosein into Syria, and forced him to abandon the siege[n].

The Syrian forces return home. Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir had before been informed of the khalif's decease, and even apprized the Syrian troops of it from the walls; asking them, at the same time, for whom they fought, as Yezid was most certainly dead? However, they would not believe him; but continued the siege with great vigour, till they received farther information. As soon as this report was confirmed, Hosein told Abd'allah, that, as a farther effusion of Moslem blood was altogether unnecessary, he would take the oath of allegiance to him; and assured him, that all the forces under his command, amongst which were the principal men of Syria, should be at his devotion: but Abd'allah, at this juncture, durst not trust him; and therefore refused the overture: though afterwards, when too late, he repented of this conduct. During the conference between them, Hosein turned his horse aside, in order to avoid killing some of the temple pigeons, that were pecking something on the ground at a small distance from him; which circumstance being observed by Abd'allah, he could not forbear asking him, "How he could scruple destroying any of those birds, and yet not be afraid of spilling the blood of so many Moslems?" Hosein replied, that he would never for the future fight against him. Then he desired leave to go in procession round the Caaba; a request which was immediately granted. Some pretend, that the temple was not set on fire by

[m] MS. Laud. num. 161. & MS. Huntingt. num. 495. ubi supra. Ism. Abulfed. in Hist. Univ. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makîn, & D'Herbel. ubi supra. [n] Khondemir, Eutych. Patriarch. Alexandr. Annal. tom. ii. p. 362, 363.

the

the engines employed by the Syrian army in the siege; but by a spark accidentally wafted by the wind from the top of Hosein's spear, which communicated from thence to the hangings and wood-work of that edifice. We must not forget to remark, that the house of Ommiyah attended Hosein into Syria; and that Yezid, before his decease, having received advice of the death of Meslem, confirmed Hosein Ebn Thamir Al Selwi in the command of the Moslem forces before Mecca.

Description of Yezid's person, and his character.

Yezid died at Hawwarin, in the territory of Hems, in the 39th year of his age, after he had reigned about three years and six or eight months. As to his person, he was either of a ruddy, according to Abulfeda, or, as Abu Jaafar asserts, of a swarthy complexion: he was a tall thin man, had a handsome beard tinged with al henna, curled hair, black eyes, leprous fingers, and a face pitted with the small-pox: his under-lip was inverted, when he laughed: he left behind him several children of both sexes: his son Khâled is reported to have been skilled in the art of alchemy, and his son Abd'allah is said to have been the most expert archer of all the Arabs of his time: his mother's name was Meisun, the daughter of Yahdak, of the tribe of Calb. She had an excellent genius for poetry; and, at Moâwiyah's command, took her son Yezid with her into the desert amongst her own relations, in order to inspire him with poetic sentiments: nor was this education altogether thrown away upon him, as he discovered himself capable of composing a tolerable good copy of Arabic verses, on several occasions. Yezid was the first khalif that drank wine publicly, and was waited upon by eunuchs; circumstances which gave great offence to the Mohammedans: he was extremely fond of dogs; an inclination which likewise not a little disgusted a great numbers of his subjects, as the more scrupulous Moslems have an aversion to those animals; but he was rendered the most disagreeable to the Arabs by his avarice and impiety. The ravages committed at Medina, by this khalif's order, are considered by the Mohammedan doctors as the grossest instance of his impiety, and as the principal cause of his being cut off in the flower of his age. In support of which notion, they produce this saying of Mohammed, "Whoever injureth Medina shall melt away, even as salt melteth away in the water." The Persian writers hold the memory of Yezid in such abhorrence, that they always mention him with abomination, and generally annex to his name the following malediction, "The curse of God be upon him." This execration they use, not so much

much on account of his vices, as because of the death of Hosein: he was looked upon as so irreligious a prince, that some of the Moslems, and particularly the Persians, called, in after-ages, all persons void of religion, Yezid and Yzit. The Persian poet Jami being one of these, a man, named Mezid, was resolved to insult him on that account; and, therefore, one day, as soon as he entered the room where an assembly was met at Jani's house, he exclaimed, with a loud voice, "The curse of God fall upon Yezid." Jami perceiving that these words were pointed at him, instantly replied, "May that curse fall upon Yezid and Mezid." The smartness of which repartee consists in the words, *upon Mezid*, which were not only applicable to the aggressor, but likewise denoted *more and more* °.

Conquests made by the Moslems in the khalifat of Yezid.

In the khalifat of Yezid, the Moslems made an absolute conquest of Khorasân and Khowarazm, and laid the territories of the prince of Samarkand under contribution. The motto, or inscription, of his seal was, "God is our Lord." He was buried at Damascus, in the sepulchre of the Little Gate; and his son Moâwiyah, whom he nominated, when at the point of death, emperor of the faithful, said the prayers over him, usual on such occasions.

Moâwiyah II. succeeds his father Yezid.

Moâwiyah II. the son of Yezid, was proclaimed khalif at Damascus the very day on which his father died. His mother was the daughter of Hâshem, or, as others say, of Khâled Ebn Abu Hashem Ebn Otba Ebn Rabîa Ebn Abd Shams. The Arab writers represent this young prince as of a religious disposition, but of a very weak constitution; and tell us, that he had not completed the twenty-first year of his age, when he mounted the Moslem throne: he was of the sect of the Kadarians, having been instructed in their principles by his favourite master Omar Al Maksûs, whom he consulted, in order to know whether he should accept of the khalifat, or not. Omar told him, that if he found himself equal to the duties of that arduous post, he ought to accept of the high dignity offered him; if not, that he ought to decline the office.

Moâwiyah abdicates the government,

Perhaps it was in consequence of this advice, that about six weeks after his inauguration, finding himself too weak to sustain the weight of the government, he took a resolution to lay it down. He assembled the grandees of his court, and told them, that when he first entertained thoughts of relinquishing the high station to which his father's nomination had advanced him, he intended to have chosen a successor in the same manner as did Abu Becr;

o Ism. Abulf. ubi sup. Khondemir, Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, Eutych. D'Herbel. ubi sup. Moham. Ebn Khassem.

but

but that this choice he found impossible, as a man of Omar's merit and abilities was not to be met with. Then he informed them, that, not being able to execute his first plan, he proposed to follow the example of Omar, and name six persons, upon one of which the choice by lot should fall; but that he likewise found this scheme impracticable, as he could not be furnished with six men duly qualified for the discharge of the duties of so important a post. "Wherefore," continued he, "I am resolved to leave the election of a new khalif entirely to your management." They immediately expressed their readiness to chuse the person that should be the most agreeable to him; but he declined naming any one, saying, "As I have not enjoyed the advantages of the khalifat, it is unreasonable that I should charge myself with the most odious part of it; and, therefore, I hope you will permit me to discharge my conscience towards you, and judge for yourselves who is the most capable amongst you of filling my place." Then he made his abdication in form; and the chiefs proceeding to an election, the choice fell upon Merwân Ebn Al Hakem, who was the fourth khalif of Syria. However, Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir had been advanced to the khalifat, in Arabia, after the death of Yezid. He presided over Hejâz, Yaman, Irâk, Khorasân, Egypt, and all Syria, except that part called Ordon, or Al Oroddan, which adhered to Yezid. We are told by Abu'l-Faraj, that Moâwiyah's speech, immediately preceding his abdication, was to the following effect: "My grandfather Moâwiyah deprived a man more worthy than himself of the khalifat: nor did my father merit that sublime dignity, though he obtained it. For my own part, I am determined not to have an account to give of so weighty a charge as the government of the Moslems, when I appear in the presence of God; and therefore invest the person that shall please you best with the authority of khalif."

and dies.

Moâwiyah had no sooner abdicated the government than he shut himself up in a chamber, from whence he did not remove till he died. Some say that he was poisoned, and others that he was carried off by the plague not long after his abdication. The interval between his death and that event he spent wholly in religious exercises: he was surnamed, by way of ridicule, Abu Leilah, that is, *the Father of the Night*; because his natural weakness and bad state of health would not permit him to appear much abroad in the day-time. Authors differ as to the precise account of the short time he reigned; some fixing this at twenty

twenty days, others at forty-five, others at forty, and others extending it to four months: nor do they exactly agree in the length of the interval between his renunciation and his death; some making this to consist of only forty days, and others of three months: he was buried at Damascus, close by his father; and, according to some, Walid Ebn Otba performed the funeral service over him. It has been also said, that Merwân Ebn Al Hakem, his successor, put up prayers for him. The house of Ommiyah was so exasperated at his abdication, that if we believe Abu'l-Faraj, the members of it buried alive his master Al Makfûs, whom they suppose to have been the person who suggested that resolution. The inscription on his seal was, "The world is a cheat." He left no issue behind him. From the short duration of his khalifat, it appears from the Arab writers, that he departed this life in the 64th year of the Hejra, or of Christ 684 [p].

Some commotions in Irâk.

Before we proceed directly in our history, we must give a short account of some commotions that happened in Irâk immediately after the death of Yezid. Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd, the governor of Basra, being apprized of that event, represented, in an elaborate speech, to the Basrans, that he himself was their countryman, being a native of Basra; that, since he had taken the government upon him, he had destroyed one hundred and forty thousand of their enemies; that there was no person surviving that destruction from whom they had any reason to apprehend the least opposition; that the territories of Basra formed the most considerable province of the empire, both with regard to their extent, and the number and valour of their inhabitants; that, till the commotions of Syria were appeased, they ought to appoint a person to preside over them, who was duly qualified to be the protector of their state; and that, after this, if the Moslems elected a khalif disagreeable to them, they might, under the conduct of the person they had chosen, assert their independency. The Basrans, clearly perceiving his intention, offered him the government of their country; which he at first affected to refuse, but afterwards accepted, at the repeated solicitation of his friends. However, as soon as it was known that the Cûfans would not acknowlege him, but even threw dust, or gravel, upon his deputy, the Basrans immediately deserted him, and even expelled him their city. He

[p] Ism. Abulf. in Hist. Univ. D'Herbel. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, Eutych. et Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra.

could

could not prevail upon the Najâri, a tribe of the Anſârs, or even his own relations, though he had divided a great part of the ſixteen millions of pieces of money, found in the treaſury of Baſra, amongſt them; ſo odious had he rendered himſelf to all ranks and degrees of men by the enormous cruelties he had committed! Nor could his brother Abd'allah, who kept him diſguiſed in women's cloaths at Maſûd's houſe, left any violence ſhould have been offered his perſon, protect him from the rage and fury of the Baſrans, though he diſtributed two hundred thouſand pieces of money amongſt them; and though Maſûd exerted himſelf, to the utmoſt extent of his abilities, in his favour. He was, therefore, at laſt conſtrained to abandon the city, attended by an eſcorte of a hundred men, which had been aſſigned him by Maſûd; and, immediately after his departure, the mob plundered his houſe, and purſued him. Being much fatigued by riding upon a camel in the night, he exchanged that beaſt for an aſs; and, with great difficulty, made his eſcape into Syria. Soon after his arrival at Damaſcus, Hoſein Ebn Thamir Al Selwi returned thither, with the troops that had formed the ſiege of Mecca, and gave a faithful account to Merwân of the ſituation of affairs on that ſide. He likewiſe informed him of his offer to take the oath of allegiance to Abda'llah Ebn Zobeir, who refuſed to accept of it, or at leaſt to undertake a journey to Damaſcus, in order to be inveſted with the ſupreme authority. He therefore adviſed Merwân, and the houſe of Ommiyah, to take care of themſelves in time, and fix their intereſt upon a ſolid baſis, by the election of a new imâm, before the torrent of faction ſhould become too rapid to be ſtemmed. Merwân propoſed to make his ſubmiſſion to Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir; but was diverted from his reſolution by Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd, who told him, that, in the preſent conjuncture, no ſuperior ought to be acknowleged by him who was at the head of the Koreiſh. The people of Damaſcus had conſtituted Dahâk Ebn Kais Al Amri their protector, till the Moſlems ſhould agree in the election of an imâm. Dahâk favoured Abd'allah, and declared his intention of ſupporting him. The Baſrans were altogether in tumult and confuſion, and could not fix upon a governor during the interregnum, after their ejection of Obeid'allah. At laſt they wrote to Abd'allah, to take the government upon him. He complied with their requeſt; but could not be prevailed upon to ſtir

from Mecca, at that time the place of his residence. Nor could Merwân be persuaded to permit any of the Syrians to perform the pilgrimage thither, lest they should join Abd'allah, and thereby contribute to his exclusion from the Moslem throne [q].

Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir advanced to the khalifat.

It has been already observed, that all the provinces of the Moslem empire, except part of Syria, unanimously concurred, soon after the death of Yezid, to advance Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir to the khalifat; and after the last invitation he received from Irâk, he caused himself to be inaugurated at Mecca. The people of Mecca had first declared in his favour, and their example was immediately followed by the citizens of Medina. Nay, Merwân himself, a member of the house of Ommiyah, was upon the point of recognizing his authority; a step which he would have taken afterwards at Damascus, had he not been dissuaded from it by Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd, as we have just informed our readers. However, Abd'allah might easily have fixed himself in the khalifat, and have settled his interest upon a lasting foundation, had he not too rashly formed a design either to banish or exterminate the house of Ommiyah; and, in consequence of this scheme, sent orders to his lieutenant at Medina to cut off, or, as others say, banish every member of that house. This design alienated great numbers of the Moslems, and particularly all the friends and dependents of the family threatened either with exile or excision, as will hereafter more fully appear. The resolution taken by Abd'allah at this juncture was certainly a most impolitic step; and, notwithstanding his bravery and religious disposition, undoubtedly indicated a want of capacity, as well as of humanity. He was surnamed, according to some, Abu Becr, or, as others pretend, Abu Habib. His mother was Asma, the daughter of the first khalif Abu Becr. He was inaugurated at Mecca on the ninth day of the month of Rajeb, after there had been an interregnum during the Former and Latter Jomâda, and the eight first days of Rajeb. He appointed his brother Masab, or Mas'ab Ebn Zobeir governor of Basra, preferred Ab'allah Ebn Moti to the government of Cûfa; his brother Obeidah Ebn Zobeir to that of Medina; and sent Abd'alrahmân Ebn Okba Ebn Jahram in the same capacity to Egypt.

q MS. Laud. num. 161. in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. apud Al Makîn, ubi sup. p. 55. ut et ipse Al Makin, ibid. Greg. Abu'l Faraj. ubi sup. Eutych. ubi. sup.

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The house of Ommiyah proclaim Merwân khalif at Damascus.

The members of the house of Ommiyah finding themselves in such imminent danger, resolved to stand upon their own defence, and consequently to oppose him to the utmost of their power. In order, therefore, to defeat all his machinations they proclaimed Merwân Ebn Al Hakem, who was at the head of them, after the death of Moâwiyah II. khalif at Damascus; to which place they had made their escape, after they found it necessary, for their own safety, to take their leave of Medina. Syria, therefore, or rather the whole Moslem empire, was at this time divided into two potent factions; one of which, under the conduct of Hassan Ebn Malec, declared for Merwân, and the other, under that of Dehâk Ebn Kais, for Abd'allah. The latter was a person of great distinction, and had been constituted by Moâwiyah I. commandant at Cûfa, in the 54th year of the Hejra. His adherents, from his father's name, were denominated Kaisians. Several conferences were held between the leaders of these factions, and all possible methods employed to dispose both parties to an accommodation, but without effect. The forces on both sides, therefore, commanded by Merwân and Dehâk, found themselves obliged to come to a general action, which ended in the defeat of the Kaisians. As soon as they began to give way Merwân sounded a retreat, and would not suffer his men to pursue them. The battle was fought at Marj Raht, in the plain of Damascus, at a small distance from that city. Dehâk himself was killed upon the spot, together with a great number of his horse, and about eighty of the Syrian nobility. When Dehâk's head was brought to Merwân, at the sight of it he expressed great concern, and said, "This is a very preposterous thing, that I, who am an old man, and whose bones are so wasted that I am reduced almost to nothing, should bring armies together in order to cut one another to pieces." After this victory the citizens of Damascus submitted to Merwân, who lived in the house where Moâwiyah used to reside. He also married Yezid's widow, having before declared that khalif's son, Khâled, then a minor, his successor. However, Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir kept his ground still in Arabia, though the inhabitants of Damascus had renewed their oath of fidelity to Merwân, after the battle of Marj Raht, in the month of Dhu'lkadda. Soon after which event the people of Hems, receiving advice of the death and defeat of Dehâk, revolted from Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir, whose interest they had espoused; upon which Nooman

Ebn Bashir, appointed governor by Abd'allah, betook himself, together with his wife and family, to flight; but the citizens pursued him, cut off his head, and brought it with them, as well as his wife and children, in triumph to Hems. In the beginning, therefore, of the 65th year of the Hejra, Merwân was in possession of the khalifat of Syria, as Abd'allah was of that of Hejâz, Yaman, Egypt, and Irâk [r].

Merwân conquers Egypt.

Merwân, soon after his accession, advanced at the head of a considerable army towards the frontiers of Egypt. Abd'alrahmân Ebn Okba Ebn Jahram, Abd'allah's lieutenant, having been apprised of his design, had made the necessary dispositions for giving him a proper reception in case he should attempt to make an impression upon that country. He detached Amru Ebn Sa'id, with a body of troops, to facilitate the passage of his forces, as well as the conquest of Egypt. Abd'alrahmân being worsted in several actions that happened between him and the Syrians, at last, for a sum of money, surrendered the whole country to Merwân, and retired with the Arabs under his command into Hejâz. The Syrian troops then immediately possessed themselves of Egypt, and obliged the inhabitants of that region to take the oath of allegiance to Merwân. Things being in this happy situation, the Syrian khalif appointed his son Abd'alaziz to preside over Egypt, and, with the greatest part of his forces, returned to Damascus. Whilst on his march for that city, he was informed that Abd'allah had sent his brother Mus'ab against him with a powerful army. Merwân immediately detached Amru Ebn Sa'id, with a body of troops, to give the enemy battle without loss of time. Amru soon came up with Mus'ab, brought him to a general action, and entirely defeated him. Mus'ab was forced to quit the field with precipitation; a great part of his men were cut to pieces on the spot, and the remainder so dispersed, that they found it impossible to rally. Merwân's troops, having sustained a very inconsiderable loss, entered Damascus in triumph.

Salem elected protector of Khorasân.

This year the people of Khorasân chose Salem Ebn Ziyâd, who had before been governor of that province, for their protector, till the Moslems could concur in the elec-

[r] MS. Laud. num. 161. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. Al Makin, & Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi sup. Eutych. Patriarch. Alexandrin. Annal. p. 364, 365.

tion

tion of an imâm. Salem continued in this post about two months; and, during that short term, rendered himself extremely popular amongst those who had put themselves under his protection. He had discharged the duties of his function, when governor, so much to their satisfaction, that, within the space of a few years, they named above twenty thousand children, born amongst them, Salem, out of their great regard and affection for him. The natives of Khorasân, therefore, enjoyed perfect tranquility at this time, when tumults and seditions, and even open war, disturbed the repose of many other parts of the Moslem dominions[s].

An insurrection of the followers of Ali against both the khalifs.

In the 65th year of the Hejra, the followers of Ali and their dependents, at Cufa, likewise put themselves in motion. They proposed to assemble in a body at Nokhailah, and march from thence into Syria the following year, in order to revenge the death of Hosein. As the Cûfans now reflected upon their base and perfidious conduct to that imâm with the utmost remorse, they thought themselves obliged, both in point of honour and duty, to take vengeance of his murderers, as the only atonement they could make for so enormous a crime. For this purpose they sent circular letters to their friends, inviting them to contribute all in their power to the execution of so laudable a design. The five principal persons to whom the management of the whole affair was committed, Soliman Ebn Sorâd, who was one of the Companions, Mosabbib Ebn Nahbah, one of Ali's most intimate friends, Abd'allah Ebn Sa'id, Abd'allah Ebn Wâli, and Refaa Ebn Shaddâd, met together at Soliman's house, attended by a great number of their adherents, in order to concert the proper measures to be pursued on this occasion. To the Shiites or sectaries of Ali, now assembled, Mosabbib made an elegant speech; wherein he fully displayed the heinousness of the crime the Cûfans had been guilty of, in deserting Hosein, the grandson of the prophet, and his family, after they had invited him to their city, and so solemnly engaged to support him; adding, that they could not otherwise, in any degree, atone for that crime, than by bringing his murderers to condign punishment; an aim which might easily be effected if they could find a proper general to lead them against the perpetrators and abettors

[s] MS. Laud. num. 161. ubi supra. Ockley's Hist of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 265.

of that execrable fact. Refaa then proposed to the assembly, for a general, Solimân Ebn Sorâd, the chief of their sect, or rather political party: a man reverenced by all for his years, dignity, piety, and experience; who was unanimously elected, and having made a speech suitable to the occasion, accepted of the command. Abd'allah Ebn Wâli, by the unanimous suffrages of all the Moslems present, was then appointed treasurer, and a considerable sum of money deposited in his hands. After these previous steps Solimân dispatched circular letters to Saad Ebn Hodaifa, and others, to encourage them to act with vigour, and forward as much as possible the execution of the plan of operations that had been formed; and in a short time received from them such satisfactory answers, as greatly animated both him and his friends. This affair had been in agitation ever since the death of Yezid, so that the followers of Ali had amassed vast quantities of provisions, erected large magazines, and, in short, taken all the necessary precautions to render their enterprize successful.

They assemble a body of four thousand men;

About six months after the death of Yezid, in the month of Ramadân, Al Mokhtar Ebn Abu Obeidah came to Cûfa, and brought along with him Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Telha, in order to collect the tribute of that city for Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir, who had been elected khalif by the Arabs. This man, pretending to act under the direction of Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah, one of Ali's sons, was at first extremely caressed by the followers of that imâm: but Al Mokhtar afterwards depreciated the merits and capacity of Solimân Ebn Sorâd Al Khzoâï, and Ibrahim having declared in very warm terms against the sentiments contained in a speech of Abd'allah Ebn Yezid, then governor of Cûfa, which seemed to favour the sectaries, or malecontents, they were both for some time treated with less respect by the Shiites, as well as by Abd'allah Ebn Yezid. Ibrahim, by his conduct, so incensed them, that Mosabbib threatened him with assassination; though afterwards finding means to pacify the governor, both he and Al Mokhtar recovered their former influence; and Solimân, at the head of the Shiites, soon after appeared in arms. The troops he assembled on this occasion, according to Abu'l-Faraj, amounted to about four thousand men.

which increases to sixteen thousand.

At this juncture, the Motazalites, or *Separatists*, who had assisted Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir in the defence of Mecca, abandoned him, and retired to Basra. Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd

Ziyâd, the governor of that city, who was always their implacable enemy, had formerly done his utmost to extirpate them; so that they found themselves obliged, in order to avoid the fate he intended them, to fly to Mecca, and put themselves under the protection of Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir. As he then stood in great need of their assistance, he gave them a favourable reception, without making any enquiry into the principles they maintained; as they, on their side, being then in very distressed circumstances, did not think it proper, or expedient, to ask him any questions either about his religious or political sentiments. However, some time after, before they engaged themselves thoroughly in his service, they recollected, that both he and his father Zobeir had persecuted them on account of Othmân's death; and therefore resolved to take an occasion from hence to discover his present disposition towards them. Coming to him accordingly in a body, they desired to know his opinion of that event; but he having at that time very few of his friends about him, and clearly perceiving their view in proposing such a question, told them, that, if they would return in the evening, he would give them a satisfactory answer. In the mean time, he posted a proper party of the guards in double ranks about his house; which hindered the Motazalites, when they returned, from proceeding to acts of violence. However, one of the most eloquent among them made a speech, wherein he enumerated the dispensations of Providence towards them, as well as all the khalifs that had presided over the Moslems since the death of Mohammed, reflecting severely upon Othmân's administration, and, in short, endeavoured to justify the murder of that imâm. Abd'allah replied, that, with regard to Mohammed, on whom too great encomiums could not be passed, as well as Abu Becr and Omar, he perfectly agreed with him in what he had advanced; but that, as no man living was better acquainted with Othmân than himself, he must beg leave to declare, that he believed that khalif to have been wrongfully murdered; that he never wrote the letter laid to his charge; and that he should always support Othmân's friends, and oppose his enemies, to the utmost of his power. To this declaration, they answered, "God is clear of thee, thou enemy of God!" and immediately took their leave of Mecca. Some of them went to Yamâma, and others to Basra. The latter animated one another to some bold attempt in favour of religion; and, having been joined by several stragglers

upon the road, before they reached Basra, formed a body of three hundred men. They entered the town when every thing was in confusion, on account of Obeid'allah's precipitate retreat, or rather flight, into Syria; a circumstance which gave them an opportunity of opening the public prisons, and incorporated the malefactors amongst them. However, both the Motazalites, and their companions, after the commotion was appeased, were soon dispersed, and obliged to abandon Basra. As for the forces assembled by Solimân, if we believe Abu Jaafar Al Tabari, they soon encreased from four thousand to sixteen thousand men: but before we can oblige our readers with the particulars of this expedition, and the fate he met with in the conclusion of it, in a satisfactory manner, it will be proper to premise a short and concise account of the famous Mokhtar, or Al Mokhtar, as he is called by the Arab historians, the scourge of the enemies of the house of Ali, who makes so considerable a figure in this part of the Arab history.

An account of Al Mokhtar.

The followers of Ali had not entertained the most favourable sentiments of Al Mokhtar Ebn Abu Obeidah, since the time he was supposed to have been too remiss in the service of Hasan: but he recovered his esteem with that party, when he not only entertained in his house Moslem, who had been sent to Cûfa by Hosein, to take the suffrages of the Cûfans, in a very hospitable manner, but likewise made use of all his interest privately to serve him; though he still thought fit to appear amongst Obeid'allah's friends, in order to prevent suspicion: but Obeid'allah, having secret intelligence of his conduct, upbraided him with it, and gave him such a blow with his stick upon the face, that he beat out one of his eyes. Not content with this outrage he sent him immediately to prison, and detained him there till the death of Hosein; when, finding means to make a proper application to Yezid, he was set at liberty by the express command of the khalif. Obeid'allah, as his interest required, was very desirous of continuing his detention, but durst not disobey the khalif; and therefore released him, but ordered him to quit the territories of Cûfa within the space of three days. Al Mokhtar then made the best of his way to Hejâz, where meeting with one of his friends, who asked him how he came to lose his eye, he said, "The son of a whore has beat it out; but God kill me if I do not some time or other cut him to pieces." Al Mokhtar afterwards being told by the Arab with whom he was conversing that Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir had made Mecca his residence,

ſidence, he delivered himſelf in the following terms: "His affairs will never be in a flouriſhing ſituation, till you ſee Al Mokhtar at the head of his forces, with orders to revenge the death of Hoſein. I will then deſtroy as many, by way of vengeance for the murder of that imâm, as periſhed on account of the blood of John the ſon of Zacharias, on whom be peace." For the illuſtration of which paſſage, it muſt be obſerved, that the Moſlems hold in very high veneration the memory of St. John the Baptiſt, on account of the honourable mention made of him in the third chapter of the Koran. Mokhtar repaired to Mecca, in order to offer his ſervice to Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir, and arrived there ſoon after his inauguration: but not meeting with proper encouragement, he retired to Tâyef; and, in about a year's time, returned to Mecca. Soon after his arrival the ſecond time, Abd'allah, by the aſſiſtance of Abbâs Ebn Sahel, engaged him in his ſervice. However, Mokhtar could not be prevailed upon to take the oath of allegiance to Abd'allah, before the latter had promiſed to conſult him in all his moſt weighty affairs, and grant him free acceſs on all occaſions, even before any other perſon. After this ſtipulation he behaved with great bravery during the ſiege of Mecca, which was raiſed upon the news of Yezid's death; and continued above five months with Abd'allah after that event: but not being advanced to any conſiderable poſt, and being informed that the ſectaries at Cûfa only wanted a proper general, in order to carry all before them, he immediately departed for that city. Every moſque on the road he viſited, performed his devotions in them all, and harangued the people he found therein, aſſuring them of victory, and a ſpeedy deliverance from all the grievances they laboured under. He had no ſooner entered Cûfa, than he convoked the leaders of the ſectaries, telling them, that he came from Mohammed Ebn Hanifiyah, the mine of excellency, the imâm that directed the right way, and repreſenting to them the incapacity of Solimân for the undertaking in which he was ſoon to embark. Theſe two points he repeated to them ſo often, that at laſt he made an impreſſion upon the minds of many of the Shiites in his favour; though the ſuperior intereſt, age, and authority of Solimân rendered it impoſſible for him to wreſt the command out of his hands. However, he comforted himſelf with the hopes of being veſted with the ſupreme authority, and conſequently with the command of all the Shiite forces, in caſe Solimân ſhould miſcarry in the

the projected expedition. Nevertheless, for some time, his interest declined to such a degree, that, upon suspicion of his having formed a design of seizing upon the province, he was surprised by a detachment of Solimân's troops, conducted to prison, and for a certain term kept closely confined [t].

Solimân begins his march into Syria.

All Al Mokhtar's efforts to deprive Solimân of his post, proving ineffectual, that general began his march at the head of the Shiite forces, who had assumed the name of Penitents, because of the penitence, or repentance and sorrow, they now expressed for abandoning Hosein. He first advanced to Nokhailah, a town near Cûfa, the place appointed for the general rendezvous, in the new-moon of the Latter Rabî. When he arrived there, he took a view of the camp; and being greatly surprised at the small number of men that formed it, he instantly dispatched two of his horse to Cûfa, with orders to cry out in the streets, and in the great mosque, "Vengeance for Hosein!" This exclamation so alarmed the citizens, that they assembled in great numbers, and several of them repaired next morning to the camp at Nokhailah. Upon the arrival of these volunteers, Solimân reviewed the troops under his command, and found them to amount to four thousand effective men; though the Cûfans had promised to supply him with at least four times that number. Two thousand of those who had engaged to attend Solimân, had been drawn off by Mokhtar, who, though a pretended friend to the cause he espoused, entertained very indifferent sentiments of the military capacity of that general; and the other ten thousand chose rather to violate their oaths, and abandon the engagements they had entered into, than to run the risk of being cut to pieces by a superior enemy. However, Solimân did not neglect to animate his men, by assuring them, that they were to fight for another world, and not for this; and that, therefore, whatever should be the fate of the present expedition, they might depend upon a future state of eternal and uninterrupted felicity. A council of war being held, two plans of operations were proposed to the general; according to the first of which, the troops were to return to Cûfa, and put to the sword all those who had deserted Hosein in that city; but the latter required them

[t] MS. Laud. num. 161. & Ism. Abulfed. ubi supra. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. in art. Jahia Ben Zacaria, p. 471, 472. Abu Jaafar Al Tabari & Al Makin, ubi supra, p. 57. Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. vol. ii. p. 278—288.

immediately

immediately to march into Syria, and take vengeance of Obeid'allah, who had been the principal cause, if not the absolute author, of the destruction of that imâm. This, for several weighty reasons and considerations, meeting with Solimân's approbation, he made the necessary dispositions for putting it into immediate execution; though Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Telha, Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir's collector of the tribute at Cûfa, and Abd'allah Ebn Yezid, the governor of that city, who were both in the interest of the house of Hâshem, did their utmost to prevail upon him to suspend his march. They represented to Solimân, that they should soon be able to assist him both with money and troops; and that as Obeid'allah, by reason of his enormous cruelty, was detested in that province, it would be better to wait for him there, where the people would most certainly declare against him, and where he would soon arrive, than to attack a powerful enemy in his own country with so inconsiderable a force: but Solimân proving deaf to so salutary an admonition, Ibrahim endeavoured to persuade him to remain in his camp at least till he could furnish him with the tribute of the provinces; which would not fail of animating his men, and enable him to push on with greater vigour the military operations: but Solimân still continuing obstinate, the conferences broke off without success; and the Shiite army decamped from Nokhailah, in order to pursue their march into Syria without delay [u].

And advances to Mashad Hosein.

The first place to which Solimân advanced, after his departure from Nokhailah, was Eksâs upon the Euphrates; where, upon a general muster, he found that by desertion he had lost one thousand men. Nor was he joined there by the Separatists of Basra and Al Madâyen, though they had promised him a reinforcement; a circumstance which proved a great discouragement to his troops, especially as they had received certain advice, that Obeid'allah was upon his march against them. However, Solimân put a good face upon the matter, saying to his men, "The Lord doth not approve of their going out, and therefore he hath withdrawn them for our advantage; wherefore praise ye the Lord." Having resumed his march, and continued it all night, he arrived next morning at Mashhad Hosein, or *the Sepulchre of the Martyr Hosein*, where the army halted a day and a night, in order to pray for Ho-

[u] MS. Laud. num. 161. & Ism. Abulfed. ubi supra.

sein,

ſein, to implore his pardon for deſerting him, and to perform upon that holy, pure, and ſublime ſpot, their devotions. When they firſt approached the tomb, they all cried out with one voice, and ſhed tears in the moſt copious manner, wiſhing that they had all died with him; inſomuch that a more melancholy and moving ſcene never appeared: and their grief was ſo intenſe on this occaſion, their repentance for abandoning Hoſein ſo ſincere, and ſo fervent their devotion, that, when Solimân commanded them to march, not a man would ſtir till he had firſt ſtood upon Hoſein's tomb, and aſked forgiveneſs for what had happened. Which conduct ſeem ſo extraordinary even to the more rational Mohammedans themſelves, that one of them then preſent ſwore that he never ſaw ſuch crouding about the black ſtone in the temple of Mecca itſelf.

He and his troops are all cut to pieces by Obeid'allah.

From Maſhhad Hoſein the Shiite army marched to Heſâſah, and from thence to Al Ambâr, or Anbâr, a city of Irâk, near the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates, in the territory of Baghdâd, and the imperial ſeat of Al Saffah, the firſt khalif of the houſe of Abbâs. From Anbâr Solimân advanced to Sodûd, and from thence to Kayyârah, where he ordered his troops to pitch their tents. They had not been long here before Solymân received a friendly letter from Abd'allah Ebn Yezid, the governor of Cûfa, wherein he preſſed him to return home; and repreſented, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the folly and temerity of engaging ſo powerful an army as would be ſent againſt him with a handful of men. Abd'allah concluded his letter with theſe remarkable words: "Do not ſet at nought my advice, nor contradict my command. Come as ſoon as my letter is read to you. God turn your faces towards his obedience, and your backs to a rebellion againſt him." But Solimân imagining that Abd'allah recalled them only in order to ſupport Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir, perſiſted in his intention of penetrating into Syria; telling his troops, that they would never be nearer the two Hoſeins, meaning Hoſein and his brother Haſan, to whom the Shiites gave that name, than they were at preſent; and that if they, at this juncture, ſhould meet with death, they would die in a ſtate of repentance, and conſequently obtain a remiſſion of their ſins. From Kayyârah the Shiite general marched to Hait, or Haditza, another town of Irâk, ſituated on the oppoſite bank of the Euphrates, from whence he wrote an anſwer to Abd'allah Ebn Yezid, wherein he thanked him

him for his kind letter, but said that he could not accept of his invitation. From Haditza Solimân advanced to Karkisia, a city of Mesopotamia, the Cercusium of the later Greek and Roman writers, whose walls were surrounded by the Chabora, or Abora, and the Euphrates; and from thence to Ainwerda, or Ainwerdah, where the Separatists declared, that their design was to depose both the khalifs, and fix upon the Moslem throne one of the family of the prophet. But here a stop was put to their career, and they met with the just reward of their temerity and presumption. Obeid'allah Ebn Ziyâd came up with them at Ainwerda, or Ras Ain, as we find it called by Abu'l-Faraj, with a body of twenty thousand horse, in a short time brought them to action, and after a sharp dispute, cut them all to pieces upon the spot [w].

Merwân dies.

Soon after this decisive action, the governor of Cûfa released Al Mokhtar, at the request of Al Abd'allah Ebn Omar, who had married Al Mokhtar's sister. This transaction happened a little before the death of Merwân, who departed this life in the month of Ramadân. It should be remembered that, after Moâwiyah's decease, Merwân was elected khalif, on condition that Khâled, the son of Yezid, should mount the Moslem throne after him, and his own children be excluded from the succession; Khâled at that time refusing to take the government upon him, on account of his tender age. To shew the purity and sincerity of his intentions in this affair, Merwân married Yezid's widow, who was Khâled's mother, and declared that he would never be guilty of an infraction of the treaty concluded with Khâled, in the minutest particular. However, afterwards altering his mind, he caused his eldest son Abd'almâlec to be proclaimed his lawful successor; a step which so incensed Khâled, who always hated him, that he one day reviled him for his perfidy, before a great number of the nobility, in a very reproachful manner. These reproaches so incensed Merwân, that he called him bastard; an epithet which his mother being informed of by the child, she vowed to be revenged of him for so gross an affront. In consequence of which resolution, she soon after poisoned him, as we find asserted by some of the Arab historians, or, as others maintain, smothered him, by laying a pillow on his face, when he was asleep,

w MS. Laud. Num. 161. ubi supra. Golii Not. ad Alfragan. p. 134, 234, 256. Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. et Al Makin, ubi supra, p. 95.

and

and sitting upon it till he was dead. However, Abu Jaafar Al Tabari seems to intimate, that Merwân died of the plague; and not a word is said by Abu'l-Faraj of his wife's being even in any manner accessory to his death. He reigned two hundred and ninety-eight days, or, as others affirm, eleven months, if we compute from the renewal of his inauguration. We find it intimated by Theophanes, that the Arabs elected Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir khalif at Yathreb, or Medina, which he denominates Æthrib, and the Syrians Merwân, called by him Maruam, at Damascus; where, according to this writer, he reigned about nine months. Dionysius Telmarensis makes Yezid, Merwân, and Abd'almâlec, to have reigned in continual succession, and consequently takes no notice of Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir and Moâwiyah II. It is no wonder, therefore, that he should have kept Merwân a year upon the Moslem throne [x].

And is buried at Damascus.

Merwân was tall, and of a thin habit of body. He had blue or grey eyes, and red or yellowish hair. He was surnamed Ebn Tarid, or *the Son of the Expelled*; his father, Al Hakem, having been banished by Mohammed to Al Tâyef, or Waj, for divulging a secret that had been imparted to him. He continued in exile during the reigns of Abu Becr and Omar, but was recalled by Othmân; to whom this was afterwards urged as one of his greatest crimes.

x Abu Jaafar Al Tabar. & Al Makin, ubi supra. MS. Laud. num. 161. & Greg. Abu'l-Faraj. ubi supra. D'Herbel. Biblioth. Orient. in art. Marvan. & in art. Abd'allah Ebn Zobair.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.